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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CLXI.

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Vol. 161
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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MEMORIAL HALL ALBANY VANCOUVER

RE-ESTABLISHED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

EDITED BY LLOYD BRYCE.

VOL. CLXI.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
No. 3 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET.
1895.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXIV.

JULY, 1895.

FENIMORE COOPER'S LITERARY OFFENCES.

BY MARK TWAIN.

The Pathfinder and *The Deerslayer* stand at the head of Cooper's novels as artistic creations. There are others of his works which contain parts as perfect as are to be found in these, and scenes even more thrilling. Not one can be compared with either of them as a finished whole.

The defects in both of these tales are comparatively slight. They were pure works of art.—*Prof. Lounsbury.*

The five tales reveal an extraordinary fulness of invention.

. . . One of the very greatest characters in fiction, "Natty Bumppo." . . .

The craft of the woodsman, the tricks of the trapper, all the delicate art of the forest, were familiar to Cooper from his youth up.—*Prof. Brander Matthews.*

Cooper is the greatest artist in the domain of romantic fiction yet produced by America.—*Wilkie Collins.*

It seems to me that it was far from right for the Professor of English Literature in Yale, the Professor of English Literature in Columbia, and Wilkie Collins, to deliver opinions on Cooper's literature without having read some of it. It would have been much more decorous to keep silent and let persons talk who have read Cooper.

Cooper's art has some defects. In one place in *Deerslayer*, and in the restricted space of two-thirds of a page, Cooper has scored 114 offences against literary art out of a possible 115. It breaks the record.

There are nineteen rules governing literary art in the domain

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of romantic fiction—some say twenty-two. In *Deerslayer* Cooper violated eighteen of them. These eighteen require :

1. That a tale shall accomplish something and arrive somewhere. But the *Deerslayer* tale accomplishes nothing and arrives in the air.

2. They require that the episodes of a tale shall be necessary parts of the tale, and shall help to develop it. But as the *Deerslayer* tale is not a tale, and accomplishes nothing and arrives nowhere, the episodes have no rightful place in the work, since there was nothing for them to develop.

3. They require that the personages in a tale shall be alive, except in the case of corpses, and that always the reader shall be able to tell the corpses from the others. But this detail has often been overlooked in the *Deerslayer* tale.

4. They require that the personages in a tale, both dead and alive, shall exhibit a sufficient excuse for being there. But this detail also has been overlooked in the *Deerslayer* tale.

5. They require that when the personages of a tale deal in conversation, the talk shall sound like human talk, and be talk such as human beings would be likely to talk in the given circumstances, and have a discoverable meaning, also a discoverable purpose, and a show of relevancy, and remain in the neighborhood of the subject in hand, and be interesting to the reader, and help out the tale, and stop when the people cannot think of anything more to say. But this requirement has been ignored from the beginning of the *Deerslayer* tale to the end of it.

6. They require that when the author describes the character of a personage in his tale, the conduct and conversation of that personage shall justify said description. But this law gets little or no attention in the *Deerslayer* tale, as "Natty Bumppo's" case will amply prove.

7. They require that when a personage talks like an illustrated, gilt-edged, tree-calf, hand-tooled, seven-dollar Friendship's Offering in the beginning of a paragraph, he shall not talk like a negro minstrel in the end of it. But this rule is flung down and danced upon in the *Deerslayer* tale.

8. They require that crass stupidities shall not be played upon the reader as "the craft of the woodsman, the delicate art of the forest," by either the author or the people in the tale. But this rule is persistently violated in the *Deerslayer* tale.

9. They require that the personages of a tale shall confine themselves to possibilities and let miracles alone; or, if they venture a miracle, the author must so plausibly set it forth as to make it look possible and reasonable. But these rules are not respected in the *Deerslayer* tale.

10. They require that the author shall make the reader feel a deep interest in the personages of his tale and in their fate; and that he shall make the reader love the good people in the tale and hate the bad ones. But the reader of the *Deerslayer* tale dislikes the good people in it, is indifferent to the others, and wishes they would all get drowned together.

11. They require that the characters in a tale shall be so clearly defined that the reader can tell beforehand what each will do in a given emergency. But in the *Deerslayer* tale this rule is vacated.

In addition to these large rules there are some little ones. These require that the author shall

12. *Say* what he is proposing to say, not merely come near it.
13. Use the right word, not its second cousin.
14. Eschew surplusage.
15. Not omit necessary details.
16. Avoid slovenliness of form.
17. Use good grammar.
18. Employ a simple and straightforward style.

Even these seven are coldly and persistently violated in the *Deerslayer* tale.

Cooper's gift in the way of invention was not a rich endowment; but such as it was he liked to work it, he was pleased with the effects, and indeed he did some quite sweet things with it. In his little box of stage properties he kept six or eight cunning devices, tricks, artifices for his savages and woodsmen to deceive and circumvent each other with, and he was never so happy as when he was working these innocent things and seeing them go. A favorite one was to make a moccasined person tread in the tracks of the moccasined enemy, and thus hide his own trail. Cooper wore out barrels and barrels of moccasins in working that trick. Another stage-property that he pulled out of his box pretty frequently was his broken twig. He prized his broken twig above all the rest of his effects, and worked it the hardest. It is a restful chapter in any book of his when somebody doesn't step on a dry twig

and alarm all the reds and whites for two hundred yards around. Every time a Cooper person is in peril, and absolute silence is worth four dollars a minute, he is sure to step on a dry twig. There may be a hundred handier things to step on, but that wouldn't satisfy Cooper. Cooper requires him to turn out and find a dry twig; and if he can't do it, go and borrow one. In fact the Leather Stocking Series ought to have been called the Broken Twig Series.

I am sorry there is not room to put in a few dozen instances of the delicate art of the forest, as practiced by Natty Bumppo and some of the other Cooperian experts. Perhaps we may venture two or three samples. Cooper was a sailor—a naval officer; yet he gravely tells us how a vessel, driving toward a lee shore in a gale, is steered for a particular spot by her skipper because he knows of an *undertow* there which will hold her back against the gale and save her. For just pure woodcraft, or sailorcraft, or whatever it is, isn't that neat? For several years Cooper was daily in the society of artillery, and he ought to have noticed that when a cannon ball strikes the ground it either buries itself or skips a hundred feet or so; skips again a hundred feet or so—and so on, till it finally gets tired and rolls. Now in one place he loses some "females"—as he always calls women—in the edge of a wood near a plain at night in a fog, on purpose to give Bumppo a chance to show off the delicate art of the forest before the reader. These mislaid people are hunting for a fort. They hear a cannon-blast, and a cannon-ball presently comes rolling into the wood and stops at their feet. To the females this suggests nothing. The case is very different with the admirable Bumppo. I wish I may never know peace again if he doesn't strike out promptly and *follow the track* of that cannon-ball across the plain through the dense fog and find the fort. Isn't it a daisy? If Cooper had any real knowledge of Nature's ways of doing things, he had a most delicate art in concealing the fact. For instance: one of his acute Indian experts, Chingachgook (pronounced Chicago, I think), has lost the trail of a person he is tracking through the forest. Apparently that trail is hopelessly lost. Neither you nor I could ever have guessed out the way to find it. It was very different with Chicago. Chicago was not stumped for long. He turned a running stream out of its course, and there, in the slush in its old bed, were that person's moccasin-

tracks. The current did not wash them away, as it would have done in all other like cases—no, even the eternal laws of Nature have to vacate when Cooper wants to put up a delicate job of woodcraft on the reader.

We must be a little wary when Brander Matthews tells us that Cooper's books "reveal an extraordinary fulness of invention." As a rule, I am quite willing to accept Brander Matthews's literary judgments and applaud his lucid and graceful phrasing of them; but that particular statement needs to be taken with a few tons of salt. Bless your heart, Cooper hadn't any more invention than a horse; and I don't mean a high-class horse, either; I mean a clothes-horse. It would be very difficult to find a really clever "situation" in Cooper's books; and still more difficult to find one of any kind which he has failed to render absurd by his handling of it. Look at the episodes of "the caves;" and at the celebrated scuffle between Maqua and those others on the table-land a few days later; and at Hurry Harry's queer water-transit from the castle to the ark; and at Deerslayer's half hour with his first corpse; and at the quarrel between Hurry Harry and Deerslayer later; and at—but choose for yourself; you can't go amiss.

If Cooper had been an observer, his inventive faculty would have worked better, not more interestingly, but more rationally, more plausibly. Cooper's proudest creations in the way of "situations" suffer noticeably from the absence of the observer's protecting gift. Cooper's eye was splendidly inaccurate. Cooper seldom saw anything correctly. He saw nearly all things as through a glass eye, darkly. Of course a man who cannot see the commonest little everyday matters accurately is working at a disadvantage when he is constructing a "situation." In the *Deerslayer* tale Cooper has a stream which is fifty feet wide, where it flows out of a lake; it presently narrows to twenty as it meanders along for no given reason, and yet, when a stream acts like that it ought to be required to explain itself. Fourteen pages later the width of the brook's outlet from the lake has suddenly shrunk thirty feet, and become "the narrowest part of the stream." This shrinkage is not accounted for. The stream has bends in it, a sure indication that it has alluvial banks, and cuts them; yet these bends are only thirty and fifty feet long. If Cooper had been a nice and punctilious observer he would have noticed that the bends were oftener nine hundred feet long than short of it.

Cooper made the exit of that stream fifty feet wide in the first place, for no particular reason ; in the second place, he narrowed it to less than twenty to accommodate some Indians. He bends a "sapling" to the form of an arch over this narrow passage, and conceals six Indians in its foliage. They are "laying" for a settler's scow or ark which is coming up the stream on its way to the lake ; it is being hauled against the stiff current by a rope whose stationary end is anchored in the lake ; its rate of progress cannot be more than a mile an hour. Cooper describes the ark, but pretty obscurely. In the matter of dimensions "it was little more than a modern canal boat." Let us guess, then, that it was about 140 feet long. It was of "greater breadth than common." Let us guess, then, that it was about sixteen feet wide. This leviathan had been prowling down bends which were but a third as long as itself, and scraping between banks where it had only two feet of space to spare on each side. We cannot too much admire this miracle. A low-roofed log dwelling occupies "two-third's of the ark's length"—a dwelling ninety feet long and sixteen feet wide, let us say—a kind of vestibule train. The dwelling has two rooms—each forty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide, let us guess. One of them is the bed-room of the Hutter girls, Judith and Hetty ; the other is the parlor, in the day time, at night it is papa's bed chamber. The ark is arriving at the stream's exit, now, whose width has been reduced to less than twenty feet to accommodate the Indians—say to eighteen. There is a foot to spare on each side of the boat. Did the Indians notice that there was going to be a tight squeeze there ? Did they notice that they could make money by climbing down out of that arched sapling and just stepping aboard when the ark scraped by ? No ; other Indians would have noticed these things, but Cooper's Indians never notice anything. Cooper thinks they are marvellous creatures for noticing, but he was almost always in error about his Indians. There was seldom a sane one among them.

The ark is 140 feet long ; the dwelling is 90 feet long. The idea of the Indians is to drop softly and secretly from the arched sapling to the dwelling as the ark creeps along under it at the rate of a mile an hour, and butcher the family. It will take the ark a minute and a half to pass under. It will take the 90-foot dwelling a minute to pass under. Now, then, what did the six

Indians do? It would take you thirty years to guess, and even then you would have to give it up, I believe. Therefore, I will tell you what the Indians did. Their chief, a person of quite extraordinary intellect for a Cooper Indian, warily watched the canal boat as it squeezed along under him, and when he had got his calculations fined down to exactly the right shade, as he judged, he let go and dropped. And *missed the house!* That is actually what he did. He missed the house, and landed in the stern of the scow. It was not much of a fall, yet it knocked him silly. He lay there unconscious. If the house had been 97 feet long, he would have made the trip. The fault was Cooper's, not his. The error lay in the construction of the house. Cooper was no architect.

There still remained in the roost five Indians. The boat has passed under and is now out of their reach. Let me explain what the five did—you would not be able to reason it out for yourself. No. 1 jumped for the boat, but fell in the water astern of it. Then No. 2 jumped for the boat, but fell in the water still further astern of it. Then No. 3 jumped for the boat, and fell a good way astern of it. Then No. 4 jumped for the boat, and fell in the water *away* astern. Then even No. 5 made a jump for the boat—for he was a Cooper Indian. In the matter of intellect, the difference between a Cooper Indian and the Indian that stands in front of the cigar shop is not spacious. The scow episode is really a sublime burst of invention; but it does not thrill, because the inaccuracy of the details throws a sort of air of fictitiousness and general improbability over it. This comes of Cooper's inadequacy as an observer.

The reader will find some examples of Cooper's high talent for inaccurate observation in the account of the shooting match in *The Pathfinder*. "A common wrought nail was driven lightly into the target, its head having been first touched with paint." The color of the paint is not stated—an important omission, but Cooper deals freely in important omissions. No, after all, it was not an important omission; for this nail head is *a hundred yards* from the marksman and could not be seen by them at that distance no matter what its color might be. How far can the best eyes see a common house fly? A hundred yards? It is quite impossible. Very well, eyes that cannot see a house fly that is a hun-

dred yards away cannot see an ordinary nail head at that distance, for the size of the two objects is the same. It takes a keen eye to see a fly or a nail head at fifty yards—one hundred and fifty feet. Can the reader do it ?

The nail was lightly driven, its head painted, and game called. Then the Cooper miracles began. The bullet of the first marksman chipped an edge of the nail head ; the next man's bullet drove the nail a little way into the target—and removed all the paint. Haven't the miracles gone far enough now ? Not to suit Cooper ; for the purpose of this whole scheme is to show off his prodigy, Deerslayer-Hawkeye-Long-Rifle-Leather-Stocking-Pathfinder-Bumppo before the ladies.

"Be all ready to clench it, boys !" cried out Pathfinder, stepping into his friend's tracks the instant they were vacant. "Never mind a new nail ; I can see that, though the paint is gone, and what I can see, I can hit at a hundred yards, though it were only a mosquitos's eye. Be ready to clench !"

The rifle cracked, the bullet sped its way and the head of the nail was buried in the wood, covered by the piece of flattened lead.

There, you see, is a man who could hunt flies with a rifle, and command a ducal salary in a Wild West show to-day, if we had him back with us.

The recorded feat is certainly surprising, just as it stands ; but it is not surprising enough for Cooper. Cooper adds a touch. He has made Pathfinder do this miracle with another man's rifle, and not only that, but Pathfinder did not have even the advantage of loading it himself. He had everything against him, and yet he made that impossible shot, and not only made it, but did it with absolute confidence, saying, "Be ready to clench." Now a person like that would have undertaken that same feat with a brickbat, and with Cooper to help he would have achieved it, too.

Pathfinder showed off handsomely that day before the ladies. His very first feat was a thing which no Wild West show can touch. He was standing with the group of marksmen, observing —a hundred yards from the target, mind : one Jasper raised his rifle and drove the centre of the bull's-eye. Then the quartermaster fired. The target exhibited no result this time. There was a laugh. "It's a dead miss," said Major Lundie. Pathfinder waited an impressive moment or two, then said in that calm, indifferent, know-it-all way of his, "No, Major—he has covered

Jasper's bullet, as will be seen if any one will take the trouble to examine the target."

Wasn't it remarkable! How *could* he see that little pellet fly through the air and enter that distant bullet-hole? Yet that is what he did; for nothing is impossible to a Cooper person. Did any of those people have any deep-seated doubts about this thing? No; for that would imply sanity, and these were all Cooper people.

The respect for Pathfinder's skill and for his *quickness and accuracy of sight* (the italics are mine) was so profound and general, that the instant he made this declaration the spectators began to distrust their own opinions, and a dozen rushed to the target in order to ascertain the fact. There, sure enough, it was found that the quartermaster's bullet had gone through the hole made by Jasper's, and that, too, so accurately as to require a minute examination to be certain of the circumstance, which, however, was soon clearly established by discovering one bullet over the other in the stump against which the target was placed.

They made a "minute" examination; but never mind, how could they know that there were two bullets in that hole without digging the latest one out? for neither probe nor eyesight could prove the presence of any more than one bullet. Did they dig? No; as we shall see. It is the Pathfinder's turn now; he steps out before the ladies, takes aim, and fires.

But alas! here is a disappointment; an incredible, an unimaginable disappointment—for the target's aspect is unchanged; there is nothing there but that same old bullet hole!

"If one dared to hint at such a thing," cried Major Duncan, "I should say that the Pathfinder has also missed the target."

As nobody had missed it yet, the "also" was not necessary; but never mind about that, for the Pathfinder is going to speak.

"No, no, Major," said he, confidently, "that *would* be a risky declaration. I didn't load the piece, and can't say what was in it, but if it was lead, you will find the bullet driving down those of the Quartermaster and Jasper, else is not my name Pathfinder."

A shout from the target announced the truth of this assertion.

Is the miracle sufficient as it stands? Not for Cooper. The Pathfinder speaks again, as he "now slowly advances towards the stage occupied by the females:"

"That's not all, boys, that's not all; if you find the target touched at all, I'll own to a miss. The Quartermaster cut the wood, but you'll find no wood cut by that last messenger."

The miracle is at last complete. He knew—doubtless *saw*—at the distance of a hundred yards—that his bullet had passed

into the hole *without fraying the edges.* There were now three bullets in that one hole—three bullets imbedded processionally in the body of the stump back of the target. Everybody knew this —somehow or other—and yet nobody had dug any of them out to make sure. Cooper is not a close observer, but he is interesting. He is certainly always that, no matter what happens. And he is more interesting when he is not noticing what he is about than when he is. This is a considerable merit.

The conversations in the Cooper books have a curious sound in our modern ears. To believe that such talk really ever came out of people's mouths would be to believe that there was a time when time was of no value to a person who thought he had something to say; when it was the custom to spread a two-minute remark out to ten; when a man's mouth was a rolling-mill, and busied itself all day long in turning four-foot pigs of thought into thirty-foot bars of conversational railroad iron by attenuation; when subjects were seldom faithfully stuck to, but the talk wandered all around and arrived nowhere; when conversations consisted mainly of irrelevances, with here and there a relevancy, a relevancy with an embarrassed look, as not being able to explain how it got there.

Cooper was certainly not a master in the construction of dialogue. Inaccurate observation defeated him here as it defeated him in so many other enterprises of his. He even failed to notice that the man who talks corrupt English six days in the week must and will talk it on the seventh, and can't help himself. In the *Deerslayer* story he lets Deerslayer talk the showiest kind of book talk sometimes, and at other times the basest of base dialects. For instance, when some one asks him if he has a sweetheart, and if so, where she abides, this is his majestic answer:

"She's in the forest—hanging from the boughs of the trees, in a soft rain—in the dew on the open grass—the clouds that float about in the blue heavens—the birds that sing in the woods—the sweet springs where I slake my thirst—and in all the other glorious gifts that come from God's Providence!"

And he preceded that, a little before, with this:

"It consarns me as all things that touches a fri'nd consarns a fri'nd."

And this is another of his remarks:

"If I was Injin born, now, I might tell of this, or carry in the scalp and

boast of the expl'ite afore the whole tribe; or if my inimy had only been a bear"—and so on.

We cannot imagine such a thing as a veteran Scotch Commander-in-Chief comporting himself in the field like a windy melodramatic actor, but Cooper could. On one occasion Alice and Cora were being chased by the French through a fog in the neighborhood of their father's fort:

"*Point de quartier aux coquins!*" cried an eager pursuer, who seemed to direct the operations of the enemy.

"Stand firm and be ready, my gallant 60ths!" suddenly exclaimed a voice above them; "wait to see the enemy; fire low, and sweep the glacis."

"Father! father!" exclaimed a piercing cry from out the mist; "it is I! Alice! thy own Elsie! spare, O! save your daughters!"

"Hold!" shouted the former speaker, in the awful tones of parental agony, the sound reaching even to the woods, and rolling back in solemn echo. "'Tis she! God has restored me my children! Throw open the sally-port; to the field, 60ths, to the field; pull not a trigger, lest ye kill my lambs! Drive off these dogs of France with your steel."

Cooper's word-sense was singularly dull. When a person has a poor ear for music he will flat and sharp right along without knowing it. He keeps near the tune, but it is *not* the tune. When a person has a poor ear for words, the result is a literary flatting and sharping; you perceive what he is intending to say, but you also perceive that he doesn't *say* it. This is Cooper. He was not a word-musician. His ear was satisfied with the *approximate* word. I will furnish some circumstantial evidence in support of this charge. My instances are gathered from half a dozen pages of the tale called *Deerslayer*. He uses "verbal," for "oral"; "precision," for "facility"; "phenomena," for "marvels"; "necessary," for "predetermined"; "unsophisticated," for "primitive"; "preparation," for "expectancy"; "rebuked," for "subdued"; "dependant on," for "resulting from"; "fact," for "condition"; "fact," for "conjecture"; "precaution," for "caution"; "explain," for "determine"; "mortified," for "disappointed"; "meretricious," for "factitious"; "materially," for "considerably"; "decreasing," for "deepening"; "increasing," for "disappearing"; "embedded," for "enclosed"; "treacherous," for "hostile"; "stood," for "stooped"; "softened," for "replaced"; "rejoined," for "remarked"; "situation," for "condition"; "different," for "differing"; "insensible," for "unsentient"; "brevity," for "celerity"; "distrusted," for "suspicious"; "mental imbe-

cility," for "imbecility"; "eyes," for "sight"; "counteracting," for "opposing"; "funeral obsequies," for "obsequies."

There have been daring people in the world who claimed that Cooper could write English, but they are all dead now—all dead but Lounsbury. I don't remember that Lounsbury makes the claim in so many words, still he makes it, for he says that *Deerslayer* is a "pure work of art." Pure, in that connection, means faultless—faultless in all details—and language is a detail. If Mr. Lounsbury had only compared Cooper's English with the English which he writes himself—but it is plain that he didn't; and so it is likely that he imagines until this day that Cooper's is as clean and compact as his own. Now I feel sure, deep down in my heart, that Cooper wrote about the poorest English that exists in our language, and that the English of *Deerslayer* is the very worst than even Cooper ever wrote.

I may be mistaken, but it does seem to me that *Deerslayer* is not a work of art in any sense; it does seem to me that it is destitute of every detail that goes to the making of a work of art; in truth, it seems to me that *Deerslayer* is just simply a literary *delirium tremens*.

A work of art? It has no invention; it has no order, system, sequence, or result; it has no lifelikeness, no thrill, no stir, no seeming of reality; its characters are confusedly drawn, and by their acts and words they prove that they are not the sort of people the author claims that they are; its humor is pathetic; its pathos is funny; its conversations are—oh! indescribable; its love-scenes odious; its English a crime against the language.

Counting these out, what is left is Art. I think we must all admit that.

MARK TWAIN.

CONTEMPORARY EGYPT.

BY THE HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, U. S. DIPLOMATIC AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL TO EGYPT.

THE ending of two lives that had run in channels strangely similar redoubles interest over that country ever paramount in anomalous conditions—Egypt. Vocabularies of praise and censure have been well nigh exhausted on Ismaïl Pasha and De Lesseps, whose recent deaths were chronicled simply as items of news rather than events; but the nineteenth century is indebted to them for a work of incalculable value to the whole world, Egypt alone excepted.

Egypt reaps no benefit from the international waterway crossing its domain, uniting the Orient with the Occident; in fact, the Suez Canal, which has played a mighty political part, made and unmade khedives, and which, by strange fatality, passed from the control of the nation that built it to that of the country that strenuously fought its construction, is responsible for the modern bondage of the Egyptian people.

Prior to the giving of the canal concession, Egypt had no debt. Her credit was first pledged in Europe by Viceroy Said, who, to add lustre to his name, headed the subscriptions to the capital of the enterprise with $17,000,000, although the undertaking was to cost Egypt nothing, and from which for ninety-nine years she was to receive fifteen per cent. of the gross receipts. This laid the corner-stone of the new house of bondage.

Ismaïl succeeding to the throne, lent himself readily to the seductive project, learning how easy it was to borrow money by affixing his signature to an innocent-looking paper thoughtfully prepared in Europe. His first transaction was a matter of $30,000,000, and thenceforth there was frequent exchange between

His Highness and Paris and London of these innocent-looking papers, for gold.

There were many investors in the scheme, but it seemed as if Egypt alone fed the insatiable monster with money. Native workmen digging the ditch, received no pay. It was forced labor. But the French Emperor awarded the French company an enormous sum for Ismaïl's breach of contract, when he sent the fellaheen back to their fields, such of them as survived fevers and starvation. Egypt paid, of course.

The colossal work completed, Ismaïl's magnificent extravagance devised a celebration of fitting splendor, from his Oriental standpoint. The opening of the canal in 1869 outranked in gorgeousness anything described in the Arabian Nights. Royalties and notables, from Europe, were treated to a *fête* in Cairo transcending the wildest dreams of Haroun-al-Raschid, lasting a month, over which the Merry Monarch spent $21,000,000 of the people's money.

History reveals nothing equal to Ismaïl's carnival of extravagance. In thirteen years he added to Egypt's exterior burden $430,000,000, and increased the taxation of his subjects more than fifty per cent.

A day of reckoning came, however, when engagements could not be met, for Egypt was hypothecated to its fullest value, and the usurers of Europe made such outcry that Ismail was forced by the Sultan to surrender his throne and go into exile. Forseeing the crash, he had sold to the British Government his own shares for $20,000,000, on which the Egyptian treasury for twenty years faithfully paid five per cent. interest. This purchase illustrated Disraeli's shrewdness, for by prompt action he prevented the shares from going to France. They are to-day worth more than four times what they cost, and secure to England the voting control. The promised fifteen per cent. of tolls had also been sacrificed by Ismaïl, as security on which to borrow the last few millions necessary to complete the canal.

The dethroned Khedive's bequest to his country was a debt of $450,000,000, not two-thirds of which sum ever left the hands of the bankers' agents and negotiators. The principal work over which it was spent was the canal, not to belong to Egypt until 1968. Docks at Alexandria and Suez, and a few hundred miles of railways and telegraphs, costing perhaps ten per cent. of the

sum borrowed, represented the benefits to his nation. Steam vessels of useless pattern, stucco palaces, gilded coaches and operatic scores and costumes, formed meagre assets.

In Tewfik's reign there were many evidences of financial disintegration, such as obdurate creditors, commissions of liquidation, an Anglo-French financial control, and the like. The burden of the fellaheen was almost unbearable. The cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians" meant much, and the Arabi rebellion, a direct outcome of the people's condition, menaced the authority of the Khedive, until stifled by an English fleet and soldiers in 1882. France, it is asserted, did not deem it necessary to bombard the Alexandrian forts held by the rebels, and, declining to share the responsibilities of such an act, her fleet steamed away from the Egypt in which Frenchmen had held sway from the coming of Napoleon in 1798.

Military and civil "occupation" by the British followed, its object being to restore the authority of the Khedive and repair the fortunes of the land by administrative reform. Consequently the year 1882 becomes the epoch from which dates everything current in discussing Egyptian affairs. The indebtedness when the reform policy was instituted reached nearly $475,000,000, bearing six or seven per cent. interest, speaking generally. As a class Egyptian securities ruled very low on European bourses in 1882. "Unifieds" for a time were 46½, and other designations were even less. An average quotation for several months was 50, meaning that prudent investors would give only $237,500,000 for the Egytian debt.

It has never been possible to determine the nationality of holders of Egyptian bonds. Interest coupons are presented in London, Paris, Berlin and Cairo, and naturally at the place where exchange is highest, or where income taxes can be escaped. It is believed, however, that English people hold more than half of them. A British financier estimates that five-eighths better represents the stake of his country-people. If so, England's share of the debt in 1882 was about $296,875,000, worth in the market $148,437,500.

Entanglements of every sort beset the work of regeneration entered upon by Tewfik Pasha and the foreigners electing to labor with him. For years it was a neck and neck race with bankruptcy. Indemnification of Alexandrians whose property was destroyed

by reason of the rebellion, the military disaster resulting in the loss of the Soudan, and other inevitable expenses swelled the debt by nearly $40,000,000. The soil—the sole producing agent of the country—needed better and more extended irrigation, and a fresh loan was actually negotiated in Europe to make useful the Nile barrage, at the apex of the Delta, regulating the supply of water used by the cotton cultivators.

At last fortune turned, and hypercritical Europe was satisfied of the solvency of the country of the Nile. It is a popular fallacy that the debt has been reduced since England's co-operation began : it has been materially added to. But the character of the security—in other words, the intrinsic worth of the country—has been so improved that owners of bonds have willingly reduced the rate of interest by nearly half.

Egypt's emergence from practical bankruptcy, with its obligations quoted almost as high as English consols, reads like a romance ; and there is no better object lesson in economical progress, through administrative reform, than that presented by contemporary Egypt.

Taking the figures of the debt in 1882, with England's share estimated at $296,875,000, and "Egyptians" now touching four per cent. premium, the appreciation is something enormous. The difference between the estimated value then and the known value to-day of England's supposed share is no less than $149,625,000 ! Of course the advance has benefited all bondholders proportionately—French, German, Italian, Austrian and Russian, as well as English.

The amount and details of the debt at the present time are as follows :

Guaranteed loan,	3	per cent. (quoted 6½ premium)	$42,442,866
Privileged debt,	3½	per cent. (quoted 1¾ premium)	142,854,798
Unified debt,	4	per cent. (quoted 4¾ premium)	272,037,625
Domain loan,	4¼	per cent. (quoted 7 premium)	19,418,421
Daira Sanieh loan,	4	per cent. (quoted 2½ premium)	32,191,589
Total bonded debt			$508,945,299

This debt, applying as it does to an agricultural population of 7,000,000 people, where manual labor is worth from fifteen to twenty cents a day, and to only about 9,000 square miles of tillable soil—an area a trifle less than New Hampshire or Vermont in extent—is almost overpowering. Frenchmen and Englishmen owe more per capita, but their resources are incomparably greater,

and their creditors are their own countrymen. The American, owing about $15, may well pity the lot of the Egyptian, who owes $72.70.

The Egyptian question in its popular aspect is one of administration, rather than of politics, and that the work of establishing financial equilibrium has been successful is obvious. Recuperation has been brought about by checking waste and dishonesty, and developing the soil and adding to the cultivated territory by irrigation. The abolition of slavery merits universal praise, as does the suppression of forced labor for public works, with the attendant curse of the courbash. The improvement in native jurisprudence has likewise been conspicuous, for native courts now have more than a semblance of justice. The reduction by half of the price of salt, and railroad and postal rates, proves the wisdom of legislating for the earning classes, by double service.

Changes of any sort are made with difficulty, because of unique conditions. The cash box guarded by representatives of six European governments, and treaty privileges existing with fourteen powers, some of which are not in harmony with the present conduct of affairs in Egypt, make progress difficult. Hence the restoration of the country to easy prosperity, at a period when shrinkage in prices of cotton, sugar and grain has been great, must be regarded as a conspicuous triumph. Khedive Abbas and his co-workers, whoever they may be, have much to accomplish still. But system and economy now established, the attainment of permanent success will not be difficult.

It is too early for speculation as to the reversionary value of the Suez Canal. Yearly more and more necessary to commercial interchange with India and the bountiful East, sceptics assert that in time it may be treated as toll roads and bridges have been the world over—thrown open to the public, and maintained by a nominal tax on vessels using it, after the manner of lighthouses. It has brought Egypt into unfortunate prominence as stragetical ground, certainly, and the prospect is not reassuring, say carpers, that the world's greatest artery of marine travel (responsible for the borrowing habit of past rulers of Egypt) will ever bring substantial benefit to the Egyptians. Some indemnification of Egypt would be demanded by public opinion, surely. Last year's tolls were about $15,000,000, and for 1895 should be as good as $17,000,000. In 1894 the British flag represented 71½ per cent.

of the traffic, as against 5½ for France. The number of steamers passing through was 3,352. Next to England, Germany is the principal user of the canal.

As in other small countries, where the gulf between the masses and the upper class is wide, bureaucracy is a crying evil. It is estimated that two per cent. of the able-bodied men serve the government in some capacity. Nepotism formerly had full play, and it is difficult now to make the people understand that merit rather than favor should place one in the public service. Ministries and public offices appear to be overloaded with subordinates of every conceivable nationality. As a rule, the responsible heads of departments are Englishmen, but among the clerks more French than British subjects are found, and official correspondence is couched in French or Arabic. Salaries seem strangely out of proportion. Cabinet members are paid $15,000 a year, and under-secretaries $7,500—twice what Washington officials receive. Offices are open only in the forenoon, and five hours is the official day's work. In that halcyon period known as "the good old days," there were more civil servants in Egypt than in Great Britain, with five times the population. Thorough reform has yet to be accomplished, in the opinion of the economist.

The "international" aspect of Egypt is a hindrance to practical economy, say many. The Commission of the Debt, for illustration, brings to Cairo delegates of the powers which are the country's creditors. Each is paid a salary of $10,000 by the Khedivial Government for watching the interests of his countrymen, who hold bonds quoted at a handsome premium. Having no voice in fixing the rate of interest or the amounts going to the different countries, it occurs to the reformer that a competent accountant could perform the service of these six men, with a great saving to the taxpayer. Also, the railway system of less than eleven hundred miles, is managed by three princely-paid men, acting for England, France and Egypt. Similarly, the spirit of internationalism dominates the Daïra Sanieh, State Domains, and other divisions of the government, and aggregates a mighty draft on the exchequer. But the customs and post office departments, each with a single head, are models of perfection.

A striking feature of railway management in Egypt is that only 43 per cent. of the receipts go for operating expenses. Native labor and moderate speed of ordinary trains make this

possible. The governmental railways last year carried 9,827,813 passengers, and receipts from all sources were $8,870,000. By reason of sweeping reductions in fares the number of passengers has been doubled in six years. Two years hence all-rail travel will be possible from the Mediterranean to the first cataract of the Nile.

Augmentation of winter travel to the Nile is helping the lot of the Egyptian materially. Last season's pleasure and health-seekers, 7,500 in number, distributed $5,000,000 in the country, half of which came from Americans.

The purchasing power, held to be indicative of a nation's pecuniary condition, has kept pace with other statistics. In 1882 the imports were valued at $32,127,650; in 1890, $40,409,635; and 1894, $46,330,000. Exports for the same years—cotton, cotton seed, grain and sugar—were valued at $54,977,850, $59,373,490 and $59,420,000 respectively. Over fifty per cent. of the foreign commerce is with Great Britain. The cotton crop, wholly exported, produces nearly $45,000,000. Of this, the United States buys about $3,000,000 worth annually. The tonnage at the port of Alexandria has nearly doubled since 1882. Last year the arrivals represented 2,221,145 tons. That of French ships has multiplied at a rate unequalled by any other flag.

There has been vast improvement in the *morale* of the Egyptian army, and it is now as well disciplined and efficient as when General Stone and his American associates placed it on a stable footing a quarter of a century ago. It comprises 15,000 men, but with the military police as an adjunct in emergencies, the full strength is 21,000. Soldiers are conscientiously looked after, well clothed and fed, and hygiene is considered. The commander and seventy-six other officers are "borrowed" from the British Government and paid twice the amount of their home salaries. The common soldier gets only five cents a day. In the towns the practice is general to purchase immunity from conscription, costing $100 a man, which adds considerably to the war office funds. The British Army of Occupation, garrisoning Cairo and Alexandria, numbers 4,200 men of all grades. Its status must be that of a component part of the Khedive's forces, although there is misconception regarding the matter. The red coats are in Egypt on liberal financial terms, for Egypt pays only the difference between the cost of home and foreign service. This is about $435,000

a year. The British Government's share is about $1,250,000 annually. There can be no monetary loss to the country in which they are quartered, for most of the soldiers spend all their pay, England's and Egypt's money as well. How long the arrangement is to be maintained is a problem which, like the fine distinctions between "occupation" and "protection," can only be treated by one writing of political Egypt.

To carry on the government requires about $50,000,000 a year. It was more in times when budget-making was the merest guesswork, and deficiencies could be explained by the convenient phrase "insufficiency of receipts." The Budget of the current year allows expenditures of $48,000,000, and is based upon receipts of $51,300,000. Any balance will be divided equally between the governmental sinking fund and a reduction of the debt. The heaviest outlay is for interest on foreign indebtedness, $18,854,185, while the annual tribute to the Sultan consumes $3,325,205 more. The Khedive, khedivial family, and palace expenses coming under the head of "Civil List," call for $1,169,305. To maintain the army and military police costs $2,381,085, and civil and military pensions $2,150,000 more.

Direct taxation on land, date trees, etc., produces $25,000,000, the balance of revenue being made up by "indirect taxes"—customs receipts (eight per cent. on imports and one per cent. on exports), profit from the salt monopoly, stamp duties, receipts from railways, post offices, telegraphs, ports and courts of justice.

A reform of the greatest importance now in progress, is the adjustment of inequalities in the land tax, the present scheme being full of anomalies. It is not unusual to find land rented at $30 and $35 per acre paying only $2.50 in taxes. In olden times there was no rule for its collection, and the collector went prepared to take from the farmer every penny his crops had produced, and then flog him into borrowing on mortgage any additional sum his rapacious master felt in need of. There was no pretense of fairness, and not until Tewfik's reign was a receipt of any kind given the peasant to show he had paid his taxes and that no more was due for the current year. Simple as it was, nothing more potent for alleviating the position of the masses was ever inaugurated. It was a reform that benefited every tiller of the soil, and was operative before "the coming of the English."

The scheme of taxation now in force is arbitrary and inequitable. A definite tax is specified for large tracts, which some of the land only is capable of paying. The work in hand is to base this schedule upon rental values, that each acre may be assessed commensurately with its producing capacity. The country is promised that the total tax—$23,900,000 on the 5,237,200 acres of cultivated soil—is not to be increased. This means that the small holder is to pay less per acre, and the pasha landlord, once powerful enough to have his thousands of acres assessed at whatever he chose, will pay more proportionately. The glaring inequalities had been brought into prominence by the low prices of crops, and it had become imperative to devise a remedy.

It will surprise American farmers to know that their brethren in ancient Egypt, some of them, pay a land tax of $8.20 per acre annually, and that the average tax for the country is $4.56 per acre. This maximum tax is on lands in the Delta, possessing such exceptional richness that five hundredweight or more of cotton per acre is produced each year with comparative certainty.

The land tax has ever been the millstone about the neck of the Egyptian, sapping his energies and stunting his intellectual growth. The ancestors of the peasant now toiling from long before sunrise until after sunset, nearly every day in the year, have been farmers since the world began. What has their incessant toil produced? Nile farmers have ever been wretchedly poor, certainly.

To day's prosperity of the fellah, permitting him to have a few dollars after harvesting, to eat meat occasionally, and seek recreation at religious fairs, is of recent origin and slow growth. It began with the introduction of tax receipts, and has been nurtured at intervals by trifling reductions in taxation, as the area has been added to by irrigation at a rate in excess of the government's pecuniary needs.

Being humanely treated, the Egyptian to-day realizes that he is a human being, and it is the opinion of those capable of judging, that more has been done in the last fifteen years for him than ever before in a century. Tewfik Pasha inaugurated the good work, and the administration, headed by Abbas Pasha, is carrying it forward with intelligent perseverance.

The country's obligations to European creditors are sufficiently menacing to compel the small farmer to keep out of the

clutches of the money-lender at his gates, if he can. Nevertheless, the indebtedness secured by farm mortgages is greater than it should be, and critics allege this as certain proof that the boasted prosperity of the country is fictitious, and exhibit statistics to coincide with their argument. Critics of another sort array figures calculated to show that the aggregate mortgage indebtedness is very small, less than $40,000,000, and that it is the large holders—owning from fifty acres upwards—who have pledged their property; and, further, that they have done this to buy more land, confident of an appreciation of values. It is a fact that the proportion of small holders borrowing by mortgage is trifling, and they are the people whose welfare first deserves consideration.

It is claimed that less than nine per cent. of the land bears mortgages, the aggregate indebtedness amounting to $8 an acre. An average value of the cultivated soil is thought to be $115 an acre.

Readers of mathematical mind, discovering that the foreign indebtedness represents definitely $97.17 on every acre of productive soil, and adding the $8 of home burden (probably understated), find that but little equity remains to the Egyptian, who for more than seven thousand years has been the most industrious and light-hearted of husbandmen. Simply speaking, it means an equity of only $10 an acre; or, each inhabitant averaging three-quarters of an acre of productive earth, a remaining "margin" of $7.50 per person. And his energy must not flag for generations to come, lest his fellow-creature in enlightened Europe be in arrears over his interest on "Egyptians." Blessed be Allah!

Egypt presents a striking example of a Mussulman country possessing a system of laws harmonizing with European and Western world civilization. Its international tribunals are unparalleled in the great domain of civil law, yet comparatively little seems to be known of them outside the Levant.

The "capitulations," or treaties, between the Christian powers and the Ottoman Empire regulating the privileges of foreigners within the Turkish dominions, some of which are many centuries old, occasioned so much confusion of jurisdiction in Egypt, where so many Christian nationalities were represented, that Nubar Pasha called the attention of Ismaïl to the necessity for some reform, and himself drew up a project which was communicated to all the governments having representatives in Egypt.

As a result an International Commission assembled in 1869, under the presidency of Nubar, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and united in a report recommending the scheme. This was signed by the representatives of the United States, Austria, Germany, England, France, Russia and Italy. At subsequent conventions Belgium, Spain, Holland, Greece, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden-Norway approved the plan. On June 28th, 1875, Khedive Ismaïl inaugurated the Court at Alexandria, although it was not until February 1st, 1876, that the new system of jurisprudence was actually launched.

The procedure is practically that of France, the Code Napoleon, modified to suit the circumstances of a country where local custom and religious obligations must be respected. The jurisdiction is stated in this extract from the Code itself:

"The new tribunals shall have cognizance of all controversies in matters civil or commercial between natives and foreigners, or between foreigners of different nationalities. Apart from questions touching the *statut personnel* (questions of wills, succession, heirship and the like, which are regulated by the laws of the country of the individual), they shall have cognizance of all questions touching real estate between all persons, even though they belong to the same (foreign) nationality."

It is of good augury for the national progress that the Tribunals have won the confidence of both natives and foreigners, and that the government bows to their authority. Europe needed no better proof of their efficacy than when Ismaïl and the government itself were brought before the Court of Appeal as defendants, having failed to meet obligations to foreign creditors.

An idea of the work of the Tribunals is given in the statistics of their labors from February 1, 1876, to October 31, 1894, showing that 135,555 suits had been instituted, and 130,449 terminated by decision. Thousands of suits have been concluded without decision—by arbitration or withdrawal. In addition to final decrees, many thousands of intermediate judgments and decrees have been pronounced; and all have to be written out, not only as to terms, but motives justifying the conclusion of the court also.

The practice is common for a native having an important suit to assign his interest to a foreign friend, to give the International Courts jurisdiction of his cause, thus securing intelligent and fair consideration. Two years since, when some of the powers were dilatory in giving their adhesion to the extension of the

courts—for every five years there is a formal renewal—something like a panic occurred among the commercial community.

Courts of First Instance are located at Cairo, Alexandria and Mansourah, and the Court of Appeal is at Alexandria. The minimum pecuniary limit of appeal is $400. Three languages are recognized in pleadings and documents—French, Italian and Arabic. The foreign counsellors of the appellate court, nine in number, receive a yearly salary of $9,250 each, and their four native colleagues half as much. For the three lower courts twenty-seven foreign judges are employed, each receiving a salary of $7,000, their fourteen native coadjutors receiving half as much. Five judges—three foreign and two native—sit at a time. The United States, like other great powers, have one representative in the upper, and two in the lower courts. While the Tribunals were not intended to be profit-earners, their receipts for years have been considerably in excess of expenses.

England's participation in the affairs of Egypt has not been felt in the Mixed Courts, where the English language and law are unknown. It is claimed there has never been occasion for British influence to show itself, the institution being strictly international, with thirteen other nations watchful of their rights. Consular courts still have criminal jurisdiction, in accordance with the original "capitulations" of the Sublime Porte.

The lay investigator meets many obstacles in an attempt to understand the procedure of the Native Tribunals, of which there are seven at populous points, with a Court of Appeal at Cairo, and many summary courts. Almost every variety of law is dealt in—organic, Koranic, usage, etc. Nearly 32,000 cases were decided last year in these courts.

It is the veriest fiction of thought that the Egyptian himself is being Europeanized, as one learning of the Egyptian administrative policy might infer. He is being superficially modernized only, which he does not object to so long as his beloved religion is not molested. At heart he is as unchangeable as the sphinx, and Islamism must ever dwell on the banks of the Nile.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

THIRTY YEARS IN THE GRAIN TRADE.

BY EGERTON R. WILLIAMS.

On viewing briefly the history of the grain trade for the last three decades, which measure nearly the limit of the writer's experience, the chief difficulty encountered is not that of calling to mind the many prominent changes, developments and their most important effects, but of giving full credence thereto; and this in the face of personal knowledge of many of them and of authentic statistical corroboration of many more. In no previous thirty years of this country's history has such phenomenal progress been made in all that pertains to man's material welfare—progress so far beyond any precedent that we are tempted to believe there can be no counterpart in the future.

In this article we shall consider the word "trade" not merely in the ordinary significance of traffic, but in the broader sense, inclusive of production and consumption.

The first effect of an extended and cheapened telegraphic service was the seeming drawing nearer to each other of the grain importing countries of Europe and the exporting countries of America, Asia, Australia, and Argentina, resulting in an almost complete abandonment of the old—and since Europe's infant commercial days—established custom of procuring and storing supplies several months in advance of their requirements. A hand-to-mouth system was adopted, purchases were made by cable, and time of shipment arranged to meet the wants of the European miller and corn factor. This new method brought about in time keener competition and reduced commissions or profits to the exporter, the importer, and the European factor.

The differences in value between the markets of consumption and those of production narrowed to an unprecedented extent, and this narrow margin for expenses and profit has, in exceptional

instances, continued ever since, and bids fair to continue indefinitely. This reduction in the cost of delivered grain inures, of course, chiefly to the consumer's advantage.

It is an anomalous condition of things commercial, but nevertheless generally true, that the more grain there is to be transported the less are the per-bushel-earnings of the inland and ocean carrier. The solution lies in the fact that, as a rule, large crops produce low prices, consequent upon supply being in excess of demand; and low freights are the usual accompaniment of low prices. The converse of this proposition is generally a commercial fact.

The railroads of late years have entered so keenly into competition with the Lake routes for the grain traffic that, to meet this speedy, effective, and cheap land transportation, the construction of steam vessels and tows of very large capacity and increased speed, became imperative. These lake leviathans require in the aggregate but few men for their management, and being run at very small expense, compared with other tonnage differently constructed, or, when their immense capacity is considered, have been able not only to successfully compete with land transit, but to make such minimum rates of freight as to result in driving from the traffic—if not from the lakes—vessels of small tonnage, and in placing a permanent embargo upon their further construction.

Freights have fallen from an average range on the lakes of 7–15c. to 1–3c.; on the ocean, from 10–15c. to 2–6c.; and all rail to the seaboard from 30–45c. to 9–15c. per bushel.

The adoption of the hand-to-mouth policy by our millers and dealers (and this same policy governs their customers and their customers' customers, until the purchaser of the 10-pound bag of flour is reached) is largely due to the narrow margin of profit generally obtainable. This profit is not very infrequently, particularly in large transactions, so small and unremunerative that a reversal of the old system is very often the safer course. Sale is made by the miller of his product, and by the dealer of grain or flour, before the purchase is effected. What can better illustrate the radical change a few short years have effected in business methods than we here find, in that, what at as late a period as the 70's was deemed hazardous gambling, indulged in by a few and frowned upon by a vast majority, is now commended and

preferred by the most conservative. In fact, it is this class who most frequently make sale of property not at the time in their possession nor owned by them.

We well remember how very slow Europeans were to take advantage of the above noted method of protection against loss of moment on their purchases, even when strongly adverse markets with them offered the most convincing motive. But these theoretic moralists are to-day, and of late years have been, among the largest "wind" operators on our exchanges, and, more than that, have transferred flourishing twigs from this *indigenous* American speculative plant to their own shores.

Paralleling to some extent in importance and degree, the phenomenal increase in grain area and production in the United States, has been the decline thereof in England since 1869, when free trade in wheat and all other farm products was first fully established. In that year about 97 per cent. of England's population, viz.: 18½ millions out of a total of 19 millions, were fed upon English home-grown wheat. In 1890, with a population of 25 millions, only 5 millions were supplied with English wheat, a falling off of 77 per cent.

The decrease in wheat acreage in 40 years, from 1846 to 1886 was nearly 66 per cent., viz.: from 3½ million acres to 1,200,000 acres. This decline is not attributable to exhaustion of wheat lands, for the average yield continued to be, and still is, about 28 bushels per acre, against 12$\frac{3}{10}$ in the United States, 16 in France, 11 in Germany, 8 in Russia and 10 in Italy. "It is almost certain that the wheat area (English) will be the smallest in a century" (*Mark Lane Express*, October 15, 1894). A better appreciation, by the general reader, of the extent of the disaster resulting from a falling off in home crops sufficient in 1869 to feed 97 per cent. of population, to crops competent to supply only 20 per cent. in 1890, can be gathered from the following data obtained from figures furnished by "Her Majesty's Commissioner of Customs."

In 1890, the imports of the United Kingdom of wheat, wheat-meal and flour amounted in value to 270 millions of dollars. Total imports of farm products, live animals included, in the same year reached the enormous total of 555 millions of dollars, or more than one-third of the whole value of British exports of all classes for the said year, and at the rate of about 14½ dollars per

capita. These enormous importations appear incredible when we consider that the British Isles have about 45 millions of acres of arable land to maintain less than 40 millions of people—being over 1⅛ acres for each inhabitant.

The estimated British imports, wheat and flour, for 1895 are 189,799,680 bushels, against 152,474,000 in 1890, and 119,894,431 in 1877.

In most striking and, to us, most gratifying contrast to the above truly appalling figures is the exhibit of our agricultural condition made by ex-President Harrison in his last annual message. We quote as follows: "The value of total farm products has increased from $1,363,646,866 in 1860 to $4,500,000,000 in 1891, as estimated by statisticians—an increase of 230 per cent." The total farm value of grain, hay, potato and tobacco products alone reached in 1894 the enormous total of $1,630,861,632, with prices at minimum figures. The average annual increment from 1821 to 1890 is stated at $901,000,000. The wealth added in the thirty years 1860 to 1890 was forty-nine milliards—more than the total wealth of Great Britain. Agricultural wealth has been quadrupled in forty years, and urban wealth has multiplied sixteen-fold.

When, in addition to the enormous decrease in England's acreage, we reflect upon the low wheat values which, with occasional exceptions, have ruled during the past four years—notably this year—the impoverishment of the English farmer dependent upon grain products can be, in a measure at least, imagined. He is favored with a high average yield and low wages, but these advantages are more than offset by high rentals and low prices. The excess of price which he obtains beyond that of the American farmer is by radical reduction in through transportation, inland and ocean, very greatly less than that prevailing a comparatively few years ago. While the American farmer pays higher wages, he pays less of them, through the substitution of steam and horse machinery for manual labor. Again, his land freehold, the price paid per acre for his land in the far West and Northwest, is in many instances less than the leasehold of his English competitor. This the latter pays yearly, the former but once. Statistics show that the farmer in England pays in rental, taxes, and poor rates about $14 per year on every acre of wheat land; and the wheat producer of America who rents his farm pays on an average in rental and taxes only about $2 per acre.

The lowest price for English wheat recorded in 104 years was 17s. 7d., or 52c. per bushel in October, 1894, against $1.78¼, average in 1873, and $1.22½, average for 21 years—1873 to 1893. The average price in each decade for 250 years—1640 to 1890—was $1.53 per bushel. The highest in this period was $3.79½, in 1812. In 1243 the price ruled as low as 2s. per quarter, or 6c. per bushel, and in 1597 as high as $3.12. In this connection we give the following extract from an English journal: "A national conference of British agriculturists was lately held in London, attended by representatives of nearly every organization of farmers in the kingdom. A dispatch says that doleful tales were interchanged among the farmers present of farms being deserted, the soil untilled, and agriculture brought to the verge of ruin. The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin said he feared the oldest industry in the country was near supreme disaster; that the public had no idea of the gravity of the crisis, and that the constant and apparently limitless fall in prices had brought ruin to thousands of persons. When he mentioned protection as a possible remedy the word was received with wild cheering, and he was cheered with even greater enthusiasm when he said that if he were compelled to choose between ruin of farming and protection, he would choose protection."

What of the English miller in his race with the American for the English trade? The positively incredible increase in our exports of flour the past few years—an increase so startling as to invite the skepticism of even those conversant with shipping statistics—affords ample answer to the above query. That the American has proved an undoubted victor figures demonstrate beyond question.

The total exports of flour in the two fiscal years 1892-93 and 1893-94 were 33,479,870 barrels (sacks classified as barrels), of which 20,349,039 went to Great Britain.

A factor in favor of the American miller is his incurring of through freight only upon the net product, whereas his competitor, who imports foreign wheat, necessarily incurs freight upon the net product and upon the offal from the wheat also.

Another favorable factor is found in the reduced ocean freight obtainable upon flour shipped in bags of various sizes instead of barrels, by reason of the much greater facility for stowage of the former. Further benefit of this method of shipment is derived

from the increased demand from dealers in Great Britain and Continental Europe for packages of sizes to suit individual purchasers, large and small, and also from a saving of expense of extra handling and packing, inseparably connected with barrel shipments.

We may therefore justly infer that the conditions, present and prospective, of the English miller, through the competition of his keen-edged rival, may be in not a few instances even worse than that of his farmer-countrymen ; the latter can, and in very many shires has, let his farm "go to grass," and with some resultant profit ; while the former, having no alternative course, may find that, try as he may, "10 mills do not make a cent."

The American agriculturist, who, in company with agriculturists the world over, has suffered the penalty of over-production, can trace a large portion of his own trouble to his own door. Unlike the more scientific European or Canadian farmer, who saves his soil by rotation of crops, the American maintains an unbroken monotony of wheat-raising, to the impoverishment alike of his land and of himself. Wheat in the Chicago market has fallen from an annual average of $1.11⅛ for twenty-six years 1867 to 1892, to a minimum of 54 cents in 1893, 50 cents in 1894, and 49 cents in January, 1895.

Verily, a knotty problem of the future is not the one agitated a few years ago : "How shall the nations of the world be fed?" but, "What shall be done with the surplus that the nations produce?" There is a limit to the consumption, to the bread wants of the people of the inhabited portions of this globe of ours ; but statisticians have been unable to define the extent of the capability of production, particularly of countries of continental area such as America, India, Russia, Argentina, Australia, and Canada.

Exceptional partial crop failures, such as lately recorded in Argentina and now threatened in America, offer some temporary solution of the problem. Through such influences accumulated surpluses can be reduced.

The aggregate production of those, which in the writer's youth were termed "the great wheat-producing States," the wheat belt of the country, would now afford a subject for merriment to the "Farmer Princes" of the far West, the possessors of farms each of which yields an output greater than that of counties in the

olden times. Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, with her universally known fruitful Genesee Valley, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, have been shorn of many of their wheat laurels. "Westward the star of empire takes its way." The control of the future destinies of this country will be determined by the nation's majority whose dwellings will be west of the Mississippi; and thitherward has already travelled the "wheat empire."

One of the greatest anomalies, probably the greatest, in the grain trade, is that the measure of value is determined by the comparatively small quantity that is shipped, and that the much greater quantity that is consumed at home is no more of an actual factor in the foreign market than if it did not exist. The first conclusion after consideration of this matter would very naturally be as follows: For the goods we send to the European market, in which we are aware we shall find competition from other sellers from other countries, of articles of the same or approximate quality to our own, for these goods we must accept the best bid obtainable and rest content therewith. But that the European prices should determine, should definitely and arbitrarily fix American values, that the less factor should control the greater, is an incongruity difficult for many to comprehend or with which to become reconciled. The burden of the complaint of the producing, milling, trading, and transporting interests is that the "verdict of values" is rendered in a foreign, competitive, consumers' market, where the preponderance of interest and of influence is on the side of low prices. That the classes named are the chief sufferers from low markets, and the home and foreign consumers the beneficiaries, "goes without saying." This foreign dictation is therefore by no means an unmixed evil; in fact, those benefited are the great majority, and that there is no remedy is evident. *The surplus of exporting countries must always determine home values*, and this surplus must be disposed of in the world's markets.

And what of the cotton producer? Does he escape the foreign yoke? By no means. The American cotton market quotations are virtually made in Liverpool; the smallest fractional vibration of the "speculative pendulum" there meets with instant response on our exchanges.

The list is not yet complete. England, the wealthiest of all

nations, and, with her colonies, the most extended, and the most ambitious for further extension, not content with controlling the values of our farm products, has sought, and in many instances with signal success, to largely influence if not control the products of many of our railways and also of numbers of our manufacturing industries.

This she accomplishes, and it must be admitted fairly and honorably, by the purchase of large blocks of the stocks of these different corporations. This barter or exchange is mutually acceptable. America wants the British gold and England wants more remunerative investments than can be found at home.

While it is true that the London stock market has by no means the effective or the continuous influence on the New York Stock Exchange that the English grain and cotton markets have on the American, and that at frequent times New York is the dominant force, it is undeniable that in no inconsiderable portion of each year our prices of leading railway and other stocks and bonds which are listed on the London Board are largely, if not wholly, controlled there. England, scores of years ago, earned for herself the proud title of "Mistress of the Seas"; has she not by peaceful methods also earned the title of "Mistress of the World's Export Markets?"

Lack of space prevents the discussion in this article of the following topics: The merits and demerits of the method of trading in grain for future delivery as evidenced in its practical workings; some of the probable effects of the present system of publication of weekly and monthly Governmental and State reports (of more or less questionable accuracy) of the "conditions" of the growing crops from the time the seed is sown until the harvest is complete; the effects of the full information given to the "consuming world" of the actual quantities of grain in our storehouses, coupled with approximate estimates of the surplus left in producers' hands; and prominent features connected with the almost complete abolition of the at one time universal and centuries-old custom of the sale and purchase of grain and flour through commission merchants, or agents who have been supplanted by *principals*, with whom profit and loss, not commissions, are the reward.

The system of purchasing and selling grain for future delivery was introduced, if we recollect aright, in the latter part of the

60's. We recall, as if it were yesterday, the first transaction made on our Toledo Exchange; how, with "bated breath and startled ears," the members heard the offer and acceptance by the Presidents of two National banks, of a contract for the delivery of 5,000 bushels of wheat at a stated price during the following month. How little we then realized how familiar in a few short years—yes, it may be said in a few months—we would become with such really legitimate and lawful transactions; how widespread, in fact, universal, they would become, and what a momentous influence for the welfare of mankind they would exert on the commerce of the world.

The disastrous effects to this agricultural country of the late panic would have been intensified several fold by the enforced cash marketings from the crop of 1893 and from the immense wheat surpluses left over from the excessive crops of 1891 and 1892—which enforced marketings became imperative by reason of the impecunious condition of the farming community as a whole—had not the system of trading in grain for future delivery established speculatively higher future prices, which induced capitalists to assume and carry the burden of the large stocks in all our leading markets. Elevator proprietors and other moneyed men made equivalent cash purchases and future sales, which protected and benefited them, and to an immense degree protected and benefited the farming community, and, in fact, the whole country.

Radical abuses, such as grain "corners," undue speculation and its attendant evils, have been occasional and unavoidable accompaniments of this modern system, but these abuses form no basis for argument against the method itself.

The use or abuse of any factor for the good of mankind is simply man's treatment of God's gifts.

EGERTON R. WILLIAMS.

NOTE.—Since the writing of this article, a deficiency of sufficient magnitude in the wheat crops of America and of the world has become so definitely assured as to promise the, at least temporary, restoration of values to a level approximating and, possibly, greatly above the cost of production. Such a radical change, while fraught with serious injury to many producers and consumers, would prove of incalculable benefit to the world at large. E. R. W.

HOW FREE SILVER WOULD AFFECT US.

BY THE HON. EDWARD O. LEECH, LATE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

It is important to understand clearly and exactly what the free coinage of silver under present conditions means. It may be defined as the right of anyone to deposit silver of any kind at a mint of the United States, and have every 371¼ grains of pure silver (now worth in its uncoined state about 52 cents) stamped, free of charge, "One Dollar," which dollar shall be a full legal-tender at its face value in the payment of debts and obligations of all kinds, public and private, in the United States.

(1) Such an act at this time would savor of national dishonesty. At the present value of silver one of our legal-tender dollars will purchase 716 grains of pure silver, nearly double the amount contained in a silver dollar. From the foundation of the government the effort of our fathers has been to establish a coinage ratio approximating as nearly as possible the commercial value of the precious metals. The first coinage act (1792) authorized the mintage of gold and silver coins at the proportion of 1 of gold to 15 of silver, which was believed to be about the commercial value of the metals at that period. Gold being undervalued slightly, gold coins did not enter into circulation, and silver constituted the currency of the country. To remedy this in 1834-37 the ratio was fixed at about 1 to 16 (exactly 1 to 15.98) which was believed to correspond more nearly to the commercial value of the two metals. The effort was always to *approximate the commercial value of the two metals.*

Hamilton, in his justly celebrated report on "The Establishment of a Mint," says: "There can hardly be a better rule in any country for the legal than the market proportion."

Jefferson said: "Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether; to inquire into the market price of

gold in the several countries with which we shall principally be connected in commerce and to take an average from them. The proportion between the values of gold and silver is a mercantile problem altogether."

It remained for these latter days to seriously suggest to the American people the unlimited mintage of coins of full-debt-paying power, worth intrinsically about one half the face value. In point of honesty there is no practical difference between stamping and issuing a coin with full debt-paying qualities as $1, which is really worth only 50 cents, and cutting a dollar in half and requiring everyone to accept the half as a dollar. No country can thrive by dishonesty and of all forms of national dishonesty the clipped or overvalued coin is the most ancient and most objectionable.

(2) The inevitable result of the unrestricted coinage of silver by this country acting in monetary isolation would be to place our currency on a silver basis. This is recognized and admitted now by leading advocates of silver coinage. A distinguished United States Senator, a leader in the silver movement, speaking from his place in the Senate during the late currency debate, said: "We are threatened that if the present currency laws remain unchanged the country will soon be upon a silver basis. Perhaps that is true. I am somewhat inclined to think it is. This prospect, however, has no terrors for the silver advocates. They are contending for both gold and silver, but if forced to choose between the two would greatly prefer silver." Heretofore the advocates of silver coinage have insisted that the moment the mints were open to the free coinage of silver the unlimited demand would *ipso facto* maintain the parity at the coinage ratio. Now we have the frank admission that the free coinage of silver by this country means a silver basis for our currency.

What does a silver basis mean? It means in the *first instance* a violent contraction of the currency by the withdrawal of gold coins and gold certificates from circulation. The stock of metallic and paper money in the United States is about $2,209,000,000, every dollar of which, under our present standard, is as good as a gold dollar and practically interchangeable with gold. The law makes it the imperative duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to "maintain the two metals on a parity with each other" and provides the necessary means to accomplish it, the pledge of the

public credit. With free silver coinage the obligation both moral and legal upon the government to "maintain the two metals on a parity" would end. The immediate result would be the destruction of the parity, the separation of our currency between gold and silver, and the withdrawal of $676,000,000 of gold from circulation and use as money. This enormous contraction of the money which is the basis of our currency system would unsettle business, impair credits, destroy values, and produce the most tremendous financial disturbance which this country has ever witnessed.

After the first shock, the effects of which no man can fully foresee, when values had adjusted themselves to existing conditions, a silver basis means that the paying power of our money in foreign exchanges would be depreciated to the commercial value of the silver in our dollars, whatever that may be. We have a perfect illustration close at hand in our near neighbor, Mexico, of a country on a settled silver basis, *with unrestricted gold and silver coinage.* The Mexican dollar, although it contains more silver than our dollar, has a purchasing power in foreign exchanges equal only to its commercial value as bullion. The same is true of the currency of every country which is on a silver basis. *There is no country in the world to-day where silver is minted into legal-tender coins where gold circulates as money.* The commercial relations between European countries and our own are more intimate to-day than were the relations between the states of the Union prior to the Civil War. All Europe has practically the gold standard, and all international exchanges, whether with gold-standard or silver-standard countries, are settled on a gold basis. The great bulk of the foreign commerce of the United States is with countries having the gold standard. During the last fiscal year we exported to Europe merchandise of the value of $700,000,000, while we imported from the same countries merchandise of the value of $295,000,000. Between countries which use the same metal as money there is a par of exchange which varies only within well defined limits, regulated by the balance of trade. Between countries which use different metals as a measure of value there is at present no natural par because of the fluctuations in the commercial value of silver. Stability in the rates of exchange is of the very essence of commercial transactions, especially commercial transactions based on credit. With-

out this there is necessarily an uncertainty which it is impossible to eliminate and which complicates and deters business transactions. In this lies the *permanent evil* of a silver basis for our money—*the uncertainty and fluctuations in the value of our currency as measured by the world's standard—gold.* What the purchasing power of our currency in domestic transactions would be, would depend upon conditions which no one can foresee or accurately forecast.

(3) If the mints of this country were open, under present conditions, to the unlimited coinage of silver into legal dollars, the United States would quickly become the dumping ground of the world's silver. The mints of Europe and India are closed to silver coinage. Aside from the mints of Mexico, Japan and a few South American countries, the stamp of whose mint adds nothing to the value of the coins, there is no actual demand for silver for coinage into full legal-tender money by civilized countries. Is it conceivable that the invitation to the owners of silver throughout the world to exchange 371¼ grains of silver, now worth fifty-two cents, for one of our legal-tender dollars would not be heeded? If our mints should be open to the free coinage of silver, the current product of silver would most certainly and swiftly find its way there. The annual product of silver at the present price, sixty-seven cents an ounce, approximates 162,000,000 ounces, which would coin in silver dollars $209,000,000, a snug little profit to the owners of silver mines of over $100,000,000 on the present annual product only. If a price of sixty-seven cents an ounce brings forth a product of the coinage value of $209,000,000, it is safe to say that with silver at $1.29 an ounce (our coinage rate) the output would be enormously increased. Mexico, South America, and many portions of this continent and Australia abound with deposits of low grade lead ores in which silver is the metal of chief value, which ores cannot be profitably desilverized at the present commercial value of silver, but which would be opened up and their silver contents dumped into the treasury of the United States, with silver at $1.29 an ounce. But what of European stocks of silver? Gold is the standard of all Europe. Whether they are bimetallic in theory or monometallic, gold alone constitutes the measure of values in all continental countries. Many of the European countries have in their banks and treasuries large hoards of overvalued silver coins, coined in

former years, which they would be glad to exchange for our gold. The Bank of France alone has in its vaults $250,000,000 of over-valued silver coins. If the gold value of our legal-tender money remained undisturbed, the passage of a free coinage act by the United States would afford a splendid opportunity for such an exchange.

If our mints should be open to the free coinage of silver under existing conditions, the stocks of silver would move to this country solely because they could be converted, at the highest market price, into our legal-tender money, which, in turn, could be converted into gold at par; but the moment our currency reached a silver basis, when our legal-tender paper-money could be exchanged only for silver dollars, the profit to the foreign silver owner for the interchange of his silver for our gold would cease and silver would be imported only as an exchange transaction, just as gold is now.

(4) If we should exchange our stock of gold for a stock of silver, cut loose from the standard of all the great commercial countries with whom we do business, and ally ourselves to Asiatic and South American monetary systems, what would we gain? One of two things would most certainly occur; either our gold would be hoarded by banks, trust companies and individuals, or else would go abroad to pay for the silver shipped here for sale. In either case our currency would be depreciated and fluctuating in value to the embarrassment of business and the ultimate injury of the wage earner. The basis of our currency would be changed from gold to silver, but whether the increase in the volume of money—the panacea for all our industrial ills promised by free silver advocates—would be considerable, or the price of silver be permanently increased, is open to serious doubt. Just as long as it was profitable to ship silver to the United States—that is, just as long as it would bring a higher price here than elsewhere—silver would come, but it would not come when the shipment ceased to be profitable. If silver ceased to come here because it was not profitable to ship it and receive payment in dollars whose purchasing power was only equal to the commercial value of the metal contained in them, where would be the gain in the volume of our currency?

(5) It is said that the decline in prices which has occurred

during the last twenty years, has been occasioned by the disuse of silver as money, and that if this country should resume the use of silver the value of all products would be increased and our producers benefited. The decline in the prices of staples could not have arisen from any scarcity of metallic money, for the reason that there is nearly double the amount of metallic money in use in the world to-day that there was in 1860,—the official estimates of the coin stocks being $3,400,000,000 in 1860, against $8,021,000,000 in 1894 (Report of Director of the Mint, 1894, pages 44,45). Nor could it have arisen from any disuse of silver money, for the reason that *there is more silver money in use in the world now than the entire stock of metallic money in* 1860,—the figures for silver money being $4,055,000,000 in 1894, against a total metallic stock in 1860 of $3,400,000,000.

In our own country, where prices have declined as much as elsewhere, it is a fact shown by Treasury statements that we not only have more money in actual circulation than ever before, not excepting the flush times of the War, but vastly more silver money. The circulation of the United States, exclusive of all Treasury holdings, was on June 1, 1895, $1,606,000,000, of which $550,000,000 was silver money. The *per capita* circulation was $23.02 against $18.04 in 1873, and $20.57 in 1865, the highest period of war inflation. Indeed, there is no country where the amount of actual money has diminished in recent years, but on the contrary, in addition to an increased stock of metallic and paper money the effort of civilization and one of its most beneficial results, developed largely during the last twenty years, has been to minimize the use of actual money by providing substitutes in the shape of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, telegraphic transfers and Clearing-House settlements. In proof of this may be cited the fact, shown by the the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, that over 95 per cent. of the business of the banks of this country is done by substitutes for money.

Moreover, all the silver produced since 1873, except what is used in the industrial arts, has been converted into money either by actual coinage or the issue of legal-tender notes against the bullion held as reserve. This product has been enormous as compared with prior periods, the period of high prices. The product of silver during the last twenty years has aggregated over $2,400,000,000 in coining value while during the preceding twenty years

it was only $948,000,000. The coinage of silver for the last twenty years has aggregated $2,300,000,000.

So that it is not true that the money of ultimate redemption, either gold or silver, has diminished since 1873, and consequently the argument based upon this mis-statement falls with it.

It is impossible in the space allotted me to enter upon the question of the decline of prices, but it is sufficient to say that there *is not one of the great staple commodities which has fallen largely in price where such decline cannot be readily traced to circumstances affecting the demand and the supply of the article itself.*

Undoubtedly it might be possible, by making a dollar worth fifty cents, to bring about a condition of monetary affairs when it would take two dollars to buy what one will now purchase; but a more certain and expeditious way to depreciate the currency, if that is the aim, would be to start the government paper mills going and issue paper dollars. If prices are to be increased through the depreciation of the purchasing agent—money, it certainly would not be an unmixed blessing. Unless wages increased in the same proportion as other commodities, it is evident that the wage earner would not be benefited. As shown by the report of the Senate Finance Committee wages averaged over thirty per cent. higher in 1891 than in 1860. According to the census of 1890, the earnings of labor increased over forty per cent. as compared with the prior census—a period of ten years. If, therefore, the staple necessities of life have fallen largely in price in recent years, an immense advantage has been reaped by the wage earner. There never has been a period when the money paid the laboring man in this country would buy as much of the necessities of life as to-day. The greatest calamity which could possibly happen to him would be to double the price of the commodities which he must use by depreciating the value of the dollar in which he is paid. All persons living on fixed incomes would suffer severely. The deposits in the Savings Banks of the United States, owned by the laboring men and women, aggregate $1,800,000,000. These deposits have been made in money or bankable funds of the present standard of value and to-day are payable in money interconvertible with gold. Under free silver coinage every dollar of these deposits and the deposits in all the commercial banks of the country, aggregating the enormous sum of $4,000,000,000, could

be paid and would be paid in legal dollars of about one-half the present purchasing value of the dollar. The value of every insurance policy and every pension would, in the same way, be curtailed one-half.

Undoubtedly it would be of advantage to the debtor classes to be able to pay their debts in a depreciated currency, but this would be manifestly unfair, for the reason that all contracts entered into in this country since 1834 (when our currency was practically and purposely changed to a gold basis), certainly since 1873, when gold was legally made the unit of value, are fairly payable in money of our present standard, and as they constitute the bulk of existing contracts it would be manifestly dishonest that they should be liquidated at half their present value.

Behold the countries with free silver coinage, or the silver standard—Mexico, South America and Asia—and see the rates of wages there compared with wages in countries that have the gold standard; see the "Prosperity and Happiness (?)" there among the laboring classes compared with the wage earners of Europe and the United States, and surely no more practical and complete refutation of the theory that a silver currency would benefit our laborers and producers could possibly be adduced.

The memorable words of the lamented Secretary Windom uttered with dying lips before the New York Board of Trade and Transportation are pregnant with truth:

"The *quality* of circulation is even more important than the *quantity*. Numerous devices for enlarging credit may, and often do, avert the evils of a deficient circulation, and a redundancy may sometimes modify its own evils before their results become universal, but for the baleful effects of a debased and fluctuating currency there is no remedy, except by the costly and difficult return to sound money. As poison in the blood permeates arteries, veins, nerves, brains and heart, and speedily brings paralysis or death, so does a debased and fluctuating currency permeate all the arteries of trade, paralyze all kinds of business and bring disaster to all classes of people."

The nation that undertakes to conduct its business with money of uncertain value is at a great disadvantage. In order to merit the confidence of the world and maintain our credit and reputation as a country of the first class we must maintain our money system above all question, with all our currency redeemable on demand in the money which civilized countries have decided to do business with,—gold.

Only within a few months have we seen the threatening con-

dition of affairs brought about by the doubt of the ability of the government to meet its obligations in gold on demand. The removal of that doubt through the successful financiering of the Treasury by the existing Bond Syndicate has given such relief to currency conditions as to impart confidence to business which portends better times. Free silver coinage would replace the doubt of our ability to maintain gold payments by the certainty *that we did not intend to.* It would be a national disgrace as well as a national misfortune, which the people of this country will never submit to, to debase the money of this proud and prosperous republic to the standard of Mexico, South America and Asiatic countries.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

III.—THE SHEEP AND THE GOAT.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE sheep has undergone more modifications at the hands of man than any other animal. All the rest of our domestic animals have proved their capacity to reassume the habits of their wild ancestors, but no once tamed sheep has taken to a life of independence. This is at first surprising, because many kinds, such as the Scotch mountain sheep and those upon the high lands of Chili and Patagonia, manage to live and thrive with very little aid from their masters. Yet it is found that even the hardy Pampas sheep cannot hold its own when that aid is wanting. If man were to become extinct in South America the sheep would not survive him half a dozen years. There are three chief reasons for this, and all of them are of peculiar interest.

In the first place, the sheep is, as a rule, a timid and defenceless animal, and at the same time is neither swift nor cunning. It falls an easy prey to the meanest of the wolf tribe. A single coyote or a fox terrier dog could destroy a flock of a thousand in a few days. Then it is found that the young lambs and their mothers require especial care and nursing. If they do not get it at the critical time the flock owner will lose them by the hundred. It is a common thing in the South Downs for the shepherd not to leave his flock day or night during the whole lambing season. Lastly, scarcely any modern sheep shed their wool naturally, in the same way that the horse sheds his thick winter coat.

There was exhibited at the first great International Exposition, in 1851, a seven-year-old South Down ewe, which had never

been shorn. Its enormous burden of wool hung to the ground, and it would have been about as capable of getting about as a man covered with a dozen thick frieze overcoats. It is quite plain that such a creature could not get its living in the open fields unless it were regularly shorn.

Now, if we seek for an answer to the question "Where did the sheep get its wool from?" we shall find an explanation also of the other two peculiarities which now prevent it from holding its own in the wild state. And we shall, in addition, be able to point out the chief reason why the animal was, in the first place, domesticated by man.

The wool was of course developed primarily to protect the sheep from cold. But from what cold? The cold of winter? That can scarcely be, since the wool persists and continues growing all the year round. The cold of Arctic climates? That also must be excluded, since no sheep, either tame or wild, thrives in the extreme North. On the contrary, in Australia and many other warm countries, the flocks flourish abundantly. Certain naturalists say that the so-called musk ox is really a sheep, but it is plain that that curious beast is a very distant relative of the familiar varieties. Neither this, nor any other Arctic animal, would long survive a removal to a sub-tropical region.

If we study the various kinds of wild sheep all the world over, we at once find an answer to the question. Without exception they are dwellers upon high mountains. Some live almost among perpetual snow. The Bighorn inhabits the Rockies, the Moufflon, the mountains of Corsica, the gigantic Ovis Poli, the Argali and the Burrhel make their home upon the high ranges of Siberia and Thibet. On the grassy slopes and terraces they find sustenance, and among the giddy precipices above they take refuge when danger threatens them. They took to the hills in the first place, like the wild asses, because the fierce carnivora of the lowlands were too many for them. Their cousins, the antelopes and deer, were swift enough to hold their own on the plains, but the only chance of survival which was open to the more sluggish *Ovidæ* was to take to the mountains. Many a human refugee, hunted by a human beast of prey, has had to do the same. Having once chosen their habitat, it was necessary that their instincts and structure should become adapted for the life of a mountaineer; and throughout long ages, by the survival of those individuals

best fitted to this kind of existence, and by the elimination or sifting out of the unfit, they have developed into what they now are.

As a protection against the cold of high altitudes they grew a thick woolly covering beneath their long coarse hair. The need of mounting steep slopes with rapidity, and of propelling their heavy bodies by leaps among the rocks, caused the muscles of the hinder quarters to become stout and fleshy. To the former fact we owe our woolen clothing, and to the latter, the succulent "legs of mutton" which so often appear on our tables.

Both the fleece and the meat have, of course, been greatly altered by human agency. Those sheep have constantly been chosen by breeders which fattened readily and which had the finest and most abundant wool. The coarse outer covering of hair disappeared; although, as might be expected, it occasionally shows itself. In the West India Islands, even imported South Down sheep become completely changed in appearance, for the wool is hidden by long brown hair. Each different breed of sheep, as the Cotswold, the Leicester, and the Merino, has wool of a different character. This is chiefly owing to artificial selection. The sheep breeders of Saxony, by picking out those animals which had the softest fleeces, soon produced a greatly improved supply of wool. They used the microscope to ascertain which animals had wool of the finest fibre, and rejected all which did not come up to a certain standard.

It is the fleece, then, which first brought the sheep into captivity, and it is the fleece that is chiefly instrumental in keeping him as a servant and dependent. It now grows so abundantly that he needs to be freed by the shears once a year, or the burden of it would overcome him. Imagine wearing two suits of winter clothing in July!

The other weak points of the sheep come from the facts that he has been by nature adapted for one special kind of life, and that we have now removed him from it. The conditions to which every atom of him had become exactly adjusted are changed, and it is hardly likely that he will be at home at all points under the new circumstances. For this reason the tame sheep, like the ass, appears a stupid animal. At critical times, such as when the young lambs are born, the unaccustomed surroundings may be fatal. It is this specialization, as the naturalists call it, which accounts for the extinction of many animals which used to be

abundant. They become exactly fitted to one particular way of life, and unfitted for any other. If circumstances compel them to migrate, they die.

Generally the race comes to an end through the parents not being able to rear their tender young, which naturally feel the stress of unfavorable new environment more than the adults. This is what would happen to the domestic sheep, if the shepherds were not to take such assiduous care of them in the lambing season.

Now let us see what other relics of wild life can be found in the sheep. It is always, as I have said in a previous paper, worth while to examine immature animals, if we wish to find out the habits of their early ancestors. Young lambs have enormously developed legs and can run about smartly when only a few hours old. This at once suggests that they had to keep up with their parents when the flock moved from place to place, and were not hidden in secluded spots by their dams. They have a curious habit of following anything large and light colored which moves quickly away from them. A new born lamb will rush after a newspaper blown along by the wind, or, as Mr. Hudson says in his delightful book, *The Naturalist in La Plata*, they will persistently gallop after a horseman on the Pampas. It is the old and most necessary instinct of following the flock when it was fleeing from an enemy, but the instinct is at fault in civilized regions.

Doubtless on the tops of the Corsican or Thibetan mountains, both newspapers and horsemen are too rare to be taken account of in the formation of habits of self preservation. However white the fleeces of their elders may be, young lambs are usually of a dirty gray color, so as to harmonize with the rocks of their ancestral home. When at play, they always seek the steepest parts of the field, and if there is a rock or a log lying about, they will skip on to it and butt at one another, as if playing "King of the Castle." If mountain or moorland sheep on a hillside are attacked by a dog, they will always, from choice, run diagonally up hill. Should a flock of Southdowns take alarm and break out from the fold at night, the shepherd knows that the place to find them is the highest ground in the neighborhood. If a dog enters a field where there are ewes and lambs, he is watched in the most suspicious manner, and at once attacked if he comes too near. Many a valiant puppy, who thought that sheep were poor spiritless

things, has received treatment which astonished him when he strolled into the sheep pasture in the lambing season.

Now, dogs are rarely dangerous to domestic sheep. The determined hostility shown to them at such times is a relic of the old, wild instinct, when the horned flock on the mountain side defended their young against jackals, dholes and wolves. An angry ewe will stamp her foot when a dog comes within sight. This is probably a relic of an ancient method of signalling the approach of a foe. But it is also a threat; for many animals akin to the sheep use their sharp hoofs with terrible effect. Deer will destroy snakes by jumping on them and ripping them to ribands with outward strokes of their hoofs. Nearly all antelopes use this method of attack, and hunters have been killed by the hoofs of Nylghau, the great Himalaya antelope.

A wild sheep in his native country is no trifling antagonist. The horns of the Ovis Poli and Argali are enormous, and must be seen to be appreciated. Sir Joseph Hooker, the great botanist, says that in Thibet foxes have been known to make kennels in the hollow horns of the Argali! This sounds rather a "tall" statement, and I confess I should much like to find one of these hermit-crab-like foxes at home!

Some Indian tame sheep are desperate fellows to fight, and are exhibited by native potentates matched against bulls and other animals. Phil Robinson tells a story of a ram that was sent to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, and, since he was of no value as a curiosity, the keepers thought that he would make a nice tid-bit for a tiger. The sheep, however, being of a pugnacious disposition, "went for" the tiger as soon as he was put into the cage. The traveller goes on to tell, that after a sharp tussle the sheep killed the tiger! Whether he ate him afterwards is not related, but one would not be surprised at anything in such a sheep as that!

The immense number of varieties of sheep, and the widely different characters they present, prove that they have been domesticated for a very long time. If the dog was the first animal tamed by man, the sheep was certainly the second.

Naturalists are not agreed as to which of the wild species our modern sheep are descended from. I think it is probable that they owe their origin to several kinds, including the Moufflon, the Burrhel and the Argali. These, oddly enough, have short tails,

like nearly all mountain animals—the chief purpose of the tail among the herbivorous animals is to drive away flies, and on the windy heights these are not troublesome. Yet domestic sheep are born with long tails, and in spite of the practice of farmers and shepherds of cutting the tails short, they still persevere in growing them. Here are two problems for the rising generation of naturalists, who, of course, are incalculably smarter and more intelligent than the old fogies who have written on such subjects hitherto! Why does the modern sheep grow a tail? And why does a lamb wriggle his tail at meal times?

I have but little space left to discuss the goat. He is much less removed from his primitive free forefathers than the sheep. Tame goats have run wild all the world over where there are mountains. The goat is distinctly a climber among rocks. If the ancestor of the sheep grazed on the growing slopes, the wild goats lived high among the broken craggy sides of the mountain and browsed the sparse leaves of the shrubs in the clefts and crannies. As might be expected the young kids show greater agility than their more sedate elders. The goat is altogether a more slim and cleanly built animal than the sheep, even in the wild state. He is also more independent, showing that it was his habit to separate from his fellows when feeding, whereas the members of a flock of sheep keep together if possible and always follow their leaders when alarmed.

Both animals set regular sentries on high spots to watch for the approach of enemies and these give signals to the others. Hence neither the sheep nor the goat needs the long ears of the donkey tribes.

Probably those of my readers who have better opportunities for observing the habits of tame goats than I have, will be able to note many interesting points in their behavior which tell tales of the way of life of their predecessors who roamed the hills before our own primitive ancestors had developed sense enough to catch them and use them for their own purposes.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE DISPOSAL OF A CITY'S WASTE.

BY GEORGE E. WARING, JR., COMMISSIONER OF STREET-CLEANING OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

EVER since the beginning of Liebig's agricultural writings, more than half a century ago, the quasi scientific world has been seeking means to turn the wastes of urban life into wealth; and has been ascribing the downfall of empires to the pouring of those wastes into the sea. The less inexact science of these later days shows us how wastes sent into the sea come back to us in the form of fish and other sea products, to such an extent as to go at least very far toward the maintenance of general fertility in the land. We have not yet reached any very satisfactory knowledge as to the conversion of waste into wealth. While the theoretical value of discarded matters is recognized, the cost of recovery is still an obstacle to its profitable development.

In England, great sums have been lost during the past thirty years in the effort to get back the value of the fertilizing elements of sewage. It is now conceded by practical men that the very small amount of manure and the very large amount of water cannot be separated at a profit. Sewage farming is often the best agent of sewage purification, and it may lessen the cost of sewage disposal; but it cannot under any ordinary conditions be made to pay a profit. This long-hoped for source of wealth must be relegated to the position of a very useful aid to economy.

There are, however, other wastes of life which are not diluted with great volumes of water, and which seem to give a fair enough promise of profitable use to make it worth while to consider them and their possible value with a good deal of care, and to make them the subject of conclusive experiment.

The experience of the City of New York in the matter of "scow-trimming" is suggestive. The scow-trimmers of New York

are employed to distribute evenly over the vessels by which it is taken to sea to be dumped, the mass of garbage, ashes and street sweepings that is discharged upon them by the cartload amid a cloud of dust and often in quick succession. Under these difficult conditions, the Italian workmen fish out such as they can of the flying rags, bones, bottles, and other things of value that the material may contain. Each of the fifteen dumps is worked by its own gang for its own *padrone,* and these pay to the general contractor enough more than he has to pay to the city to leave him a satisfactory profit.

Up to about 1878 the city paid $10.50 per week for each man working on the scows.* From this time until 1882 no charge was made for labor, the matters recovered being taken as an equivalent. Beginning with 1882, the privilege of scow-trimming brought to the city a money compensation of from $75 to $90 per week. The payment increased gradually, until in 1887 it reached $320 per week; in 1888, $685; in 1889, $1,000; in 1890, $1,068; in 1891, $1,770; in 1892–93, $1,795. At the end of 1894 it had fallen to $1,675. There were occasional deductions on account of the temporary closing of dumps, but for some years the city has received annually over $50,000 worth of labor and about $90,000 in cash as the value of the privilege of gleaning from its dust chutes.

The following is the list of the articles collected, with the tariff of prices. It is furnished by the present contractor, Signor Carlo De Marco, Padrone:

Mixed rags	$ .50 per 100 lbs.
No. 2 "	.40 " " "
Dirty white rags	1.00 " " "
Soft wools	2.00 " " "
Rubber	3.50 " " "
Bottles	1.25 " bbl.
Soda water bottles	.50 " "
Lager beer "	.65 " 100
Seltzer water "	3.50 " "
Iron	4.50 " ton
Zinc	1.75 " 100 lbs.
Copper	5.00 " " "
Brass	3.50 " " "
Pewter	10.00 " " "
Paper	.25 to .40 per 100 lbs.
Tomato cans (for the solder)	2.00 a load.†
Old shoes	.05 to .15 per pair.
Hats	.01½ each.
Broken glass	.10 per bag.
Carpets	.25 " 100 lbs.
Rope	.50 " " "
Brushes	.05 to .15 each.
Fat	1.10 per 100 lbs.
Bones	.50 " " "
Hemp twine	1.00 " " "
Cloth	1.00 " " "

* There is no record of the number.
† This was formerly $6 per load.

Dickens's "Golden Dustman" and the accounts of the rag-pickers of Paris have made us familar with the fact that there is an available value in the ordinary *rejectamenta* of human life. We learn by the work of the dock Italian of New York that to regain this value is a matter of minute detail; it calls for the recovery of unconsidered trifles from a mass of valueless wastes, and the conversion of these into a salable commodity.

Reasoning from this starting point we may fairly assume that if there were a complete system for the collection of these objects at their source—at the houses in which they are discarded—much more would be recovered. As the subject is studied, it seems clear that the public authorities might with advantage take control of the whole business of the collection of rubbish. This would probably be necessary to the securing of a great pecuniary return. Such control would involve the suppression, or the public employment, of the push-cart man, who jangles his string of bells through the streets and carries on a more or less illicit traffic with domestic servants. These peddler-buyers are no more tolerable than were the long-ago discarded rag-pickers. Those who have cast-off things to sell should be made to take them to licensed located dealers, whose transactions can be held under proper supervision. The municipality should—in the interest of the public safety, as well as of the public finances—take up and carry on for itself, or through contractors whom it could control completely, the whole business of removing from houses whatever householders may wish to get rid of and will not take the trouble to carry for sale to a dealer.

It is not possible to make anything like a precise calculation as to the value of these many and manifold wastes, but it would seem safe to assume that with a universal and well-regulated collection and sale there might be recovered, in cash, one cent *per diem* for each member of the population, beyond the cost of collection and sale. This would amount annually to over $7,000,000, enough to pay all the cost of street cleaning and street sprinkling, and, in addition thereto, to repave the whole city within a very few years, so far as this is needed, and to keep the pavements in repair perpetually. In due time it would pay for a complete supply of public urinals and latrines, and for other items of municipal housekeeping. There is, of course, no reason for fixing the amount that might be saved at one cent per person, any more than

at two cents or at half a cent ; but the ground for supposing that a very material amount can be secured is surely sufficient to make it worth while to experiment extensively to determine just what it will pay or will not pay to do.

The result of the investigation would be of value not only to the City of New York but to all other places,—large and small. Even if little or no profit should result from the collection and separation of salable rubbish, still a systematic and complete treatment of the offscourings of towns,—*and their prompt removal from houses*,—could not fail to be of much sanitary benefit. A study of the constructive geology of the outskirts of an American town will hardly furnish reason to commend the way in which "filling in" is making building lots for the growing population. Future ages may find in the long abandoned sites of American homes as curious if not as interesting subjects for archæological study as the homes of the cliff dwellers furnish for us.

The proper treatment, not only of rubbish but of garbage and ashes, will be an important element of a better civilization than ours. The "out-of-sight, out-of-mind" principle is an easy one to follow, but it is not an economical one, nor a decent one, nor a safe one. For other and more important reasons than the hope of getting money out of our wastes, should we pursue the study of the treatment of these wastes, and try to devise a less shiftless and uncivilized method than that which we now use.

In the matter of collection alone there is much need for radical improvement. The most bulky matters collected in New York are ashes and street sweepings. The latter are swept into little piles on the pavement, there to lie until the cart comes along, when they are shovelled into it. More or less powdered horse dung is blown into houses and into the faces of the people, according to circumstances ; on a breezy day it is considerably more. While the heaps lie awaiting the shovel they are kicked about by horses, dragged about by wheels, and blown about by the wind—also more or less according to circumstances. Ashes are kept in a barrel or in a can, which is also the depositing place of paper and other forbidden rubbish. In due time—more often in undue time—it is set out to decorate the house front in a way which it would be much less than adequate to call inelegant. What happens when this receptacle is tipped over the edge of the ash cart and rolled to and fro until it is emptied, no one need be

told who has paraded a city street in fine clothing while the operation is going on, with a good wind blowing.

The ash barrel and the "little pile" have thus far baffled all effort. We are hopeful just now that we shall succeed in having the ashes deposited in bags inside of the houses, the bags to be tied and thrown into the cart, not to be opened until they reach the dump. It is also hoped that street dirt, as it is swept up, will be at once shovelled into a bag supported open on a light pair of wheels. When the bag is filled it will be securely tied and set aside; and the cartman will collect the closed bags.

We are just now struggling with the separation of ashes and garbage. The Board of Health has ordered this in a large central district, and the area will be extended as success is achieved. The collection will be made separately and the disposition of the two will be quite different. An effort is also being made to have paper, and other forms of light rubbish, kept by itself and disposed of by the householder or by a public contractor.

Up to the present time the final disposition of all of the dry wastes of the city is by discharge from vessels into the sea. There are dumping boards along the water front where scows receive the contents of the carts. These scows are towed out beyond the Sandy Hook lightship and there unloaded. Aside from the wastefulness of this process, it gives occasion for serious complaint from those who are affected by the fouling of the adjacent shores of Long Island and New Jersey. Probably not much offensive garbarge escapes the fish and the action of the waves, but enough of this accompanies the straw, paper, boxes, cans, etc., with which the shore is often heavily lined, to have very much the same sentimental effect that a solid mass of garbage would have. In any event, the result is very disfiguring and very annoying to frequenters of the beaches and to owners of shore property.

This constitutes a very serious menace to New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City. The fouling of the beaches may at any time be made the pretext for protest, legislation, and injunction, such as we have already had with reference to Riker's Island and to local dumps in the Annexed District. This may have the effect of absolutely closing to these cities the only outlet they now have for their wastes. It is, therefore, incumbent on them to hasten as much as possible the development of some other

means for the disposal of their offal than the present barbarous one of dumping them into the ocean.

The writer has necessarily given much consideration to this general subject, and he is, so far as his official limitations permit, working in the direction of a complete separation of the material into four different classes:

1. Paper and other light rubbish; 2. Street sweepings; 3. Garbage; 4. Ashes.

If the complete separation of these four classes can be effected, then the whole problem is practically solved. It is only because each one bedevils all the others that final disposal is such a serious problem. It is confidently believed that the separation can be effected, and within a short time. Were this accomplished, the four elements of the work might be developed as follows:

1. Paper, rags and rubbish of every kind, should be collected only by the city's own carts, or by the city's own contractors. It should not be permitted to sell any of the wastes of domestic life at the door. Licenses should be granted for dealing in these matters only to men who had fixed places of business, and who carried on their traffic only at those places. Everything of too low a grade to be carried to these establishments for sale would be collected—not from the streets but from within the houses—by the city's own agency, and all would be carried to local centres where they would be assorted, where all matters having a value would be classified and separated for sale; and whence everything having no value would be carted to suitable crematories for final consumption. It is here, it is believed, that a large return could be secured to the treasury. The chief opposition to such treatment of the question would come from those who court the votes of the push-cart men, and whose argument it would be that an honest industry was being destroyed. This charge may be met in two ways: First, that too often the industry of these men is otherwise than honest; and, second, that their work will still have to be done, and may quite as well be done by them as by others, with the simple condition that it is to be done under proper regulation. If everything of value that now goes to the dumps, to the paper dealer and to the junk dealer, could be made to pay tribute to the city, something like the result above hinted at may be expected.

2. Paper and all manner of dry rubbish being rigidly kept

indoors until taken by the collector, the sweepings of the streets —especially after the improved repaving—will consist of little else than horse droppings ; and while these have not much commercial value in New York, they can at least be got rid of inoffensively and without much cost. It seems one of the absurdities of the situation that while stable manure is, probably, everywhere else in the world much sought after and salable at a considerable price, in New York it not only has no value, but can be got rid of only at considerable cost. The Department of Street Cleaning has over eight hundred well-fed horses. It is not able to get rid of the manure produced at its stables without cost and is now actually dumping it into the sea. This manure, of first-rate quality, was offered to the Department of Parks free of charge. The superintendent said that he would be very glad to receive it, if it was *delivered* free, but it was not worth transportation, because so many private stables were glad to haul manure to the different parks "free gratis."

3. Garbage.—It has been the custom hitherto to mix garbage with ashes and rubbish. The separation of garbage from everything else is now being enforced. As soon as the separation is fairly accomplished, contracts will be made for the "reduction," utilization or cremation of the garbage.

There are a number of patented processes by which grease is extracted from garbage, and by which, with or without the addition of other substances, a salable fertilizer is made of the residue. These processes are thus far all in the experimental stage. There is not one of them of which it is absolutely known that it would be safe or wise for the city to adopt it as the subject of a long contract. Investigations into the actual working and actual business conditions of the more important of these processes are now being carried on by the Department, and it is believed that before autumn enough will be known to indicate clearly what course to pursue. All that is definitely known now is, that there are several processes of cremation by which everything of this class can be absolutely and inoffensively destroyed at a cost that is not prohibitory. It is believed that there is more than one process of "reduction," or utilization, that can be profitably carried on with little, if any, help from the city in the form of compensation. Indeed, one responsible concern is ready to make a contract to take the entire output of garbage as dumped from

the carts, and to pay a substantial price for it. The proper treatment of this subject will require, as in the case of paper and rubbish, the absolute control of the business by the city. Not only must we take charge of spoiled vegetables and the poorest and most watery garbage of cheap boarding-houses, but we should also have the richer product of hotels and restaurants. The city should, in short, assert its right to an absolute monopoly of the garbage business, for all garbage is a nuisance unless brought under proper control. Such control cannot be exercised by the city unless it takes possession of the entire field.

4. Ashes.—If we can withhold from the ashes produced in private houses all extraneous matters, as above described, bringing house ashes to the condition of what we now know as "steam ashes," there will no longer be occasion for dumping at sea. The city has lands under water near by, like the very large inclosed tract at Riker's Island and elsewhere along its water courses, where its ashes may be deposited with the very useful effect of creating valuable building land. Private owners of shore flats are applying constantly for such ashes, and to a certain extent are receiving them without cost to the city. Furthermore, these ashes have a decided value for other uses. It has been intimated to the Department that if they can be kept clean, a company with sufficient capital will take them all at more than the cost of collection, for the manufacture of cheap fire-proofing blocks, etc. The Department has been experimenting with ashes containing some garbage, just as it is hauled to the dump. This has been made into a concrete, with fifteen parts of ashes to one part of Portland cement, producing a result that would be admirably suited for the foundation of stone-block, asphalt, or other pavement.

The general conclusion from the above must be that while the question of the disposal of a city's wastes is full of difficulty, it is also full of promise.

GEO. E. WARING, JR.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

VII.—THE CONSPIRACY OF THE CARBONARIA.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

If Napoleon III. had been the most arrant coward on earth—and he was the very opposite of a coward—Orsini's attempt on his life would have been calculated to convert him into a man of courage. No intended victim of such an attempt as that of January 14th, 1858, could come to any other conclusion but that he bore a charmed life. If religiously disposed he would simply attribute his escape to a direct intervention of Providence; if a fatalist, as the Emperor was supposed to be, his fatalism would be intensified a hundredfold, and henceforth he would advance on the road mapped out for him by Fate, not only mentally blindfolded, but disdaining to take the ordinary precautions of the sightless. That this was absolutely the case with Napoleon III., I shall have no difficulty in proving as I proceed.

The attempt of January 14th, 1858, was the fourth directed against Louis Napoleon's life during the ten years that had passed since his memorable interview with Lamartine. Whatever illusions he may have entertained with regard to the *rôle* of the police as a protector in the three previous ones, he could not have possibly remained in such a "fool's paradise" where the fourth was concerned. It is more than doubtful, though, whether Louis Napoleon deceived himself at any time or was deceived as to the collective power of the police to frustrate the designs of the would-be assassin, or as a means of detecting the doings of secret societies. Everything leads me to believe that he became more sceptical upon all those points as time went on. He knew

that he could count upon a few Corsicans such as Alessandri and Griscelli to defend his life at the risk of their own; he knew that they were intelligent to a degree, absolutely loyal to him, and as absolutely unscrupulous face to face with the rest of the world; but he also knew that of the so-called organization at the Prefecture of Police they were things apart; that, if anything, they despised that institution; which, in its turn, hampered them on every occasion, either from sheer professional jealousy, or in order to court favor with its chief of the moment, or to plot for the return to office of the former one; each of whom of those chiefs fancied himself a Fouché, a Réal, a Desmarets and a Dubois rolled into one; though in reality the whole of the five prefects who held office during the second Napoleonic period —namely Maupas, Blot, the two Piétri's (Pierre-Marie and Joachim), and Boitelle—had not together as much brains as the famous Duc d'Otrante by himself or as any of his principal coadjutors.

This does not mean that the five men I have just named were devoid of intellect or that their lieutenants such as Hyrvoix, Lagrange, and the lieutenants of the latter, Canler, Claude, Jacob and others were incapables. Far from it. They all had a great deal of talent, nay Canler and Claude were geniuses in their own way, but neither they nor their official superiors had sufficient genius or talent for the dual task circumstances and the prevailing spirit of intrigue imposed upon them. The five prefects were not only called upon to look to the safety of the dynasty and its actual chief, but had to guard against their being dislodged from their own position by the plotting of their predecessors, or the machinations of their would-be successors.

Boitelle, Persigny's friend and erstwhile fellow-soldier, replaced Piétri (the elder), who had shown a most lamentable want of foresight which caused great loss of life, much suffering and would have caused the death of the Emperor and the Empress but for a miracle. I am not exaggerating; the carriage that conveyed the Imperial couple and General Roguet, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, was literally riddled with projectiles; no less than seventy-six of these were subsequently found imbedded in the panels and other parts; one of the horses wounded in twenty-five places was killed on the spot, the other had to be slaughtered; the three footmen and the coachman were all severely hurt; Gen-

eral Roguet's deep, though not fatal, flesh wound just below the right ear bled so profusely that the Empress's dress was absolutely saturated with blood as she entered the opera. Finally, a bullet had gone right through the Emperor's hat. I am only referring to the Emperor and his immediate *entourage* on that night; the total number of wounded was 156, at least a dozen of whom died of their injuries.

Yet the whole of this butchery might and could have been prevented, for there is not the least doubt that the French authorities were warned in time both of Orsini's departure from London, of his contemplated journey to Paris and of his fell purpose. Billault, the Minister of the Interior, Piétri, the Prefect of the Police, Lagrange, the Chief of the Municipal Police, and Hébert, the superintendent specially entrusted with the service *des hôtels garnis*—in other words, with the surveillance of the visitors to Paris and of those residents without a fixed abode—were aware of the presence of Pieri and Gomez in the capital, if not of Orsini's. Nevertheless, both remained perfectly free until the mischief had been done. We lay no stress on the passage of Morny's speech at the opening of the Chamber stating that the provincial branches of the secret societies were looking forward to some upheaval in mid-January, which upheaval would be followed by important movement. Those periodical announcements were part of the policy of the Second Empire during the first ten years of its existence. They were intended to strike terror into the hearts of the peace-loving population, and to make them rally still closer round a dynasty which was supposed to hold the revolutionaries and republicans—the terms were almost synonymous in those days—in check by exposing and forestalling every one of their plans. In spite of everything that has been written and said on the subject, it is a moot point whether there was one secret society in France of sufficient weight or dimensions to constitute a serious danger to the dynasty, and whether the Emperor or any of his most confidential advisers believed in the existence of such. But at the particular period of which I treat an openly avowed belief was still part of the system. Four years later (1862) the system is absolutely reversed. The secret societies are supposed to have vanished from off the face of the land—their disappearance being due of course to the strong and energetic government which leaves no cause for dissatisfaction any-

where. The alarmists who would still believe in secret societies must be dissuaded from their belief by the most delightful, but at the same time most effectual means France has at her disposal to that effect, namely the stage, and the Emperor himself takes the initiative in that direction. He commissions M. Camille Doucet (the late life-secretary of the *Académie* who died recently), the then official superintendent of theatres, to find the Aristophanes who shall make people laugh and, in making them laugh, disarm their fears. M. Doucet applied successively to Théodore Barrière, Louis Bouilhet and Amédée Rolland,* all of whom attempted the task but without success, and who each received 6,000 frs. for their trouble. What they failed to accomplish though, was achieved in another way by Alexandre Pothey, a friend of theirs, in his satire of *La Muette;* the name of the secret society which baffles all the researches of the police. There is no evidence that Pothey ever saw Napoleon III. in private, yet his satire bears a remarkable likeness to the story told by the Emperor to my grand-uncle.†

Sceptical though the Emperor may have been with regard to the existence of secret societies in France, he could not pretend to ignore the existence of at least one outside France. Many years before his advent to the imperial throne he had become affiliated to the *Carbonaria*, and it was the *Carbonaria* which through Mazzini and Orsini claimed the fulfilment of the project to which he had subscribed at the time of his admission. That project of which Lord Castlereagh had already a copy in 1813, and which before that had been submitted to George III. aimed at the establishment of an Italian Empire, limited by the Alps on the one side and the sea on the other three, with Rome as its capital and an Emperor chosen from either the reigning families of Sardinia, Naples or England.‡

In 1858 the most powerful living subscriber to that document was unquestionably Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. But, powerful though he was, he dared not dis-

* Théodore Barrière, the famous author of *Les Faux Bonshommes, Les Filles de Marbre*, and co-author with Henri Murger of the dramatic version of *La Vie de Bohème*. Louis Bouilhet, the friend of Gustave Flaubert. Amédée Rolland, the founder of the satirical journal, *Le Diogène*, and a well-known playwright, though not known in England or America.

† *La Muette* made Pothey famous. He was originally a wood engraver. His best-known book, however, is *Le Capitaine Regnier*, a precursor of *Le Colonel Ramollot*.

‡ Both the act of affiliation and a copy of the project were seen by Monsignor Louis Gaston de Sigur, Arch-Canon of Saint Denis during the Second Empire.

patch 300,000 men across the Alps in discharge of a purely personal obligation, which was moreover contracted in his pre-imperial days. We need not inquire whether Louis Napoleon's compact with the *Carbonaria,* dating as it did from so many years previously, was generally known in France. I was a lad of fifteen then and, as I have had occasion to remark, constantly thrown into the society of my elders, nearly all of whom were more or less behind the scenes. I remember having heard vague allusions to the danger the Emperor ran "from the knife of the hired assassin"; I heard the names of Mazzini, Karl Marx, and Bakounine, in connection with conspiracies, but until four or five months before the attempt of January 14th none of those conversations tried to establish the existence of a vast organization to deprive the Emperor of his life. The three principal attempts up to that time, including that of Kehlse, were supposed to have been instigated by small groups, not necessarily Italians. My uncles' friends argued that the nine serious attempts on Louis Philippe's life and the one on the Duc d'Aumale were apparently not dictated by questions affecting the King's foreign policy; that with the exception of Fieschi all those would-be regicides were Frenchmen; but they observed also that the fact of Kehlse, Sinabaldi, Silvani and the rest being foreigners did not absolutely imply either a far-reaching conspiracy or a conspiracy from without. The plotters were as likely to be Republicans or Legitimists as Italian revolutionaries. Soon after the *Coup d' État* there had been an attempt to kill Louis Napoleon by means of an imitation of Fieschi's infernal machine; the attempt was nipped in the bud, but the presumption was strong against the partisans of the Comte de Chambord. In short, until within four or five months before the butchery in the Rue le Peletier, neither my uncles nor their friends, not even Joseph Ferrari, who was an Italian by birth and intimately acquainted with the doings of Mazzini,* seemed to be certain that the *Carbonari* were collectively at work in that respect.

But there was a sudden change of opinion. One day my younger grand-uncle came home looking very serious, and during dinner told his brother that there had been an attempt to decoy the Emperor. He did not say more that night, and I discovered afterwards that at that moment he knew no more.

* See *An Englishman in Paris,* vol. II., and *My Paris Note-Book,* chap. 3.

The next day more rumors found their way to our home, for no one could or would vouch for the truth of what he had heard and repeated. The word "decoyed," as used by my uncle, was, however, a misnomer. The Emperor had simply walked into a trap set for him by a woman with his eyes open, for he had been warned that it was a trap. He had been drugged and would have been abducted but for the intervention of another woman. All those stories, though varying in detail, agreed as to the main fact; there had been a carefully concocted plot to get hold of the Emperor and to convey him to the frontier, whether to imprison him as a hostage or to do away with him eventually was not stated. Not a single word of this, though, found its way into the French press, but the Belgian papers published different versions of the affair in the guise of fairy tales. In spite of the vigilance of the police and the customs, some copies were smuggled into France. The veil which fiction had woven around the original personages was too transparent for the public not to recognize them at once; nevertheless, people might have looked upon the whole as an ingenious fabrication but for the indiscretion of the Marquis de Boissy, a member of the senate and the jester in ordinary to that august assembly, just as the late Comte de Douville-Maillefeu was the jester in ordinary to the Chamber of Deputies under the Third Republic.* M. de Boissy was always putting questions to the Ministry, and when the rumors just alluded to became rife he insisted upon their being denied or confirmed by the Emperor's ministers. No such denial or confirmation being forthcoming, M. de Boissy exclaimed: "The Emperor, Messieurs les Senateurs, is not sufficiently careful in his intercourse with the fair sex. Out of sheer consideration for us, for himself, and for the country, His Majesty ought not to place himself at every moment in the power of this or that adventuress." M. de Boissy was not called "to order" by the chair, and although in those days no reports of the Legislature were allowed to be published, the story of the unanswered interpellation and of M. de Boissy's remark got wind. People not only concluded that the fairy tales of the Belgian papers contained a solid foundation of truth, but that the repeated attacks on the Chief of the State were something more serious than the individual acts of a Ravaillac or

* The Marquis de Boissy married the Countess Guiccioli, who played so important a part in the latter years of Byron's life.

a Louvel. Shortly after that came the affair of the Rue le Peletier.

I am not speaking without authority when I say that the Emperor, in spite of his profound concern for the innocent victims of that outrage would have felt pleased to see the perpetrators of it escape. He knew that neither their arrest nor execution would influence by a hair's breadth the course the *Carbonaria* had mapped out in order to force their erewhile member to fulfil the pledge he had given. And the fulfilment of that pledge meant war with Austria for no reason affecting the interests of France herself at that moment, with Austria against whom Prussia, in spite of her many years of warlike training, did not dare to draw the sword as yet, with Austria who with France was the protector of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See. The lesson of the Crimean War had not been lost on Napoleon III. In spite of the glory that had accrued to French arms, the Emperor was aware that the war had not been popular with the majority of the French nation, who strongly suspected the motives that led to it, especially at its conclusion when there was no territorial or other compensation for the sacrifices they had undergone. And in the Crimean War the Emperor had had the support of the clergy, which he felt certain would fail in a war for the liberation of Italy; for not the humblest rural priest fostered the faintest illusion with regard to the final upshot of such liberation as far as Rome was concerned. And although the idea of freeing their Latin brethren from the hated yoke of the Austrian was no doubt attractive to some Frenchmen, the prospect of the humiliation of the Papacy as pictured by the priesthood throughout the land was hateful to nearly all.

That is why the Emperor felt sore with the police for not having prevented the catastrophe, and not as has so often been alleged because of the danger to which their neglect had exposed him. Truly, that danger had never appeared so formidable as then; the erstwhile *Carbonaro* had fondly imagined that the *Carbonaria* would stop short at taking his life—that all its former attempts had been intended to force his hand, not to render that hand powerless in death; and to a certain extent he had logic on his side. Louis Napoleon's death would have dispelled for at least a decade all reasonable chances of a free and

united Italy. Mazzini's contention, assumption, or boast—call it what you will—that "Napoleon III.'s death would have been followed by another republic which would have come to the aid of Italy," to which boast Orsini gave utterance at his trial, will not bear a moment's investigation as regards its second postulate. But the truth of the first was patent to everybody, and more than patent to Louis Napoleon himself, who, notwithstanding his fatalism and his marvellous escape from the jaws of death, was too logical to court deliberately a second risk of a similar nature. The Prince Imperial was not two years old, and his father knew but too well that the sight of an infant king in his cradle, and shown by his mother, was no longer sufficient to keep revolutionary passions in check, as it had been 200 years before, during the Regency of Anne of Austria. If at any period he had been at all sanguine about the results of such an exhibition, the somewhat analogous experiments of the Duchesse de Berri (July, 1830) and of the Duchesse d'Orléans (February, 1848) were amply calculated to disabuse his mind in that respect, apart from the fact that in spite of his great love for his wife, he was not quite prepared to credit her with the heroism that beards a revolution. The Emperor, therefore, knew that the first and foremost condition of his son's succession to the throne was the prolongation of his own life. Four and twenty hours after the bloodshed in the Rue le Peletier, he had been categorically told that his life depended on the following steps on his part*: 1st. The Pardon of Orsini; 2d. The Proclamation of the Independence of Italy; 3d. The Coöperation of France with Italy in a war against Austria.

There was no alternative but acceptance,† and even then the

* I have heard it stated over and over again that on the morning after the affair in the Rue le Peletier the Emperor sent for an old friend of his mother, a Roman exile, who had been living in Paris for many years, and who had been implicated, forty-three years before, in the conspiracy against the Holy See. Queen Hortense had told her son, if ever he was in trouble, to apply to this friend. Though close upon seventy at that time, he was in direct communication with the *Carbonaria* and had not left off conspiring. It was he who imposed the three conditions mentioned above, and a few days later announced to the Emperor that fifteen months' respite would be granted for the latter two. Personally, I am under the impression that this intermediary between the Emperor and the *Carbonaria* was the lawyer Domassi, the same who, in 1815, when a prisoner in Rome, was the guest of Monsignor Pacca, the Governor of the Holy City, at whose own table he ate. I feel certain that his name was mentioned several times in my hearing, but I have not a single note to confirm my impression. On the other hand, my uncles maintained that the man for whom the Emperor sent was the Comte Arèse, the same who had been brought up side by side with Prince Louis, and whose father was on most intimate terms with Queen Hortense. Comte Arèse is said to have told the Emperor that, in addition to Orsini, forty other *Carbonari* had been selected to repeat the attempt, if Orsini's should fail.

† A few days after the attempt the Prince Regent of Prussia (subsequently Wilhelm I.) wrote to Prince Albert as follows: "Napoleon's dilemma was summed up in two words; War or the dagger; not a French dagger, but an Italian one."

Carbonaria made a show of generosity in relieving Louis Napoleon of one of his pledges, the pardon of Orsini. They were afraid, probably, that the execution of that first pledge would entail the non-fulfilment of the other two; for at the first mention of his contemplated clemency the Emperor was confronted by the whole of the French clergy in the person of Cardinal Morlot, Archbishop of Paris. That prelate told him distinctly that, powerful as he was in France, "your Majesty is not sufficiently powerful to do this. By God's admirable grace, your Majesty's life has been spared, but a great deal of French blood has been shed, and that blood demands expiation. Without such expiation all idea of justice would be lost. *Justitia regnorum fundamentum.*"

When the words were reported to him at our home—I remember the scene as if it were to-day—Ferrari leaped from off his chair, and exclaimed: "They have come direct from Rome. The priests flatter themselves that the *Carbonaria* will insist rigorously on the redemption of the whole of the three pledges, and that short of that the society will take the Emperor's life. Well, the priests are mistaken. A human life counts for nothing with the *Carbonaria* and they will sacrifice Orsini's, as being for the moment less valuable than Louis Napoleon's to the cause of Italy's freedom. Remember what I tell you."

His interlocutors could not help remembering, for his prediction was realized to the very letter. A couple of days later the Emperor paid a secret visit to Orsini in his prison, and though no one knows till this day what transpired during that interview, Orsini after that became an altered man. He who had opposed a stern and stubborn silence to M. Treilhard's questions made virtually a clean breast of the whole affair. He supplied the most minute particulars of the organizing of the plot in London, and it was by the Emperor's special permission that Jules Favre was enabled to point out the lofty sentiments that impelled the deed. Louis Napoleon had virtually accepted the executorship of Orsini's political testament.*

By that time the Emperor could have had but few, if any, illusions left with regard to the efficiency of his police to protect him and his subjects against such outrages as that which had spread consternation throughout the land. The renewal of his

* I had the confirmation of this visit from the lips of the late Marshal Canrobert who had the particulars from General Fleury, who accompanied the Emperor.

compact with the *Carbonaria* had, however, given him a respite of fifteen months, for he felt confident that under no circumstances would they prove false to their word. And fifteen months to a man of his temperament, who trusted to the events of an hour to carry out the plans he had meditated for years, who had even postponed the Coup d'État from week to week, fifteen months to such a man, just escaped from a supreme danger, seemed little short of eternity. Fifteen months might be productive of a chapter, nay of a whole volume, of accidents; meanwhile he could breathe freely.

What, then, was the Emperor's surprise when within the next three months he was informed secretly by one of his chamberlains that another plot against his life was being hatched by the *Carbonaria*. There could be no doubt about the society's share in the matter, seeing that a portrait of Orsini, very rare at that particular period, served as a token of recognition among the conspirators, several of whom were in Paris. Piétri had been succeeded by Boitelle, and the chamberlain's revelations which had been preceded by insinuations virtually took the shape of an indictment against the new Prefect of Police. At first the Emperor had been disinclined to attach much importance to those communications, although he gave Boitelle a hint of the rumors that were abroad, without divulging, however, his own source of information. But when the chamberlain handed the Emperor a portrait of Orsini, said to have been borrowed from one of the conspirators, the Emperor sent for his Prefect and placed the documentary proof before him. The latter was not in the least disconcerted. "If your Majesty will tear off the sheet of paper that covers the back of the portrait, the value of the documentary evidence will strike your Majesty as original." The portrait was signed by Boitelle himself. "In fact," said the Emperor when telling the story, "Boitelle while dancing on the tight-rope of office is compelled to do as the others do. Though honest to a degree he has to invent tricks to keep his balance, and like the others he has but little time to spare to look around him. That kind of dual observation can only be accomplished successfully by a Fouché, and even my uncle had only one. Fouché danced on the tight-rope and every now and again knocked the enemies of the Emperor on the head with his balancing-pole; my prefects allow my enemies to get hold of the balanc-

ing-pole and to drag them off their rope with it. That is the difference between my police and that of Napoleon I." Eighteen months later, notwithstanding the apparently satisfactory issue of the war in Italy, the Emperor might have held the same language with regard to the superior officers of his army.

After all this, there is no need to insist upon the real motive —as distinguished from the alleged one—that led Louis Napoleon to undertake a war against Austria. What is, perhaps, less intelligible is the Emperor's anxiety for his cousin's marriage with Victor Emmanuel's daughter, notwithstanding the King's scarcely concealed repugnance to sanction such a union. The following note from my grand-uncles is dated January 1859.

"The King, though brave to a fault, dreads 'scenes' with his womankind. He had been more or less afraid of Queen Adelaide; he was afraid of Rosina Vercellana long before he made her Contessa di Mirafiori; he appears to be more afraid of Princesse Clotilde than he was of the late Queen and is of Contessa Rosina, although the Princess is but sixteen. But she takes life very seriously and has strong religious feelings, in which both views and feelings she is backed up by her former governess, Signorina Foresta. There being no mother these two are of course much thrown together, and the opposition to the marriage derived considerable and additional force from this constant companionship. Victor Emmanuel was on the horns of a dilemma, but Cavour got him out of it by positively 'bundling' Signorina Foresta out of the palace and ordering her to leave Piedmont within the space of twenty-four hours. Ferrari tells me that Cavour, in spite of his mild and benevolent looks can be very rough and arbitrary. The only one who is not afraid of him is Garibaldi, who on one occasion said that, Prime Minister or not, he would fling him out of the window if he began bullying. Be this as it may, according to Ferrari, Prince Napoleon was talking to Victor Emmanuel when the latter was called out of the room and told that Signorina Foresta had been got rid of. A moment or so afterwards the king returned, his face beaming with satisfaction. 'There has been a lot of worry about this marriage of yours,' he said to Plon-Plon, with whom ever since his visit to France in 1855 he had been on terms of boon companionship. Plon-Plon nodded his head affirmatively. 'Well, we'll settle the matter at once,' he said, and before Plon-Plon could ask any further

questions, he rang the bell and sent for his daughter. A few minutes later the Princess entered the apartment, and the door had hardly closed upon her when her father pushed her into Plon-Plon's arms. 'I have told you that you are to marry Napoleon,' he laughed, 'and here he is; kiss one another and let there be an end of the matter.'"

That is how Victor Emmanuel got over his scruples or pretended to get over them, for to the end of his life he never forgave himself for that marriage. "I shall be able to account to my Maker for the blood I have spilled for the cause of Italy's freedom," he said shortly before his death. "I shall never be able to account for the tears and the martyrdom I have inflicted upon an innocent woman for that same cause; and that woman is my daughter."

The barest enumeration of the incidents of the Franco-Austrian campaign is out of the question here. There are at least a hundred books professing to treat those incidents historically; I have read several of these works; I have skimmed a great many more. As far as I can recollect there is not one which has fulfilled its real historical purpose of showing the reader that the disaster of Sedan was foreshadowed in the victory of Magenta. It is simply because the historian proper travels from his starting point—Cause—to his goal—Result—in a railway train, which mode of locomotion prevents him from examining the intervening ground invariably bestrewn with valuable personal anecdotes. In one of Disraeli's earlier novels—I do not remember which—there is a father who recommends his son to read biography and autobiography, by preference the latter, rather than history. I read that novel when I was a mere lad, and have never seen it since, but I promised myself to profit by the advice. I have not neglected history, but have taken it as the English take their melon, after dinner—*i. e.*, after my biographical fill of the men and women who played a part in that history. Most people take their history as the French take their melon, viz., before their biographical meal. Accident has, moreover, befriended me by placing at my disposal a number of notes not available to others, and it is from some of these that the evidence will be forthcoming not only as to the rotten state of the French army during the Franco-Austrian campaign, but of Napoleon's knowledge to that effect at the very beginning of that

campaign; which knowledge went on increasing until the end, when he could come to one but conclusion, namely, that in spite of the glory that had accrued to it, the French army would be as powerless to keep the foreign foe at bay on its own territory as the police had been powerless to protect his life from the attempts of the assassin. Fate and only Fate had stood by Napoleon's side, and to Fate he would have to trust throughout.

The Emperor left the Tuileries for the seat of war at 5 P. M. on May 10, 1859; at 7:30 A. M. on May 4, hence six days and a few hours before his departure, Lieutenant de Cadore, one of his Majesty's orderly officers, handed Marshal Vaillant an autographic letter from his sovereign informing the old soldier that he had ceased to be Minister of War. A little less than four years before that period the Marshal in a confidential gossip with a friend, had confessed his inability either to accomplish or even to initiate the desired reforms in the army, of the necessity for which he was painfully conscious. The Marshal was essentially an honest man, so honest, in fact, as to accuse himself frequently of dishonesty without the smallest foundation for such an accusation. The Emperor must have been more or less aware of that incapacity of which, moreover, Vaillant made no secret;* yet there was no attempt on his Majesty's part to replace the admittedly incapable by the admittedly capable, for it would be idle to pretend that all the captains of the Second Empire who did not come to the front were vainglorious mediocrities. There were men who, though not endowed with genius, were nevertheless exceedingly well informed and ornaments to their profession. General (afterwards Marshal) Niel was neither a Moltke nor anything like a Moltke, but as an organizer he was probably superior to most of the men in view. His subsequent failure to reorganize the French army was due, first of all, to his early death; secondly, to the opposition he encountered on all sides during the short time he had his hand on the helm. And there were many men as able as he who were not even vouchsafed that small chance.

Why did not the Emperor replace Marshal Vaillant by one of them long before that? Why, having waited so long, did he dismiss him so abruptly at the twelfth hour? The eleventh had gone by, for a great part of the forces was already in Italy.

* *An Englishman in Paris*, vol. II., ch. viii.

The first question must remain unanswered until I treat of society at the Tuileries and at Compiègne. The second I will answer at once.

Vaillant was deprived of his portfolio at a moment's notice because he had become imbued with the idea that an incapable Minister for War, pocketing the emoluments attached to his office, ought to atone for his incapacity by saving the moneys of the State. He had positively sent three of the divisions belonging to Canrobert's *corps d'armée*—namely, those of Bourbaki, Renault, and Trochu—across the Alps *with insufficient clothing, without stores of any kind, without cartridges, and almost without guns.* "Pray, ask the Emperor," said Bourbaki to the officer sent by Napoleon III. to take a preliminary view of the situation; "pray, ask the Emperor whether his Minister for War is a traitor or whether he has fallen into a state of idiocy?" "A French army has made its way into Italy before now without shoes to their feet and without shirts to their backs; but the sight of a French army going to confront the enemy without cannon and without cartridges is an unprecedented sight," concluded Trochu, when making his report to the same envoy.

This was before a blow had been struck, before a shot had been fired. On June 1 (three days before Magenta) the Emperor was within an ace of being taken prisoner by the Austrians at a distance of about a hundred yards from the French outposts, which outposts themselves were not three hundred yards away from the encampment of Failly's division. This narrow escape did not occur during an engagement, but while his Majesty was peacefully trundling in a shandrydan on a country road—I believe from Bicocca to Vespolata. At the battle of Magenta MacMahon himself fell among a detachment of Austrian sharpshooters, who luckily mistook him for one of their generals.

Is it wonderful then that the Emperor's illusions with regard to his army were gone? Is it wonderful that being the fatalist he was, he rushed madly into the war of 1870, trusting to his star and to his star only? For that such was the case I shall have no difficulty in proving by and by.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

"COIN'S FINANCIAL SCHOOL" AND ITS CENSORS.

BY W. H. HARVEY, AUTHOR OF "COIN'S FINANCIAL SCHOOL."

"WHAT is it that exerts the most powerful influence in the world over the actions of mankind?"

This question was put by one man to another, as the two sat alone lazily smoking their cigars one afternoon, in a room of the Union League Club in Chicago.

The man to whom the question was addressed leaned back in his chair in a thoughtful attitude, elevated his face and slowly blew the smoke from his mouth as he held his cigar in his hand.

"Religion?" queried the man who had asked the question, as if to hasten a reply.

"No," said his companion, who now brought his hand down on the arm of the chair, sat a little more upright, and, looking straight at his companion, continued: "Money. Its influence in shaping the civilization of the world has been more powerful than that of religion. In fact, there can be no true civilization till its power is curbed, or, rather, till the philosophy of it is solved."

The man speaking had become animated. He now leaned forward and went on:

"If the present agitation results in solving that problem—a problem which never has been solved—there will be at once the beginning of a new era. Civilization needs a fluid—a life-giving, vitalizing fluid. It needs it in quantity and quality. It is a scientific question, and when it is discovered the world will know it by the effect produced."

"What do you call that which we now have?" interrupted the listener.

"Barbarous! A muddy, sickly fluid, flowing intermittently

through the body politic with leeches sucking and impeding its circulation at every point," was the reply.

"Well, the subject is in a fair way to receive the attention of the world, and from present appearances, the United States will lead in the movement—it will be the issue in the campaign of 1896." Then he asked suddenly:

"What do you think of *Coin's Financial School?*"

"It has precipitated the study of the question and points the way to its correct solution."

"What do you think of the answers to it, and of its critics?"

The man to whom the question was addressed now rose, straightened himself out and paced the floor without at first saying anything in reply. Turning, he faced his companion and said:

"That book, as the near future will show, has aroused the prejudice of the most dangerous and powerful element in the world. Its critics are slaves set to lash the author of that book and their master is—money. You said a moment ago, or intimated, that religion exerted the greatest of all influences in the world on the action of members of the human race. Now, I will demonstrate to you that religion has a master that threw it, bridled it, broke it in and enslaved it. At the time of Christ what is now known as the Christian religion had its origin. It was at a period when a few owned about everything and were trying to possess themselves of what little the poorer people had. It was an era of selfishness—personal selfishness—with a craze for making money. Money was worshipped and hoarded by those who had it, and its scarcity among the people created a fierce competition for the small quantity in circulation. This brought on a congestion in business and trade and a very similar condition was produced to that which now exists throughout the world. Christ discovered the cause of the concentration of wealth and preached against it. He, in a literal sense, overturned the tables of the money changers. Put in the common American English of today, he said that the system of trading and trafficking in money and hiring it out for pay—usury, which means interest—would inevitably end in the destruction of all other industries; that these industries yielded a profit averaging less than the profits derived by money changers in the way of interest on their money; that this advantage to the money changers, who were dealing in the

life blood of commerce itself—on the very existence of which commerce depended—finally gave to the money lenders such a power as to bring on disintegration of society and with it the debasement of the character of the people. Christ and his followers preached against this system, and they were intelligent men who had a strong, mental grasp of the situation, but little attention was paid to them till it was discovered that the people were being converted to their views. The fact was that in a trial by fair argument there was no other conclusion to reach. The argument was this :

"Trade and commerce—the interchange of products—depend on a common medium of exchange ; one that will as nearly as possible register values, and neither expand nor contract to unduly affect the calculations of traders and business men. This medium of exchange should be devoted, they reasoned, solely to that use for which a demand had created it, and there should be no law that would encourage men to hoard it and demand pay for its use. It would thus have a value for exchange, but none for hire. The money lenders at first laughed at such an argument and said that money was property and it had always been lawful for men to hire out for use that which belonged to them. Christ replied to this by saying that, if these men were not allowed to hire their money out for interest, they would invest their money, and there being no object left thereafter to induce men to hoard money, it would flow freely in the channels of trade, answer the purpose for which it was intended, every one would get some of it and the great craze for money would cease. He also said that his plan would do away with a dangerous system that eventually destroyed all other industries. There would be no more hoarding of money. A relaxation of the social strain would follow, resulting in peace and general prosperity.

"The money changers discovered that this influence and this man had to be checked and gotten rid of very quickly or they would be overthrown. They shifted their position from one of attempting to reason with the people to one of ridicule and abuse. Poverty and the craze to make money had placed in their possession soldiers, servants and writers willing to do their bidding. To ridicule and abuse they added ostracism and punishment. 'Christian Dogs' was a common appellation given to these men who sought to remedy the ills of civilization. Finally the officers

in authority instigated by the men whose property was threatened, or rather whose right to prosecute a '*legitimate*' business was being interfered with, decided to get rid of the main conspirator. This was Christ. To jail, punish or kill him would, they reasoned, destroy this 'pernicious movement!' This plan was adopted and carried out. Christ was arrested and his life taken. This threw his followers into confusion. Christ was himself a Jew, and the apology of modern religion for abandoning his teachings by railing at Jews has no significance in it except that which I give it."

Here the speaker paused, turned and walked to the other end of the room and back again. He began again:

"This put an end to hope of success for the movement set in motion two thousand years ago by that wise and good man. His followers kept up an attempt to carry out the wisdom of his religion, and so long as they did were persecuted.

"Promise me," the man standing continued, "that you will go and get the books giving the history of that period and know for yourself how and why these men were persecuted and why they were called all manner of vile names. When they were driven out of Judea they went to Rome and arousing there the same antagonism, they were similarly treated. Most of them were killed and many of them were smeared over with tar and torches made of their burning bodies by night on the streets. Finally these Christians abandoned this teaching of Christ, that had in it a remedy for the emancipation of the human race, and from that moment the Money Power let up and permitted them to become respected citizens. So, when you suggested that religion was the greatest influence in the world, I said 'No, it is money. And I was right."

Again he paused and took a short turn across the floor. His companion was silent, lying back in the large arm chair in which he was seated, his arms extending straight out from the body across the arms of the chair, his cigar gone out and his mind absorbed in contemplation of that long gone period, the truthful portrayal of which he recognized and admitted.

The man thus sitting did not utter a word, but his eyes looked the interest he felt in what was being said.

"And now," continued the man standing, "this same unconquered and relentless power is again aroused in defense of its sin-

ful and selfish principle. It was not satisfied to wait for its slowly accumulating power to absorb all other wealth, and undertook to hasten this absorption by demonetization of one half of all the money, that it might thereby increase the importance of the remaining half. In its defense, as in the days of Christ, it knows that it cannot win by relying on fair argument to present the justice of its cause. Hence, it will use abuse, slander and misrepresentation. The fair, truthful, honest arguments of *Coin's Financial School* are met, not by counter arguments, but by abuse of the book and its author. I will state one of them to you," he continued. "A New York critic commences a book by saying that 'Coin's School' never took place; that the statement that a little boy held a school in the Art Institute in Chicago is false, and he exhibits and prints letters from prominent Chicago men to the effect that the school never occurred. He then proceeds to reason that the author who would lie about one thing cannot be relied upon to tell the truth about anything. He thus appeals to prejudice, just as the slave owners did when they damned *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by saying that no such negro as Uncle Tom ever existed and no man by the name of Legree lived in the South. No one who has capacity to address himself to the principle involved ever cared whether Uncle Tom and Legree actually lived or not; or whether a little boy in knee pants ever taught a school in Chicago, the pupils of which were such men as Lyman Gage, Jno. R. Walsh and other bank presidents and prominent business men. The principle discussed in the story told is the thing of value. But unable to meet and overthrow an invincible argument and yet determined to protect themselves by fair or foul means, they charge the book to be false from beginning to end and cite the non-existence of the 'School' as evidence to prove their case. If it were true that the book is base and false, is it not reasonable to suppose that the people of this country with the statutes and official documents from Washington before them, from which Coin quotes his tables and figures, would see that the book was a fraud and that it never could have won the prominence it has?

"A student of human nature," he concluded, "can see that Coin is telling the truth when he reads the personal attacks made on the author of the book; a man who is known only by reason of being the author of a volume that over a million of men—in-

telligent men—have read, and who believe its statements of fact to be true and its logic sound."

"But," said the other, "*Coin's Financial School* uses the real names of living characters, while in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other similar works, fictitious names only are used."

"That is true;" was the reply, "but in the 'School' the well-known opinions of these same characters as expressed by them in print are put into their mouths and fairly stated. It is the strength of the book that these questions are handled honestly and stated fairly, giving clear and full force to the arguments of the other side. In none of these letters of denial do any of these persons refute the sentiments and opinions that were put into their mouths."

"How do you account for so many books appearing in answer to the 'School,' and its critics in this form multiplying so rapidly?" was the next question.

"There are two classes of answers," replied the man standing. "First, an answer was necessary to head off the influence of the book. This brought forth several replies from men who were best capable of presenting the other side of the question. The other and larger class of replies came from numerous publishers who want to print books to sell. They are after the money there is in it, and, as the followers of the yellow standard were crying for an answer to the book, here was a demand to be supplied. 'These men will buy any book claiming to be an answer to the *School*,' is the way the publishers of books reasoned. I know one publisher here in Chicago who hired two writers and told them he wanted an answer written to *Coin's Financial School* in ten days. They threw up their hands and said: 'Impossible; we know very little about this question.' 'That makes no difference,' said the publisher; 'I want a book and must have it. The answer first on the market will have the largest sale, and you must throw something together which will make a respectable book.' The book was produced and compares very favorably with about forty others that were created under about the same circumstances.

"Then there are the numerous writers for pay" he continued, "who will write on either side of any subject for the money to be made. They are unconsciously the instruments or slaves of the power of money. They will assist in propagating and defending

a system that is responsible for the disordered condition of society, because it makes money for them and relieves their temporary necessities which money will provide for. The young man who has just attended a conference at the First National Bank concerning the substance of an answer to the book is imbued by no high patriotic impulse. He is but an atom in this nervous age of money making. His mind is the natural product of the conditions environing his life, and the necessity of procuring the comforts of life makes of him what he is."

"In what way and with what success do they answer the facts and arguments in the book?" asked the quieter man of the two.

"Most of them," replied the man standing, "go to pieces as soon as they hit the financial question, and the reader quits and throws down the book. Some of them build up on a theory and construct interesting books. Those who undertake to prove that the statistics in Coin's book are false will take Coin's table of prices, for instance, of wheat, cotton and silver, covering the last twenty-one years, and will make a table of their own, different from the one in the book, and put the two side by side. Coin gives the annual export price at New York, as given by the United States Statistical Abstract, for those years, and the author of the reply will take, for instance, Chicago prices, but will not explain with fairness to the reader why the tables do not agree. Thus the two tables will differ. But they will both show to the thinker that the principle Coin contends for is right, viz.: that prices of products not affected by trusts have declined with silver, and all are being measured in appreciated gold. The author of the reply is satisfied when he has represented Coin as a liar by his system of comparing prices. Those who admit his facts and statistics and argue honestly for a gold standard make the best replies."

"Of all the replies, both fair and unfair, which class do you regard as the most dangerous to the cause the School represents?"

"Those vilifying the book and its author. I say that for this reason. The book cannot be answered. The next best thing to do is to prejudice the people who have not read the book against it, so that they will not read it."

"Yes, but does not this, by exciting the curiosity of the people, cause it to be read?" the man seated inquired.

"No, not when you convince a man that if he reads it he will read a pack of lies; that the statements and figures are unreliable.

This removes the desire to read the book. If you want to kill the influence of a man, or, as in this instance, a book, use ridicule and abuse. By calling a man an 'anarchist,' 'crank,' 'repudiator,' 'lunatic,' and 'blatant orator,' an impression will be created among all except the followers of the 'crank' and 'lunatic,' that the man is more or less such a person. This is the most effective weapon that has ever been or can be used on those who seek a reform that interferes with the power of money or the dominion of property over human hearts. Money has no patriotism. It has no moral principles. If the life of the government were in danger to-morrow, as it was in 1861–65, the money power would hold it up by the throat. In fact, it is now strangling the government. It smiles on you when you recognize its power but will crush you if you antagonize it, just as it induced Pontius Pilate and the officials of that government to kill Jesus Christ and scatter His followers. It is now only partially aroused; if the danger to it continues to rise in this country it will exhibit all its strength and it will be terrible! It will seize the government. Official despotism will follow. Men whose characters have been moulded and made by the conditions leading up to the present situation, when elected to office, become the servants of this power. Their salaries are not reduced; if changed at all the salaries are raised. The purchasing power of their dollars is increased by the system they defend. Their self interest goes with the money power and they court its favors and look for a soft spot, financially, on which to land at the end of their term of office. They seemingly become heartless concerning the common masses—the plain people—hence, official despotism. These are the conditions that come with the breaking down of a government as a natural result of the money power absorbing the wealth of the people. I do not mean any man individually, or any number of men collectively, when I speak of the money power. It is a thing impersonal. It is a grasping, perverse nature cultivated in man, that seizes upon the use of money to accomplish its evil purpose. It is most dangerous because it gives strength and prominence to those who advocate its cause, and has the appearance of being a just and reasonable right under the laws of man for the disposal of property. It is not so easy for men to see that its tendency is evil and its victims millions, when their eyes are blinded by the dazzling blaze of possibilities

of wealth for themselves. The right to accumulate unnecessary property and to produce distress among the people is not a divine right, and should not be guaranteed by human laws."

The man who had thus spoken paused, and, as he did so, the man who had been seated rose and walked across the floor with his head bowed and his hands behind him. Nothing more was said by either for several minutes. Suddenly the one who had listened and thus been impressed, said:

"And what is the end?"

"Monarchy!" was the reply, and then continuing: "Monarchy, where man's liberty is suppressed, free speech and a free press abolished, and the poor held in subjection, standing armies increased, police protection and a rule of might prevail, where all recognize but one master, the power of wealth. To acknowledge the principle of which I speak would be serving another god than wealth. The men on whom a suffering race must depend to advance its cause and secure the needed laws have not in monarchies the right of free speech, let alone the strength to overcome the power of money. Men of unusual wealth will always take sides with this evil power to assist in crushing out a demand for reform—which is but a cry for justice."

Both men were now standing facing each other, and, as the philosopher who advocated the doctrine of Christ ceased speaking, the other asked:

"How do you account for its taking two thousand years to again involve the world?"

"The unexplored portions of the world," was the reply, "were escape valves for the poorer people, and they fled from the rigors of humiliation galling to liberty-loving natures by emigration into modern Europe, and in the last four hundred years to this country. The damming up of the stream has now come. There is no unexplored part of the world left suitable for men to inhabit, and justice now stands at bay, confronted by an enemy confident of its strength and as heartless and unrelenting as it is selfish."

"On which side are we?" earnestly asked the other.

"On the side of justice." In a prompt and animated tone came the reply, and the two men simultaneously extended their right hands and joined them together in a hearty grasp to seal the promise that day given one to the other.

W. H. HARVEY.

DEGENERATION AND EVOLUTION.

I.—A REPLY TO MY CRITICS.

BY DR. MAX NORDAU.

THREE critics have raised their voices against me in this magazine. I desire, first of all, to pay my compliments to Mr. Hazeltine. My dealings with him shall be reserved for the end. Mr. Cox and Mr. Seidl pair together exceedingly well. They are closely allied intellectually. Both possess the identical four characteristics that mark them as members of the same family. They write in bad faith, they are vulgar, they are ignorant, and they are incapable of argumentation. Whenever I detect these features in critics, I am accustomed to pass them by with a shrug of the shoulder. They have no claim upon recognition. And in answering them, I do so merely out of respect for the place where their production appeared and for the public which has done them the honor of reading it.

I.

MR. COX imputes to me the statement that the predilection of the middle and lower classes for chromos is an indication of their intellectual sanity. I never said anything of the kind. What I do say is that "only a very small minority take any sincere delight in the new 'departures,'" which I characterize as morbid, while the Philistine and Proletarian, whom I would still consider mentally sound, find these "departures" repellent. And for that reason the *aversion* of the masses to Pointillists and Pipists, to Symbolists and White-washers, and not their *predilection* for popular chromos, is a proof of their intellectual sanity. This predilection is proof only of their scanty training in art. Take the Philistine or Proletarian who revels in the despised chromos. Conduct him frequently through the museum. Show him the

magic of color of Titian and Rubens, the harmony of Rembrandt, the force of Velasquez and Franz Hals, the honest drafting of Memling, Holbein, and Dürer, the temperament and depth of feeling of Murillo and Correggio, and, above all, the more than human truth and beauty and spirituality of Leonardo,—cultivate his eye and his taste with those splendors, and the sound Philistine and Proletarian will come to be ashamed of his exultation over poor chromos; he will esteem and appreciate the labors of true artists, but will despise the hystericals, idiots and sensation hunters of the brush even more than before his art culture; for he will then perceive better than now how far removed from true art the aberration of these persons is. But the case of the small, though noisy, minority of degenerates, who have made the aberrations of art fashionable, is hopeless. They have enjoyed the benefit of an æsthetic training. They know the art collections. They have seen the eternal masters. But they have a sense for no normal beauty, and only for irritating curiosities, which are insults to taste, logic and morals. And thus the criterion of the sanity or morbidity of the masses and of the minority is not what attitude they may assume towards the odious chromo, but their attitude towards the aberrations of art.

Mr. Cox speaks of my "arrogance," and my "total inability to comprehend art." I am arrogant because I am not of one opinion with him. He simply assumes that his opinion is self-evidently and indisputably correct; from which, of course, the logical deduction is that a divergent opinion must not only be false but also malicious. Such a degree of artless self-confidence disarms. And as far as my "total inability to comprehend art" is concerned, I have long been familiar with that kind of phrase. It has always been with these that the fanatic advocates of lunacies in art and literature have endeavored to intimidate the poor folk that refuse to recognize anything but lunacies in them. "Do you not find that Ganguin, that Van Gogh are great artists? Then you are totally unable to comprehend art." The poor people at whose heads this condemnation is hurled are frightened. It is hard to be declared incapable of understanding art. To escape this frightful disqualification they make desperate efforts to admire Ganguin and Van Gogh. The reputation of many an artist and poet—of Mallarmé, for instance—is solely the result of this terrorism exercised upon timid and fragile natures by fools

or buffoons. Who does not know the old Oriental fairy tale, repeated by Andersen, and finally dramatized by Ludwig Fulda, in which a swindler sells an Egyptian sultan a wonderful cloth, which possesses the peculiarity of being visible only to the virtuous, while it remains invisible to the vicious? The cloth has no existence, the astute cheat only goes through the motions of unrolling, measuring, and cutting, but holds nothing in his hand. The sultan does not see any cloth, neither do the courtiers. But no one dares avow this. Everybody admires the non-existing cloth, and praises its imaginary gorgeousness with the choicest adjectives. For if anybody had owned that he saw nothing but empty air, he would thereby have furnished the proof of his depravity. The imposture is ended only when a small child in its innocence and frankness exclaims that it cannot comprehend what the others mean by speaking of a beautiful cloth; it sees no cloth; there certainly is no cloth. Scarcely credible though it be, this improbable fairy tale is repeated daily. A fool or an impostor points to some idiotic work and says: "Here is a master-production. Whoever recognizes its beauty is an art connoisseur; whoever does not recognize its beauty demonstrates his 'total inability to comprehend art.'" And the public, cowardly and intimidated, like the Egyptian courtiers of the story, actually exclaims: "How wonderful is this work of art!"—although it, of course, sees well enough that the work is not wonderful, but ineffably idiotic, that it is the delirium of a lunatic, or the childish effort of incompetence, or the mystification of a humbug.

Mr. Cox says of my analysis of the Pre-Raphaelite school: "This is somewhat like slaying the dead." He does not perceive that by this incidental phrase he destroys his whole polemic against me and brands it as frivolous, and that, provided his statement is correct, he completely justifies my attitude. For, if Pre-Raphaelitism is dead, it must assuredly have perished because it was not fit to survive, because it was morbid; and the whole object of the chapter which Mr. Cox assails is, after all, only to prove that Pre-Raphaelitism is morbid, is not fit to survive. But Mr. Cox's statement is untrue. While it may be that Pre-Raphaelitism has been vanquished in England it is just beginning on the Continent to exercise its baneful influence. In the salon of the Champ du Mars, this year, I find at least a

dozen painters whose pictures are completely dominated by the influence of Sir E. Burne-Jones. I only mention Aman-Jean, Ary-Renan, Hawkins, Monod, W. Stott, Picard, Osbert. I might easily double or even treble the enumeration. In view of this epidemic of imitation my chapter was not superfluous.

"*Modern Painters* was not a collection of studies," says Mr. Cox. Well, then, he has never had the book in his hand. For Ruskin himself says in the preface that the book grew out of individual studies; and we all know that individual portions, for instance the essay on Turner and English Landscape painting, appeared before the publication of the first volume of *Modern Painters,* which contains an elaboration of that essay.

In reference to my statement that the Pre-Raphaelites "got all their leading principles from Ruskin," Mr. Cox says: "This has been disproved again and again. Ruskin took up the movement and explained it after it was started." Evidently Mr. Cox does not know what he is speaking about. He confuses *Modern Painters* with *Pre-Raphaelitism*. *Modern Painters* first began to appear in 1843. The Pre-Raphaelite movement was started towards the end of the 'Forties. Ruskin's *Pre-Raphaelitism* appeared in 1851. Mr. Cox never read Hall Caine's and W. Sharp's memoirs of Rossetti. He is unacquainted with Holman Hunt's autobiography. Otherwise he would have seen how Hunt and Hall Caine, speak of the influence of the first volume of *Modern Painters* upon Rossetti, Millais and Hunt. Neither has he seen Robert de Sixeraune's book, *La Peinture-Anglaise Moderne.* There, too, it is expressly stated that "*Penché sur ce livre* (namely, Ruskin's *Modern Painters*), *Holman Hunt y puisait comme une seconde vie.*" There is no doubt that *Pre-Raphaelitism* was written by Ruskin after the movement was well under way. But he wrote it because he felt obliged to defend a movement which had sprung from his book, *Modern Painters.*

The principle of Pre-Raphaelitism is that "in order to express devotion and noble feeling, the artist must be defective in form." Mr. Cox adds hereto: "This nonsense is Nordau's own." Read the literal passages from Ruskin: "A rude symbol is oftener more efficient than a refined one in touching the heart. . . . As pictures rise in rank as works of art they are regarded with less devotion and more curiosity. . . . The picture which has the nobler and more numerous ideas, however awkwardly ex-

pressed, is a greater and a better picture than that which has the less noble and less numerous ideas, however beautifully expressed. . . . The less sufficient the means appear to the end, the greater will be the sensation of power." And now judge for yourself whether this nonsense is Nordau's or Ruskin's. "No such principle," says Mr. Cox, "was ever announced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as that artists should be deformed." Again, Mr. Cox has never read the expressions, "divine crookedness," and "holy awkwardness" which Pre-Raphaelites have applied to poorly drawn pictures.

I say, "Rossetti's father gave him the name of the great poet" (Dante). Cox observes: "His father did nothing of the kind. . . . He adopted the 'Dante' later, and all Nordau's argument of the influence of his name upon his character falls to the ground." Read the following first strophe of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's poem: "Dante's Tenebrae. In memory of my father:"

> "And didst thou know, indeed, when at the font,
> Together with thy name *thou gav'st me his*,
> That also on thy son must Beatrice
> Decline her eyes, according to her wont?"

Now, what falls to the ground? Mr. Cox has the assurance to add: "Apparently our author can be accurate in nothing? He speaks of the 'P. R. B.' exhibition in 1849 as if it were a separate exhibition of the Brotherhood alone." What I said was literally this: "In the spring of 1849 they exhibited in London a number of pictures and statues." There is not a syllable here to indicate that it was a separate exhibition. That point was left altogether untouched. Mr. Cox seems to take umbrage at my statement that "Rossetti soon exchanged the brush for the pen." I submit if this is not the correct description of the activity of a man who, in the first part of his artistic activity principally painted and only at rare intervals versified, while later on he scarcely ever painted and never exhibited, but, on the other hand, wrote copiously and published his writings?

"He cannot even describe a picture correctly, for he says that the figure of Christ in Holman Hunt's 'Shadow of the Cross' is standing in the Oriental *attitude of prayer*, . . . the shadow of his body falling *on the ground*. Both the statements I have italicized are untrue." The only thing which is untrue is the presumptuous assertion of Mr. Cox. Christ stands

with outstretched arms, and the shadow of the body together with the outstretched arms is precisely what constitutes the cross. I was in England when Holman Hunt's picture was first exhibited. It gave occasion at the time to an extensive newspaper controversy. The painter and his friends maintained that Christ was painted in an Oriental attitude of prayer. Oriental travellers and savans replied that no Oriental prays with outstretched arms. It is not my province to decide this question. It suffices for me that Holman Hunt had the intention and the conviction of painting Christ in an Oriental attitude of prayer.

Mr. Cox seeks to demonstrate that I am wofully at variance with myself. He does this by placing in juxtaposition such passages of my book, as he has partly not understood and partly misrepresented. I am made to say that the painter is not permitted to draw the ideal form of things for "the ideal form is an assumption. . . . To exclude individual features from a phenomenon as unessential and accidental, and to retain others as intrinsic and necessary is to reduce it to an abstract idea;" and then I am quoted as having said later: "For the artist, in his creation, separates the essential from the accidental, . . . divines the idea behind the structure . . . and discloses it in his work to the spectator." This looks serious in good sooth, and seems to justify Mr. Cox's comment: "It is not often that any one can be so superbly inconsistent as this." The truth is that the inconsistency has been produced artificially by Mr. Cox, and that no reader in good faith will find it in my book.

Ruskin says: "There is an ideal form of every herb, flower and tree. It is that form to which every individual of the species has a tendency to attain, freed from the influence of accident or disease," and he goes on to say: "To recognize and to reproduce this ideal form is the one great task of the painter." I contest this thesis of Ruskin's and show that it cannot possibly be the painter's task to paint an "ideal form," that is a "schema." (The English translation of this portion of my book is not wholly correct. I beg to be permitted to stand by the German original. Nobody can hold me responsible for the individual expressions of a translation which I did not review.) "The 'schema,'" I continue, "presupposes a conception of the law which conditions the phenomenon. This conception" (not "idea," as the English translation renders it) "may be erroneous, it varies with the

reigning scientific theories; the painter does not reproduce varying scientific theories, but sensible impressions; the 'schema' excites intellectual labor and not emotion, and the province of art is the excitation of emotion."

And on page 333 I say: "The emotion . . . is . . . a means of obtaining knowledge. . . . It constrains the higher centres to attend to the causes of their excitations, and in this way necessarily induces a sharper observation and comprehension of the whole series of phenomena related to the emotion. Next, the work of art grants an insight into the laws of which the phenomenon is the expression, for the artist, in his creation, separates the essential from the accidental . . . *and involuntarily gives prominence to the former as that which chiefly or solely occupies his attention, and is therefore perceived and reproduced by him with especial distinctness.*" Mr. Cox has suppressed the italicized lines. They contain the kernel of my idea. They prove that no such inconsistency was perpetrated by me, as Mr. Cox suggests. Ruskin insists that the painter must have a complete conception of the law which conceals itself behind the phenomenon, and that he must have a clear consciousness and intention of reproducing the phenomenon in such a way as to express that law with clearness. I declare that to be false and unartistic. I say contrariwise that the artist meets the phenomenon with an emotion; this emotion directs his attention to those features of the phenomenon which are the cause of the emotion; in consequence whereof he gives prominence to these features and neglects the others because they escape his notice. And when the picture is finished it does not show the phenomenon objectively, as is the case with a photograph, but it is just what the painter perceived it to be subjectively by dint of his emotion. And if the painter is a divining genius, his artistic emotion will be aroused by the expression of the great nature-forces, or, in other words, the eternal laws of nature in the phenomenon, and through his picture the great nature-forces, the eternal laws of nature, speak more plainly than through the phenomenon itself when viewed by one who does not possess the analytic and classifying artistic emotion of a divining genius. In short, Ruskin wants the artist to have a predetermined opinion; I want him to allow the phenomenon to operate upon him. Ruskin wants thought-labor; I want emotion. Ruskin wants

the artist to consciously impart into the phenomenon a rational conception; I want him to unconsciously give prominence to such individual features of the phenomenon as will enable the beholder to perceive a distinct law. Ruskin wants painting to be the art of the conscious; I want it to be the art of the unconscious. I am at variance with Ruskin, but not with myself.

There is another untruthful assertion of Mr. Cox's connected with this discussion. He says that I "make my own that doctrine of absolute fidelity to fact which is the worst feature of Ruskin's teaching." I do exactly the reverse. I even demonstrate that "absolute fidelity to fact" is utterly impossible to the painter. (P. 476-7. "It might be thought, perhaps, that . . . painting and sculpture are *capable of a faithful reproduction of reality.* . . . *This is an error.* It would never occur to a painter or a sculptor to place himself before a phenomenon, and reproduce it without selection, without accentuations and suppressions. . . . *Involuntarily* he will accentuate and throw into relief the feature which has inspired him with the desire to imitate the aspect in question, *and his work,* consequently, *will no more represent the phenomenon as it really was, but as he saw it;* it will only be a fresh proof, therefore, of his emotion, not the cast of a phenomenon.") Is this clear? Is it possible to be less correct than Mr. Cox when he maintains that I require "absolute fidelity to fact" from the painter?

Mr. Cox speaks of my "fury at witticisms," and states that according to me the tendency to perpetrate these is one of the great signs of mental degeneration. I never once spoke of witticisms, but of puns. Puns are, indeed, a proof of the association of ideas solely according to the similarity of sound of the words, but they make little or no requisition upon the reasoning faculty. And such a purely mechanical association is evidence of defective idealism and of insufficient intellectual strength.

"The way in which diametrically opposite symptoms prove the same disease seems strange to the unscientific mind," says Mr. Cox. So much the worse for the unscientific mind. It may seem strange to him that excessive irritability, for instance, and its apparently direct reverse, dullness, and even total insensibility, are symptoms of the same disease, nervous exhaustion. But any "scientific mind" will teach Mr. Cox that this is a fact.

Mr. Cox reproaches me with "never praising any artist . . .

except those whose reputation is so firmly established as to be beyond all cavil." This is intended as a proof of my "insensibility to art." Mr. Cox is not the inventor of this ridiculous reproach. A wise Theban cast it up to me once before. My answer to him shall serve as my answer now. What! I write a book about "Degeneration." I say in the title, in the preface, in the introduction, in the concluding chapter, ten times, one hundred times, that I desire to occupy myself *only* with the pathological aspect of Degeneration, *only* with its manifestations in art and literature; and now I am reproached for speaking in my book on "Degeneration" precisely of the degenerate ones whom I cannot praise, and not of sound artists whom I can praise! You might as well chide the author of a work on special diseases for not speaking of foot-ball champions and record-breakers in high and broad jumping, or the author of a work on insanity for not dwelling upon people with a phenomenally sound intellect. I have praised plenty of artists and literati who had no established reputation, and towards the establishment of whose reputation I was fortunate enough to be of assistance. Whoever has read my other books, whoever has read my Studies of the Paris Salons in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, or in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, is aware of that. But, surely my book on "Degeneration" was not the place to express my views of sound artists.

"What he does praise or admire in art is almost always successful imitation." I have just now shown that this is false. Imitation plays no part in my theory of art. I even affirm that bare imitation of art is impossible for psychological reasons. "There is no sign that beauty of line or fine composition has ever appeared to him to exist." On page 80 I discussed the means by which a picture awakens feelings of pleasure, and I find that these means are, *firstly* (not "solely"), the agreeable sensorial impression of beautiful color-harmony; *secondly*, an illusion of actuality and the pleasure attendant upon the recognition of the represented phenomenon; *thirdly*, the perception of the emotions which prompted the artist to give prominence to certain features of the phenomenon, such as the inartistic beholder failed to perceive so plainly before. But how else can the second and third of these effects be produced than by the "beauty of line and composition," that is, the drawing or the modelling of the figures and the arrangement of the groups?

After all, the objections hazarded by Mr. Cox might almost all be well founded, Mr. Cox might be right in almost every point wherein he finds fault with me, and I be wrong, and still he would not have touched the real nucleus of the work from afar. Whether the Pre-Raphaelites exhibited alone or in consort with others in 1849, or whether Rossetti's name was Dante or not, does not in the least affect the thesis for the proof of which I wrote my book: namely, that certain fashion tendencies of art are morbid and that they are rooted in the degenerateness of their inventors. Mr. Cox's hair-splitting arguments do not even touch this thesis.

II.

I HAVE but little to say to Anton Seidl. In his three pages of frightful ejaculations I have found only two statements which have demonstrated themselves as correct. I am said to have used Praeger's biography as a prop for my assertions concerning Wagner. My chapter on Wagner covers forty-three pages. Praeger is mentioned in it only once. That passage is, "For Wagner's persecution mania we have the testimony of his most recent biographer and friend, Ferdinand Praeger, who relates that, for years, Wagner was convinced that the Jews had conspired to prevent the representation of his operas." This is the only reference to Praeger, who is not mentioned before nor afterward, whose book I have not used in any other place, from whom I have taken no other allegation. And those few lines afford Anton Seidl a pretext to maintain that I drew materials from him "to substantiate my silly accusations." I would not have needed to have recourse to Praeger even for the information that Wagner imagined himself persecuted by the Jews, as there is other testimony in great abundance to the same effect.

The second statement is that I "cite Nietzsche as a competent critic of Wagner's dramatic poetry, but reject Nietzsche as of imbecile judgement in critizing Wagner, the musician." I was speaking of the part which the salvation idea played with Wagner and said, page 184: "Nietzsche has already remarked this and makes merry over it, with repulsively superficial witticisms." And thus I cite Nietzsche as a "competent critic of Wagner's dramatic poetry"! Any other reader than Anton Seidl would understand this passage to mean that "Wagner's salvation-

stupidity was so palpable that even a lunatic like Nietzsche could not help perceiving it."

III.

Mr. Hazeltine regards the question which I sought to deal with from a lofty point of view. In noble terms appropriate to his noble train of thinking, he, too, deplores the chaotic state of the times. But his views concerning the *fin de siecle* malady differ from mine in three respects. Mr. Hazeltine does not believe that this malady is a new manifestation; he does not believe that it is caused by degeneration; and he does not recognize its aetiology in the effects of the new inventions, the growth of the great cities, and the ravages of stimulating poisons, particularly of alcohol; but, rather, in the loss of religious faith.

It were a pleasure to me to be able to coincide with so distinguished a mind as Mr. Hazeltine's even in the minutest detail. Objections raised by him demand serious reflection.

I have examined Mr. Hazeltine's arguments with respect, with sympathy and free from a spirit of vain antagonism. He will pardon me if I tell him that I really believe that I can reply to his objections and uphold my theses.

I am grateful to Mr. Hazeltine for not charging me with the delusion of imagining that the views which our times afford are not something unique and hitherto unheard of. The celebrated sociologist of Gratz, Professor Gumplovicz, has proposed the names "Akrochronism" and "Akrotopism" to designate this rather wide-spread error. He applies these words to that mental defect which consists in making one believe that one's own age and the place wherein one lives are something which never had their parallel. I have striven to avoid this error of the mind. I was so much struck by the similarity of our times with the age of decline of the Roman Empire that I laid especial stress and dwelt upon it in one of my former books, "The Conventional Lies of Cultured Humanity." But just as it has been said that "a little philosophy leadeth away from God, but a great deal thereof leadeth back again," so I should like to say that "a little knowledge of history leads one to believe in the similarity between different epochs, but more knowledge shows that the similarity is only apparent, and that the difference is really very great."

In Rome, at the Decline, we find precisely as at the present day, an unravelling of all moral bonds, ferocity in manners, un-

sparing egotism, sensualism and brutality; we find multitudes whose loathing of life impels them to suicide. The realistic literature of a Petronius is the counterpart of the novels of a Zola, only that there is more humor and wholesome satire in one chapter of the *Cena Trimalchionis* than in all the two dozen volumes of the *Rougon-Macquart* combined. The luxuriating of the neo-Platonism reminds one of the neo-mystic movement of our own times. In so far, the similarity is striking. The divergence begins when we consider not the immoral, but rather the delirium-reeking literature and art of the present day, and do not overlook the concomitant phenomena of the social life. No record has been preserved to show us that the decay of manners in Rome increased the rate of drunkenness, insanity and impulsive crimes—for we must distinguish impulsive crimes from those crimes which yield a palpable advantage to their perpetrators. To-day this increased ratio is observable in all centers of civilization, at least, in Europe. Furthermore, we find in Rome at the decline a retrogression of the arts, the works become more slovenly, heavy and awkward, but still, antiquity does not furnish us with such poets as Mallarmè, Sar Peladan, Maeterlink, such philosophers as Nietzsche, such artists as Henry Martin, Monet, Pissarro, Van Gogh, or Trachsel. In these respects I see an essential difference between our age and preceding epochs which seem to bear a resemblance to it.

Mr. Hazeltine's views are quite correct so far as they go. But he has confined himself to only one side of the question and neglected the other side. He sees only the immoral tendencies of the present time. Such tendencies have been observed heretofore from time to time, particularly in the wake of occurrences which shook the social fabric, such as wars, revolutions and epidemics. They imply neither degeneration nor insanity, but the uncaging of the beast in persons who are held in check in normal times by the wholesome fear of police and judges. But in our day I see, besides the immoral tendencies, delirious tendencies, and concerning these, Mr. Hazeltine is silent. Tolstoï is not immoral. Neither are the Pre-Raphaelites, and Wagner is so only by reason of the excess of his erotic emotions. But they are mystico-confused. Their ideation is abnormal. Their theories of art and social reform are identical with those which the psychist meets with in his educated patients,

and often even, although in a more naïve, less developed degree, in his patients of the lower social strata. Immorality alone would not justify the diagnosis of degeneration. That much I will at once concede to Mr. Hazeltine. But deliriums do justify the diagnosis; and yet of the forms of delirium which I dwelt upon at large, Mr. Hazeltine has said nothing. And the diagnosis is supported by the aforementioned concomitant phenomena of the non-artistic and non-literary kind, which cannot be traced to immorality alone, like the increased rate of insanity, imbecility, idiocy and impulsive crimes, but which certainly may be traced to degeneration.

The epoch of the troubadours of Provence occupies a unique position. At that time immorality and decay of manners were not, as in the Rome of the decline, the main features; but there were then, as now, in the literary and social life distinct signs of deliriums—erotomania, mystico-mania, and a certain degree of Masochism (a sickly revelling in the thought of being the slave of a woman and of being ready to suffer for or through her).

That would, indeed, seem to establish a similarity between that era and ours. But, according to all that we know of the confusions of the mediæval period, these were not phenomena of degeneration, but rather epidemics of hysteria; and this hysteria was simply a consequence of the excitements attendant upon the terror preceding the year 1,000, then upon the crusades and later upon the black-death.

And now we come to the aetiological question. Mr. Hazeltine makes religious decay responsible for the disease of this age as well as for the morbid phenomena of the twelfth century and of the time of the Roman Empire. He denies that over-exertion had anything to do with it. He is convinced that humanity can adapt itself without injury to every new invention. I, myself, believe that. But time is required for the adaptation, and meantime generations of less adaptable persons perish for lack of organic fitness. And as far as over-exertion is concerned, it really does seem almost paradoxical to say that the "upper ten" live more comfortably and more peaceably to-day than their ancestors before the introduction of the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the globe-trotting mania and the ubiquitous interviewer. I treated the argument of over-exertion very fully in *Degeneration*. I adduced numerous statistics there in corroboration. I

do not wish to repeat the figures here. There is, in my mind, no doubt of the existence of the over-exertion, the multiplication of all sensations, the manifolding of the services that are required of us. Lack of faith explains but few of the present phenomena. It does not even explain those of the Roman decline and the turmoils of the twelfth century. For the educated classes of Augustan Rome, while the empire was still new, young and strong, were just as sceptical as two centuries later; and the belief of the illiterate masses in the third century was identically the same as in the first century. Their religion was an uncouth, naïve superstition, and even their Christianity, when they adopted it, was only a change of name applied to their ancient views, which remained essentially the same. And to charge the twelfth century with infidelity would require no little temerity! Contact with Islam can rob no one of faith, for faith is nowhere rooted deeper than among Mohammedans. At the commencement of our era also, and also in the twelfth century, other elements besides infidelity were at work to produce an intellectual epidemic. To-day that is surely the case, as we are subject to sensations which radically transmute the life and habits of every man, and to a cause of perturbation which was known neither in old Rome nor in the twelfth century; that is to say, the stimulating poisons, especially alcohol, which has been distilled only since the eighth century and has come into general use only in recent years.

I believe I have established my thesis. Our age certainly has individual features in common with other ages, but at no time known to me were there, in addition to phenomena of mere brutality and lewdness, so many symptoms of organic ruin observable as now. The diagnosis—"degeneration"—is justified by these symptoms of organic ruin, and is more applicable to our times than to previous epochs. And infidelity cannot be the sole or even the principal cause; for to assume so would be equivalent to shutting one's eyes completely to alcoholism and to over-exertion, which are discovered as the aetiology in numerous cases.

I have weighed Mr. Hazeltine's arguments seriously. I beg him also to ponder mine. The questions that engage both of us are of the number of those which are most deserving to occupy the human mind.

MAX NORDAU.

II.—KIDD'S "SOCIAL EVOLUTION."

BY THE HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" is distinctly one of the books of the year. It has been called a great book; but this it is not, for the writer is burdened by a certain mixture of dogmatism and superficiality, which makes him content to accept half truths and insist that they are whole truths.

He deserves credit for appreciating what he calls "the outlook." He sketches graphically, and with power, the problems which now loom up for settlement before all of us who dwell in Western lands; and he portrays the varying attitudes of interest, alarm, and hope with which the thinkers and workers of the day regard these problems. He points out that the problems which now face us are by no means parallel to those that were solved by our forefathers one, two or three centuries ago. The great political revolutions seem to be about complete and the time of the great social revolutions has arrived. We are all peering eagerly into the future to try to forecast the action of the great dumb forces set in operation by the stupendous industrial revolution which has taken place during the present century. We do not know what to make of the vast displacements of population, the expansion of the towns, the unrest and discontent of the masses, and the uneasiness of those who are devoted to the present order of things.

Mr. Kidd sees these problems, but he gropes blindly when he tries to forecast their solution. He sees that the progress of mankind in past ages can only have been made under and in accordance with certain biological laws, and that these laws continue to work in human society at the present day. He realizes the all importance of the laws which govern the reproduction of mankind from generation to generation precisely as they govern the reproduction of the lower animals, and which, therefore, largely govern his progress. But he makes a cardinal mistake in treating of this kind of progress. He states with the utmost positiveness that, left to himself, man has not the slightest innate tendency to make any onward progress whatever, and that if the conditions of life allowed each man to follow his own inclinations the average of one generation would always tend to sink below the average of the preceding. This is one of the sweeping generalizations of

which Mr. Kidd is fond, and which mar so much of his work. He evidently finds great difficulty in stating a general law with the proper reservations and with the proper moderation of phrase; and so he enunciates as truths statements which contain a truth, but which also contain a falsehood. What he here says is undoubtedly true of the world, taken as a whole. It is in all probability entirely false of the highest sections of society. At any rate, there are numerous instances where the law he states does not work; and of course a single instance oversets a sweeping declaration of such a kind.

There can be but little quarrel with what Mr. Kidd says as to the record of the world being a record of ceaseless progress on the one hand, and ceaseless stress and competition on the other; although even here his statement is too broad, and his terms are used carelessly. When he speaks of progress being ceaseless, he evidently means by progress simply change, so that as he uses the word it must be understood to mean progress backward as well as forward. As a matter of fact, in many forms of life and for long ages there is absolutely no progress whatever and no change, the forms remaining practically stationary.

Mr. Kidd further points out that the first necessity for every successful form engaged in this struggle is the capacity for reproduction beyond the limits which the conditions of life comfortably provide for, so that competition and selection must not only always accompany progress, but must prevail in every form of life which is not actually retrograding. As already said, he accepts without reservation the proposition that if all the individuals of every generation in any species were allowed to propagate their kind equally, the average of each generation would tend to fall below the preceding.

From this position he draws as a corollary, that the wider the limits of selection, the keener the rivalry and the more rigid the selection, just so much greater will be the progress; while for any progress at all there must be some rivalry in selection, so that every progressive form must lead a life of continual strain and stress as it travels its upward path. This again is true in a measure, but is not true as broadly as Mr. Kidd has stated it. The rivalry of natural selection is but one of the features in progress. Other things being equal, the species where this rivalry is keenest will make most progess; but then "other things"

never are equal. In actual life those species make most progress which are farthest removed from the point where the limits of selection are very wide, the selection itself very rigid, and the rivalry very keen. Of course the selection is most rigid where the fecundity of the animal is greatest; but it is precisely the forms which have most fecundity that have made least progress. Some time in the remote past the guinea pig and the dog had a common ancestor. The fecundity of the guinea pig is much greater than that of the dog. Of a given number of guinea pigs born, a much smaller proportion are able to survive in the keen rivalry, so that the limits of selection are wider, and the selection itself more rigid; nevertheless the progress made by the progenitors of the dog since eocene days has been much more marked and rapid than the progress made by the progenitors of the guinea pig in the same time.

Moreover, in speaking of the rise that has come through the stress of competition in our modern societies, and of the keenness of this stress in the societies that have gone fastest, Mr. Kidd overlooks certain very curious features in human society. In the first place he speaks as though the stress under which nations make progress was primarily the stress produced by multiplication beyond the limits of subsistence. This, of course, would mean that in progressive societies the number of births and the number of deaths would both be at a maximum, for it is where the births and deaths are largest that the struggle for life is keenest. If, as Mr. Kidd's hypothesis assumes, progress was most marked where the struggle for life was keenest, the European people standing highest in the scale would be the South Italians, the Polish Jews, and the people who live in the congested districts of Ireland. As a matter of fact, however, these are precisely the people who have made least progress when compared with the dominant strains among, for instance, the English or Germans. So far is Mr. Kidd's proposition from being true that, when studied in the light of the facts, it is difficult to refrain from calling it the reverse of the truth. The race existing under conditions which make the competition for bare existence keenest, never progresses as fast as the race which exists under less stringent conditions. There must undoubtedly be a certain amount of competition, a certain amount of stress and strain, but it is equally undoubted that if this competition be-

comes too severe the race goes down and not up; and it is further true that the race existing under the severest stress as regards this competition often fails to go ahead as fast even in population as does the race where the competition is less severe. No matter how large the number of births may be, a race cannot increase if the number of deaths also grows at an accelerating rate.

To increase greatly a race must be prolific, and there is no curse so great as the curse of barrenness, whether for a nation or an individual. When a people gets to the position even now occupied by the mass of the French and by sections of the New Englanders, where the death rate surpasses the birth rate, then that race is not only fated to extinction but it deserves extinction. When the capacity and desire for fatherhood and motherhood is lost the race goes down, and should go down; and we need to have the plainest kind of plain speaking addressed to those individuals who fear to bring children into the world. But while this is all true, it remains equally true that immoderate increase in no way furthers the development of a race, and does not always help its increase even in numbers. The English-speaking peoples during the past two centuries and a half have increased faster than any others, yet there have been many other peoples whose birth rate during the same period has stood higher.

Yet, again, Mr. Kidd, in speaking of the stress of the conditions of progress in our modern societies fails to see that most of the stress to which he refers does not have anything to do with increased difficulty in obtaining a living, or with the propagation of the race. The great prizes are battled for among the men who wage no war whatever for mere subsistence, while the fight for mere subsistence is keenest among precisely the classes which contribute very little indeed to the progress of the race. The generals and admirals, the poets, philosophers, historians and musicians, the statesmen and judges, the law-makers and law-givers, the men of arts and of letters, the great captains of war and of industry—all these come from the classes where the struggle for the bare means of subsistence is least severe, and where the rate of increase is relatively smaller than in the classes below. In civilized societies the rivalry of natural selection works against progress. Progress is made in spite of it, for progress results not from the crowding out of the lower classes by the upper, but on the contrary from the steady rise of the

lower classes to the level of the upper, as the latter tend to vanish, or at most barely hold their own. In progressive societies it is often the least fit who survive; but, on the other hand, they and their children often tend to grow more fit.

The mere statement of these facts is sufficient to show not only how incorrect are many of Mr. Kidd's premises and conclusions, but also how unwarranted are some of the fears which he expressess for the future. It is plain that the societies and sections of societies where the individual happiness is on the whole highest, and where progress is most real and valuable, are precisely these where the grinding competition and the struggle for mere existence is least severe. Undoubtedly in every progressive society there must be a certain sacrifice of individuals, so that there must be a certain proportion of failures in every generation; but the actual facts of life prove beyond shadow of doubt that the extent of this sacrifice has nothing to do with the rapidity or worth of the progress. The nations that make most progress may do so at the expense of ten or fifteen individuals out of a hundred, whereas the nations that make least progress, or even go backwards, may sacrifice almost every man out of the hundred.

This last statement is in itself partly an answer to the position taken by Mr. Kidd, that there is for the individual no "rational sanction" for the conditions of progress. In a progressive community, where the conditions provide for the happiness of four-fifths or nine-tenths of the people there is undoubtedly a rational sanction for progress both for the community at large and for the great bulk of its members; and if these members are on the whole vigorous and intelligent, the attitude of the smaller fraction who have failed will be a matter of little consequence. In such a community the conflict between the interests of the individual and the organism of which he is a part, upon which Mr. Kidd lays so much emphasis, is at a minimum. The stress is severest, the misery and suffering greatest, among precisely the communities which have made least progress—among the Bushmen, Australian black fellows, and root-digger Indians, for instance.

Moreover, Mr. Kidd does not define what he means by "rational sanction." Indeed one of his great troubles throughout is his failure to make proper definitions, and the extreme looseness with which he often uses the definitions he does make.

Apparently by "rational" he means merely selfish, and proceeds upon the assumption that "reason" must always dictate to every man to do that which will give him the greatest amount of individual gratification at the moment, no matter what the cost may be to others or to the community at large. This is not so. Side by side with the selfish development in life there has been almost from the beginning a certain amount of unselfishness developed too; and in the evolution of humanity the unselfish side has, on the whole, tended steadily to increase at the expense of the selfish, notably in the progressive communities about whose future development Mr. Kidd is so ill at ease. A more supreme instance of unselfishness than is afforded by motherhood cannot be imagined; and when Mr. Kidd implies, as he does very clearly, that there is no rational sanction for the unselfishness of motherhood, for the unselfishness of duty, or loyalty, he merely misuses the word rational. When a creature has reached a certain stage of development it will cause the female more pain to see her offspring starve than to work for it, and she then has a very rational reason for so working. When humanity has reached a certain stage it will cause the individual more pain, a greater sense of degradation and shame and misery, to steal, to murder or to lie, than to work hard and suffer discomfort. When man has reached this stage he has a very rational sanction for being truthful and honest. It might also parenthetically be stated that when he has reached this stage he has a tendency to relieve the sufferings of others, and he has for this course of his the excellent rational sanction that it makes him more uncomfortable to see misery unrelieved than it does to deny himself a little in order to relieve it.

However, we can cordially agree with Mr. Kidd's proposition that many of the social plans advanced by would-be reformers in the interests of oppressed individuals are entirely destructive of all growth and of all progress in society. Certain cults, not only Christian, but also Buddhistic and Brahminic, tend to develop an altruism which is as "supra-natural" as Mr. Kidd seemingly desires religion to be; for it really is without foundation in reason, and therefore to be condemned.

Mr. Kidd repeats again and again that the scientific development of the nineteenth century confronts us with the fact that the interests of the social organism and of the individual are and must remain antagonistic, and the former predominant, and that

there can never be found any sanction in individual reason for individual good conduct in societies where the conditions of progress prevail. From what has been said above it is evident that this statement is entirely without basis, and therefore that the whole scheme of mystic and highly irrational philosophy which he founds upon it at once falls to the ground. There is no such necessary antagonism as that which he alleges. On the contrary, in the most truly progressive societies, even now, for the great mass of the individuals composing them the interests of the social organism and of the individual are largely identical instead of antagonistic; and even where this is not true, there is a sanction of individual reason, if we use the word *reason* properly, for conduct on the part of the individual which is subordinate to the welfare of the general society.

We can measure the truth of his statements by applying them, not to great societies in the abstract, but to small social organisms in the concrete. Take for instance the life of a regiment or the organization of a police department or fire department. The first duty of a regiment is to fight, and fighting means the death and disabling of a large proportion of the men in the regiment. The case against the identity of interests between the individual and the organism, as put by Mr. Kidd, would be far stronger in a regiment than in any ordinary civilized society of the day. Yet as a matter of fact we know that in the great multitude of regiments there is much more subordination of the individual to the organism than is the case in any civilized state taken as a whole. Moreover, this subordination is greatest in precisely those regiments where the average individual is best off, because it is greatest in those regiments where the individual feels that high, stern pride in his own endurance and suffering, and in the great name of the organism of which he forms a part, that in itself yields one of the loftiest of all human pleasures. If Mr. Kidd means anything when he says that there is no rational sanction for progress he must also mean that there is no rational sanction for a soldier not flinching from the enemy when he can do so unobserved, for a sentinel not leaving his post, for an officer not deserting to the enemy. Yet when he says this he utters what is a mere jugglery on words. In the process of evolution men and societies have often reached such a stage that the best type of soldier or citizen feels infinitely more shame and misery from neglect of

duty, from cowardice or dishonesty, from selfish abandonment of the interests of the organism of which he is part, than can be offset by the gratification of any of his desires. This, be it also observed, often takes place, entirely independent of any religious considerations. The habit of useful self-sacrifice may be developed by civilization in a great society as well as by military training in a regiment. The habit of useless self-sacrifice may also, unfortunately, be developed; and those who practice it are but one degree less noxious than the individuals who sacrifice good people to bad.

The religious element in our development is that on which Mr. Kidd most strongly dwells, entitling it "the central feature of human history." A very startling feature of his treatment is that in religious matters he seemingly sets no value on the difference between truth and falsehood, for he groups all religions together. In a would-be teacher of ethics such an attitude warrants severe rebuke; for it is essentially dishonest and immoral. Throughout his book he treats all religious beliefs from the same standpoint, as if they were all substantially similar and substantially of the same value; whereas it is, of course, a mere truism to say that most of them are mutually destructive. Not only has he no idea of differentiating the true from the false; but he seems not to understand that the truth of a particular belief is of any moment. Thus he says, in speaking of the future survival of religious beliefs in general, that the most notable result of the scientific revolution begun by Darwin must be "to establish them on a foundation as broad, deep, and lasting as any the theologians ever dreamed of." If this sentence means anything it means that all these religious beliefs will be established on the same foundation. It hardly seems necessary to point out that this cannot be the fact. If the God of the Christians be in very truth the one God, and if the belief in Him be established, as Christians believe it will, then the foundation for the religious belief in Mumbo Jumbo cannot be either broad, deep, or lasting. In the same way the beliefs in Mohammed and Buddha are mutually exclusive, and the various forms of ancestor worship and fetichism cannot all be established on a permanent basis, as they would be according to Mr. Kidd's theory.

Again, when Mr. Kidd rebukes science for its failure to approach religion in a scientific spirit he shows that he fails to

grasp the full bearing of the subject which he is considering. This failure comes in part from the very large, not to say loose, way in which he uses the words "science" and "religion." There are many sciences and many religions, and there are many different kinds of men who profess the one or advocate the other. Where the intolerant professors of a given religious belief endeavor by any form of persecution to prevent scientific men of any kind from seeking to find out and establish the truth, then it is quite idle to blame these scientific men for attacking with heat and acerbity the religious belief which prompts such persecution. The exigencies of a life and death struggle unfit a man for the coldness of a mere scientific inquiry. Even the most enthusiastic naturalist, if attacked by a man-eating shark, would be much more interested in evading or repelling the attack than in determining the precise specific relations of the shark. A less important but amusing feature of his argument is that he speaks as if he himself had made an entirely new discovery when he learned of the important part played in man's history by his religious beliefs. But Mr. Kidd surely cannot mean this. He must be aware that all the great historians have given their full importance to such religious movements as the birth and growth of Christianity, the Reformation, the growth of Islamism, and the like. Mr. Kidd is quite right in insisting upon the importance of the part played by religious beliefs, but he has fallen into a vast error if he fails to understand that the great majority of the historical and sociological writers have given proper weight to this importance.

Mr. Kidd's greatest failing is his tendency to use words in false senses. He uses "reason" in the false sense "selfish." He then, in a spirit of mental tautology, assumes that reason must be necessarily purely selfish and brutal. He assumes that the man who risks his life to save a friend, the woman who watches over a sick child, and the soldier who dies at his post, are unreasonable, and that the more their reason is developed the less likely they will be to act in these ways. The mere statement of the assertion in such a form is sufficient to show its nonsense to any one who will take the pains to think whether the people who ordinarily perform such feats of self-sacrifice and self-denial are people of brutish minds or of fair intelligence.

If none of the ethical qualities are developed at the same time

with a man's reason, then he may become a peculiarly noxious kind of wild beast; but this is not in the least a necessity of the development of his reason. It would be just as wise to say that it was a necessity of the development of his bodily strength. Undoubtedly the man with reason who is selfish and unscrupulous will, because of his added power, behave even worse than the man without reason who is selfish and unscrupulous; but the same is true of the man of vast bodily strength. He has power to do greater harm to himself and to others; but, because of this, to speak of bodily strength or of reason as in itself "profoundly anti-social and anti-revolutionary" is foolishness. Mr. Kidd, as so often, is misled by a confusion of names, for which he is himself responsible. The growth of rationalism, unaccompanied by any growth in ethics or morality, works badly. The society in which such a growth takes place will die out; and ought to die out. But this does not imply that other communities quite as intelligent may not also be deeply moral and be able to take firm root in the world.

Mr. Kidd's definitions of "supra-natural" and "ultra-rational" sanctions, the definitions upon which he insists so strongly and at such length, would apply quite as well to every crazy superstition of the most brutal savage as to the teachings of the New Testament. The trouble with his argument is that, when he insists upon the importance of this ultra-rational sanction, defining it as loosely as he does, he insists upon too much. He apparently denies that men can come to a certain state at which it will be rational for them to do right even to their own hurt. It is perfectly possible to build up a civilization which, by its surroundings and by its inheritances, working through long ages, shall make the bulk of the men and women develop such characteristics of unselfishness, as well as of wisdom, that it will be the rational thing for them as individuals to act in accordance with the highest dictates of honor and courage and morality. If the intellectual development of such a civilized community goes on at an equal pace with the ethical, it will persistently war against the individuals in whom the spirit of selfishness, which apparently Mr. Kidd considers the only rational spirit, shows itself strongly. They will weed out these individuals and forbid them propagating, and therefore will steadily tend to produce a society in which the rational sanction for progress shall be identical in

the individual and the State. This ideal has never yet been reached, but there have been long steps taken towards reaching it; and in most progressive civilizations it is reached to the extent that the sanction for progress is the same not only for the State but for each one of the bulk of the individuals composing it. When this ceases to be the case progress itself will generally cease and the community ultimately disappear.

Mr. Kidd, having treated of religion in a preliminary way, and with much mystic vagueness, then attempts to describe the functions of religious belief in the evolution of society. He has already given definitions of religion quoted from different authors, and he now proceeds to give his own definition. But first he again insists upon his favorite theory, that there can be no rational basis for individual good conduct in society, using the word rational, according to his usual habit, as a synonym of selfish; and then asserts that there can be no such thing as a rational religion. Apparently all that Mr. Kidd demands on this point is that it shall be what he calls ultra-rational, a word which he prefers to irrational. In other words he casts aside as irrelevant all discussion as to a creed's truth.

Mr. Kidd then defines religion as being "a form of belief providing an ultra-rational sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual where his interests and the interests of the social organism are antagonistic, and by which the former are rendered subordinate to the latter in the general interest of the evolution which the race is undergoing," and says that we have here the principle at the base of all religions. Of course this is simply not true. All those religions which busy themselves exclusively with the future life, and which even Mr. Kidd could hardly deny to be religious, do not have this principle at their basis at all. They have nothing to do with the general interests of the evolution which the race is undergoing on this earth. They have to do only with the soul of the individual in the future life. They are not concerned with this world, they are concerned with the world to come. All religions, and all forms of religions, in which the principle of asceticism receives any marked development are positively antagonistic to the development of the social organism. They are against its interests. They do not tend in the least to subordinate the interests of the individual to the interests of the organism in the

general interests of the evolution which the race is undergoing. A religion like that of the Shakers means the almost immediate extinction of the organism in which it develops. Such a religion distinctly subordinates the interests of the organism to the interests of the individual. The same is equally true of many of the more ascetic developments of Christianity and Islamism. There is strong probability that there was a Celtic population in Iceland before the arrival of the Norsemen, but these Celts belonged to the Culdee sect of Christians. They were anchorites, and professed a creed which completely subordinated the development of the race on this earth to the well-being of the individual in the next. In consequence they died out and left no successors. There are creeds, such as most of the present day creeds of Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic, which do very noble work for the race because they teach its individuals to subordinate their own interests to the interests of mankind; but it is idle to say this of every form of religious belief.

It is equally idle to pretend that this principle which Mr. Kidd says lies at the base of all religions does not also lie at the base of many forms of ethical belief which could hardly be called religious. His definition of religion could just as appropriately be used to define some forms of altruism or humanitarianism, while it does not define religion at all, if we use the word religion in the way in which it generally is used. If Mr. Kidd should write a book about horses, and should define a horse as a striped equine animal found wild in South Africa, his definition would apply to certain members of the horse family, but would not apply to that animal which we ordinarily mean when we talk of a horse; and, moreover, it would still be sufficiently loose to include two or three entirely different species. This is precisely the trouble with Mr. Kidd's definition of religion. It does not define religion at all as the word is ordinarily used, and while it does apply to certain religious beliefs, it also applies quite as well to certain non-religious beliefs. We must, therefore, recollect that throughout Mr. Kidd's argument on behalf of the part that religion plays he does not mean what is generally understood by religion, but the special form or forms which he here defines.

Undoubtedly in the race for life that group of beings will tend ultimately to survive in which the general feeling of the

members, whether due to humanitarianism, to altruism, or to some form of religious belief proper, is such that the average individual has an unselfish—what Mr. Kidd would call an ultra rational—tendency to work for the ultimate benefit of the community as a whole. Mr. Kidd's argument is so loose that it may be construed as meaning that, in the evolution of society, irrational superstitions grow up from time to time, affect large bodies of the human race in their course of development and then die away, and that this succession of evanescent religious beliefs will continue for a very long time to come, perhaps as long as the human race exists. He may further mean that, except for this belief in a long succession of lies, humanity could not go forward. His words, I repeat, are sufficiently involved to make it possible that he means this, but, if so, his book can hardly be taken as a satisfactory defense of religion.

If there is justification for any given religion and justification for the acceptance of supernatural authority as regards this religion, then there can be no justification for the acceptance of all religions, good and bad alike. There can, at the outside, be a justification for but one or two. Mr. Kidd's grouping of all religions together is offensive to every earnest believer. Moreover, in his anxiety to insist only on the irrational side of religion, he naturally tends to exalt precisely those forms of superstition which are most repugnant to reasoning beings with moral instincts, and which are most heartily condemned by believers in the loftiest religions. He apparently condemns Lecky for what Lecky says of that species of unpleasant and noxious anchorite best typified by St. Simeon Stylites and the other pillar hermits. He corrects Lecky for his estimate of this ideal of the fourth century, and says that instead of being condemned it should be praised, as affording striking evidence and example of the vigor of the immature social forces at work. This is not true. The type of anchorite of which Mr. Lecky speaks with such just condemnation flourished most rankly in Christian Africa and Asia Minor, the very countries where Christianity was so speedily overthrown by Islamism. It was not an example of the vigor of the immature social forces at work; on the contrary, it was a proof that those social forces were rotten and had lost their vigor. Where an anchorite of the type Lecky describes, and Mr. Kidd impliedly commends, was accepted as the true type of the church, and set

the tone for religious thought, the church was corrupt, and was unable to make any effective defense against the scarcely baser form of superstition which received its development in Islamism. As a matter of fact, asceticism of this kind had very little in common with the really vigorous and growing part of European Christianity, even at that time. Such asceticism is far more closely related to the practices of some loathsome Mohammedan dervish than to any creed which has properly developed from the pure and lofty teachings of the Four Gospels. St. Simeon Stylites is more nearly kin to a Hindoo fakir than to Phillips Brooks or Archbishop Ireland.

Mr. Kidd deserves praise for insisting as he does upon the great importance of the development of humanitarian feelings and of the ethical element in humanity during the past few centuries, when compared with the mere material development. He is, of course, entirely right in laying the utmost stress upon the enormous part taken by Christianity in the growth of Western civilization. He would do well to remember, however, that there are other elements than that of merely ceremonial Christianity at work, and that such ceremonial Christianity in other races produces quite different results, as he will see at a glance, if he will recall that Abyssinia and Hayti are Christian countries.

In short, whatever Mr. Kidd says in reference to religion must be understood as being strictly limited by his own improper terminology. If we should accept the words religion and religious belief in their ordinary meaning, and should then accept as true what he states, we should apparently have to conclude that progress depended largely upon the fervor of the religious spirit, without regard to whether the religion itself was false or true. If such were the fact, progress would be most rapid in a country like Morocco, where the religious spirit is very strong indeed, far stronger than in any enlightened Christian country, but where, in reality, the religious development has largely crushed out the ethical and moral development, so that the country has gone steadily backward. A little philosophic study would convince Mr. Kidd that while the ethical and moral development of a nation may, in the case of certain religions, be based on those religions and develop with them and on the lines laid down by them, yet that in other countries where they develop at all they have to develop right in the teeth of the dominant religious beliefs,

while in yet others they may develop entirely independent of them. If he doubts this let him examine the condition of the Soudan under the Mahdi, where what he calls the ultra-rational and supra-natural sanctions were accepted without question, and governed the lives of the people to the exclusion alike of reason and morality. He will hardly assert that the Soudan is more progressive than say Scotland or Minnesota, where there is less of the spirit which he calls religious and which old-fashioned folk would call superstitious.

Mr. Kidd's position in reference to the central feature of his argument is radically false; but he handles some of his other themes very well. He shows clearly in his excellent chapter on modern socialism that a state of retrogression must ensue if all incentives to strife and competition are withdrawn. He does not show quite as clearly as he should that over-competition and too severe stress make the race deteriorate instead of improving; but he does show that there must be some competition, that there must be some strife. He makes it clear also that the true function of the State, as it interferes in social life, should be to make the chances of competition more even, not to abolish them. We wish the best men; and though we pity the man that falls or lags behind in the race, we do not on that account crown him with the victor's wreath. We insist that the race shall be run on fairer terms than before, because we remove all handicaps. We thus tend to make it more than ever a test of the real merits of the victor, and this means that the victor must strive heart and soul for success. Mr. Kidd's attitude in describing socialism is excellent. He sympathizes with the wrongs which the socialistic reformer seeks to redress, but he insists that these wrongs must not be redressed, as the socialists would have them, at the cost of the welfare of mankind.

Mr. Kidd also sees that the movement for political equality has nearly come to an end, for its purpose has been nearly achieved. To it must now succeed a movement to bring all people into the rivalry of life on equal conditions of social opportunities. This is a very important point, and he deserves the utmost credit for bringing it out. It is the great central feature in the development of our time, and Mr. Kidd has seen it so clearly and presented it so forcibly that we cannot but regret that he should be so befogged in other portions of his argument.

Mr. Kidd has our cordial sympathy when he lays stress on the fact that our evolution cannot be called primarily intellectual. Of course there must be an intellectual evolution, too, and Mr. Kidd perhaps fails in not making this sufficiently plain. A perfectly stupid race can never rise to a very high plane; the negro, for instance, has been kept down as much by lack of intellectual development as by anything else; but the prime factor in the preservation of a race is its power to attain a high degree of social efficiency. Love of order, ability to fight well and breed well, capacity to subordinate the interests of the individual to the interests of the community, these and similar rather humdrum qualities go to make up the sum of social efficiency. The race that has them is sure to overturn the race whose members have brilliant intellects, but who are cold and selfish and timid, who do not breed well or fight well, and who are not capable of disinterested love of the community. In other words, character is far more important than intellect to the race as to the individual. We need intellect, and there is no reason why we should not have it together with character; but if we must choose between the two we choose character without a moment's hesitation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

III.—THE DECAY OF LITERARY TASTE.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

TO WRITE about the "decay" of a quality should presuppose that the writer is convinced of its decadence, and I suppose that when the editor of this REVIEW asked me to diagnose this disease he did not for a moment expect me to pronounce the patient in excellent health. But the fact is (or so it seems to me) that a man must in these complex days of ours be very rash who pronounces broadly about the conditions of his age. There is no general trend upwards or downwards, but a vast spreading out laterally in all directions, with here a rise and there a fall in the swelling surface. I am not Mrs. Lynn Linton, to scatter ashes on my head, and cry "Woe, woe!" It would always be easier to me, as well as much pleasanter, to dwell on what is hopeful and delightful in the attitude of the public towards literature. One may, however, be on the whole an optimist, and yet not entirely

pleased with every phase of what is going on around us. Little inclined as I am to grumble or to scold, I cannot think all the phenomena of public appreciation favorable to the best literature, or leading in a wholesome direction. My allotted task, then, shall be fulfilled by some brief indication of what appear to me to be growing dangers, indications, so far as they go, of decadence.

The greatest of these dangers, and the one with which it seems most difficult to deal, is that which I have just indicated, namely, the vast area now covered by a sort of literary appreciation. Want of all intellectual relish, which we have been taught to regard as disastrous, does not seem to be nearly so baneful in its results as what is called "a spread of intellectual interest." I never sympathized with Mr. Matthew Arnold in his lamentation over the barbarous indifference of our upper classes to the claims of literature. It has been ludicrous, of course, and in certain sections complete. That indifference has been irritating in individual cases; it justly incensed Mr. Arnold to meet a county magnate who had never heard of Heine. But it was, at least, a sterile barbarism; it did not propagate intellectual conceit. It was like George I., it hated "boetry and bainting," but by its side painting and poetry could flourish in their appointed places. Better to my mind, King Log, who knows nothing and does not want to know anything, than King Stork, who has ideas of his own, and wants to interfere with every council of the frogs.

The late Master of Trinity was asked by a lady whether a certain florid divine had not "a great deal of taste." "Yes, indeed, Madam," he replied, "and all of it so bad." At the present day the general public has a great deal of taste, and it requires a critic to be a thorough-going truckler to democracy to say that he thinks all of it very good. In former days, whether taste was good or bad, and of course in many cases it was execrably bad, the exercise of it was concentrated in a narrow circle. In the age of Shakespeare, a little knot of Italianated nobles in London regulated taste without the slightest reference to the excellent and God-fearing multitudes spread from Berwick to Penzance. Had there been university extension in the days of Elizabeth, and Grindelwald conferences, and popular educational newspapers, and "literary" sermons from a thousand Dissenting pulpits, there would have been produced no impious comedies and no incestuous tragedies. The tone of Jacobean drama would have been ex-

tremely proper, but would there have been an "Othello" or a "Hamlet?" We may doubt it.

The distribution of literary knowledge, although we may well question the depth and soundness of it, cannot in itself be regarded as anything but a social benefit to the race. We dare not resist the appeal of those who wish to learn. Where the danger comes in is where the half-taught turn round and proclaim themselves teachers. The tendency of "the man in the street" to pronounce opinions on questions of literary appreciation—that is the phenomenon which fills me with alarm. An agricultural laborer is as well qualified to criticise the rigging of a ship, or a coal-heaver to review the conduct of a pack of fox-hounds, as the ordinary person, untrained in the history and technique of literature, is to decide whether a book is good or bad. Not to admit this is simply to bow the knee to the individual voter. The untrained reader can tell, of course, whether the book is agreeable to himself or not. He should presume no further; he has no authority, on the mere score of being a reader of that particular work, to set himself up as a censor of taste.

We are still behind the United States, however, in this respect. There has never, to my knowledge, been displayed on this side of the Atlantic such flagrant evidence of anarchy in literary taste as, for instance, was discovered by the *New York Herald* when it opened its columns to fugitive correspondence with regard to the *Lourdes* of M. Zola. I doubt not that we possess, in England, persons quite as devoid of the power to judge a literary product and quite as ready to oblige the world with their views, as those wonders of ignorant assurance who wrote to the *Herald*. But, at present, our editors throw their letters into the waste-paper basket. Yet every year, in this country, the weight of professional opinion seems to grow less, the standards of tradition and reason are more frivolously disregarded. There is more and more "taste" among us, but the greater part of it is bad, because it is based on no recognition of the principles of composition, and no respect for the traditions of harmony and beauty.

It is not to be questioned that the immense public which is becoming accustomed to regard itself as the patron of literature, demands from the producer several things which it is highly desirable that he should not supply. If, against his better judg-

ment, he does supply them, a decay of taste is inevitable. We are fond of congratulating ourselves on the abolition of the personal patron. It is true that he had his disadvantages. Dr. Johnson found him a native of the rocks. Through obsequious regard for him, a poem by Dr. Young was "addressed to the Deity and humbly inscribed to His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle." But, at all events, there were many patrons in those early days, and the independent bard could pass from one to another. Nowadays, there is only one patron—a world of patrons rolled into one—the vast, coarse, insatiable public; and if an author, from conscientiousness or fastidiousness, does not choose to consider the foibles of this patron, there is no other door for him to knock at.

One thing for which this great, outer public has no sort of appetite is delicacy of workmanship, attention to form, what we call pre-occupation with style. The only hope for literature is that in spite of the indifference to, nay, the positive dislike of careful writing on the part of the public, those who write, being themselves artists or artizans, shall continue to give to their production this technical finish which alone invests it with dignity and value. It is only fair to say that in our own age there has been no lack of those who have honorably and unselfishly turned out work, not slovenly finished, as the public preferred, but fashioned and polished in accordance with the laws and traditions of the art. But I am bound to confess that I see, and I deeply deplore, a relaxation of this noble zeal in some of our youngest fellow-craftsmen. I fear that something of the laxity of public taste has invaded their private workshops, and that they are apt to say to themselves that second-rate writing is "good enough" for the publishers. Whenever I see it boldly put forth that "the matter" is everything and the "manner" nothing, that to write with care is an "affectation" or an "artifice," that style may take care of itself, and that "an unchartered freedom" is the best badge of a writer, there seems to rise before me the lean and hungry scholar, scraping and cringing before the great vulgar patron with "What you wish, my lord! I don't presume to decide." And from this sort of obsequiousness to public "taste" no return to self-respect is possible.

Against any general tendency to obliterate the forms of literature the cultivation of verse is probably the most effective safe-

guard. It is the poets who save the language from decay, and who keep high the standard of literary excellence. My eminent friend, the Master of the Temple, is forever denouncing the art of modern verse, and discouraging its practice. "Confectionery," he calls it, and a hundred newspapers applaud the infelicity. I grieve when I hear men of the accomplishment and knowlege of Dr. Ainger speaking with this harshness of what is called "minor poetry." These distinctions of "minor" and "major" are very arbitrary and invidious. We do not talk of "minor prose writers," and yet the average of prose authorship is more contemptible than the average of verse. Inept and imitative poetry is, of course, a very ridiculous product, but it is no worse than vulgar, slipshod prose, and there is always the effort behind it to construct, to select, to preserve the noble forms of traditional writing, an effort which starts it from a distinctly higher standpoint. And the verse of a far better class, the poetry that is accomplished and refined without being positively epoch-making—such verse, I make bold to say, is the very salt which keeps the mass of our common style from decay. The bad prose-writer is content to stammer forth his sentences in obedience to no tradition whatever; the bad poet is always conscious of the great masters in the background.

The immense breadth of the area over which a sort of literary taste is nowadays exercised has the very unfortunate effect of flattening out the public impression of merit. In the hurry and the superfluity of book-production, indifferent authors get praised too much and excellent authors get appreciated too little. The "opinions of the press," which fill the advertising columns of our literary papers, would move Alceste himself to mirth and Célimène to blushes. Not a handbook to the classics is compiled but somebody is found to pronounce it "far more comprehensive than any that has yet been given to the world;" not a sketch in comic fiction but is "a definite contribution to English literature;" not a sickly collection of unconnected essays but "scintillate with genius of the first water." In the decay of taste everything seems a masterpiece for a moment, except a work of genuine and independent talent. But the books so hastily praised are not less hastily forgotten, and immortals cross the field and disappear for ever as continuously as figures cross the disk of the magic lantern.

There seems to be an increasing tendency to swamp what is really distinguished in the flood of universal good nature. If we call Miss Blank's foolish little novel a masterpiece, and discover the results of long experience and profound research in Mr. Swish's vamped-up edition of *Cornelius Nepos*, what epithets have we left for Porson and Thackeray? The effect of squandering superlatives is to lose all power of making a just comparison. If Primrose Hill is a mountain of magnificent altitude, what is Monte Rosa? It is another mountain of magnificent altitude, and, so far as language can do it, our idea of Monte Rosa is reduced to our recollection of Primrose Hill. After all, to us as to Caliban, words mean ideas, and if we are always misapplying our words we cannot but be befogging and distorting our ideas. By dint of praising a thousand things equally, and giving real attention to none, we gain of things good and bad but the impression of a moment. Literature of every quality is made to gallop in front of us, and all we see is the waving of a cloak or the gleam of a spur. The cavalcade passes, and we reflect on what we have seen, but we find we have retained no definite recollections. The figures all looked alike.

It will be a disastrous thing for literature if the ideal of good work comes to be confined to the production of a momentary impression. Is the author, like the actor and the singer, to be content for the future with a fugitive notoriety? Is his to be an apparition lost for ever, directly the curtain falls and the lights go out? Hitherto it has been the hope which has sustained him that he might not wholly die, that if he was so lucky as to deserve it, the rare boon of immortality was not to be denied him. But now, so rapid is the passage of the phantasmagoria, so swift and so complete the ingratitude of the public, that the memory of a Walter Pater or a Théodore de Banville can scarcely hope to outlive that of a favorite ballet-girl. And this is the more hard, because the ballet-girl had infinitely the better time of it so long as her popularity lasted.

A very singular change in this respect has come over popular taste in England during the last two or three years. It is worthy of some attention, since its results may be of far-reaching importance. The complaint has, till lately, been that the distinctions and successes of literature were all in the hands of a limited number of persons of advanced reputation. It was said that

there were young men knocking at the door, and that no one would open to them. But the death of Rossetti, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Tennyson, and of a dozen men only less influential than these, has completely changed the face of current literary history. Of the old dominant race only one survives, Mr. Ruskin, who, in the dignity of his retirement in the Lakes, sits as the unquestioned monarch of our realm of living letters. But all the rest are gone, the door has been flung open, and the young men and women (especially the young women) are rushing in in crowds.

It used to be said, and this but a very few years ago, that a young writer could not expect to win general recognition in England until he was approaching forty. It used to be a matter of jest what white beards our "promising young poets" had. Now, there has come a violent crisis, and the middle-aged writers will have to dye their hair, as we are told that shopmen and omnibus-conductors have to do, before they can hope for employment. A change was inevitable, and indeed much to be desired. We were developing a gerontocracy, a tyranny by old men, which was becoming intolerable. But the revolution has set in with amazing violence, and has presented, as it seems to me, some grotesque features. It used to be the question, "What has he (or she) already published?" Now, the best possible recommendation is to have printed nothing, and veterans approach the publishers' offices by night, in a disguise, offering a manuscript under a false name, with an assurance that it is their first effort at composition.

The public asks for "new writers," every day a batch of brand-new authors, male and female. A book can hardly fail to be accepted, if a pledge is given that it is by "a new writer." Before the volumes are published we are treated to paragraphs about the author, "whose first work will appear in a few days, and is expected to create a sensation." It appears, and it does create a sensation, and the very next day another "first work by a new writer" creates a still louder sensation. The town is thronged by these celebrities of a moment, their portraits appear in journals especially devoted to "the new authorship," their biographies are published (their biographies, poor callow creatures!) and they are eminent for the greater portion of a week. Then the tide of their successors sweeps them on. They think

to return, with a second book, but that is no part of the public's scheme of pleasure. The first book was received with extravagant laudation, a false enthusiasm, a complete indulgence to its faults. A second book by the same hand, put forth in an innocent certitude of triumph, is received with contempt and inattention, its oddities ridiculed, its errors sharply criticised. The public does not want a second book; it wants to be gorged with a full incessant supply of "guaranteed first works by absolutely new writers." This craze will pass, of course, but it is a proof, while it lasts, of a very sickly condition of taste.

The books of which I have been speaking, these virgin-blossoms of the bowers of Paternoster Row, are mainly novels. It is surely a matter for very grave consideration whether the extraordinary domination of the novel to-day is a healthy sign. There has never been seen anything like it before in the whole course of our history. Fiction has long taken a prominent place in the book-sales of the country; romances have long formed the staple of the book shops. But never before has the rage for stories stifled all other sorts and conditions of literature as it is doing now. Things have come to a pretty pass when the combined prestige of the best poets, historians, critics and philosophers of the country does not weigh in the balance against a single novel by the New Woman. Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Leslie Stephen and Professor Huxley—their combined "sales" might be dropped into the ocean of "The Heavenly Twins" and scarcely cause a splash in that enormous flood. Such successes as we read of in the history of literature—the successes of Gibbon and of Macaulay, of Boswell's "Life of Johnson," and of Ruskin's "Modern Painters,"—would be impossible nowadays. The public taste has all gone mad for story books, and nothing but fiction has a chance of real popularity. It seemed to me that the cheerful arrogance of the successful novelist had reached its climax the other day when, at the Banquet of the Society of Authors—with one of the most eminent critics of the age in the chair, and with poets, historians, essayists, divines sitting at the tables—Dr. Conan Doyle (selected to give thanks for literature) described fiction as Cinderella and the other branches of letters as her decayed and spiteful sisters. That the author of "Sherlock Holmes" should enjoy the exclusive attentions of that fairy prince, the Public, is natural enough, but what an occasion for a shout of triumph!

We can hardly be wrong, I think, in detecting in the features of public taste to which I have drawn attention, symptoms of an increasing tendency to nervous malady, and the withdrawal of self-restraint. Without going to the extravagant lengths of Dr. Max Nordau, we may acknowledge that the intellectual signs of the times point to a sort of rising neurosis. This inability to fix the attention on any serious subject of thought, this incessant demand to be "told a story," this craving for new purveyors of amusement, this impatience of the very presence of the old, what are they but indications of ill-health? The time has passed when the people were content to sit in the shade of the fresh laurel tree, and to celebrate the immortal gods with cheerfulness. The direct and simple pleasures of literature, of the sane literary tradition, seem to have lost their charm, and unless there is a spice of disease and hysteria about a book the multitude of readers finds it insipid.

An intelligent foreigner, I suppose, visiting our country in this year of grace, would be more struck with the ebullition of chatter about the New Woman than with anything else. As I write, I find that astute and accomplished lady, Madame Arvède Barine, describing to her fellow Parisians what she saw and read in London in the summer of 1894. She is no prude, she is no satirist, she has been a deep and sympathetic observer of men and books in many countries, and this is how she sums up her description of the latest batch of English novels by women.

"I cannot say to what a degree all this recent literature of the English novel seems to me to be indecent and immoral. It is a very grave symptom, in a nation so jealous of appearances as the English, that women and girls of repute should be able to write such things without exciting censure. The novels on the Woman Question (*les romans féministes*) are devoured by hundreds of thousands of readers, even when, as is usually the case, they have no literary value, no merit of thought or of style. The public does not ask that they should be works of art. It takes them for what they are, polemical treatises and instruments of propaganda, and what it is interested in is the thesis and not the form. England may say what she likes, she has not escaped from the decomposition of ideas which is the disgrace of the close of our century, and it is high time that she should say no more about French immorality. Our novels may be the more crude, but hers are the more unwholesome, and she has no longer the right to look down upon us with an air of scandalized virtue."

Such words, written not by a jealous middle-aged Englishman, but by a brilliant Frenchwoman, full of modern ideas, and greatly interested in our institutions, may well make us pause. But even

here, to my mind, Mme. Barine is unduly alarmed. I cannot consider the error to be one of morals so much as of taste, and I therefore hold it proper to the subject of this paper. We do not, —we conservative lovers of what is harmonious and decent, supported on this occasion so bravely by Madame Barine,—we do not object to the intentions of these revolting women, with their dreams of woman emancipated, man subdued, and all the rest of the nonsense. We judge them to be honest enough, in their hysterical desire to whack the heads of all decent persons with the ferules of their umbrellas. But what we do take the liberty of saying is that their writings are tiresome and ugly, that they give us the discomfort which we feel in the presence of loud ill-bred people, and that, in short, they err grievously against taste. But what is the use of saying that, when a public as hysterical and vulgar as themselves buys their silly books in thousands and tens of thousands? There is nothing to be done but to sit with folded hands, and to read the *Pensées* of Pascal until the scourge be overpast.

It will pass over, and that soon. The world is on the very point of saying to the New Woman, "Hie thee to a nunnery!" and then Nora Helmer will come quietly back to eat macaroons again and be a squirrel. But some fresh folly will seize the vast and Tartar horde of readers that now devastate the plains of literature, and in their numbers, we may be quite sure, there will not be strength. So we come back again to our old complaint, the hopeless complaint of the breadth of the world to which an author nowadays has to appeal. Well might Keats deem the poet fortunate who could "make great music to a little clan." It is not the absence of literary taste which alarms us for the future. It is not that the public has no taste. What distresses us is that it has so much, and most of it so indifferent.

EDMUND GOSSE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

NEW LIGHT ON ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE recent publication of the Kenyon Manuscripts serves to recall the fact that the Historical Manuscripts Commission has now been at work for twenty-five years. Between forty and fifty volumes have been issued. More are to come, and when the great work undertaken at the expense of the English Government is completed, it will form what may not inaptly be described as a history of England in the rough.

There is hardly a family of any standing in England possessing even a handful of deeds and papers, which has not opened its chests and its muniment rooms to the Commission. Some great families have not only done this, but have permitted the representatives of the Commission to ransack their homes from cellar to garret in search of papers, believed by historical experts to be in their possession, but not found in the usual places of custody for such documents. The old municipal corporations have acted in the same spirit. Scores of these old boroughs have dropped out of sight since the Reform Act of 1832 took away their political importance by depriving them of their representatives in the House of Commons. But all of them have their places in English history, and the overhauling of their archives will enable historians to estimate the importance of each in national life and development.

A large number of the manuscripts go back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As a whole, they become of increasing fullness and of more vivid interest as they deal with the centuries nearer our own time. No phase of English life is untouched. It is difficult to say which are of more interest and value to historical students, the manuscripts which have been contained in the muniment rooms of the great governing families, and of the House of Lords; or the records of the old municipal corporations. Both classes are rich almost beyond description in material illustrating imperial as well as national development.

The papers from the great families throw most light on national and imperial affairs, on the beginnings and developments of England as a colonial power, and also on religious, judicial, educational and social concerns at home. On the other hand, the thousands of documents from the archives of the old corporations, while valuable in corroborating the other manuscripts on some of the points named, throw most light on the development of municipal institutions and industrial life. They enable one to measure with some accuracy, from first hand sources, the extent to which mediæval municipal institutions were developed. In going over these corporation records one is most impressed with the fact that there is little new in the more recent de-

velopments of municipal activity. In the sixteenth century some of the municipalities owned the public water supplies, others in their corporate capacity bought provisions and fuel for the people within their municipal limits; and many of the old municipalities possessed institutions which would nowadays be regarded as socialistic. In those early days, also, there was as much care for the purity of the rivers, for the cleanliness of the streets, for correct weights and measures, and for good order, as there is at the present time in the most progressive of the English municipalities.

Many of the problems with which the mediæval corporations were perplexed are still confronting the English people, only nowadays these problems are dealt with by Parliament, and not by the municipalities. In the periods covered by these old records, each municipality was largely self-contained. Its common council, meeting at the guildhall and guarding its privileges with the greatest care, passed what local laws it pleased, and there was no overriding them, unless they happened to conflict with the general law. Prominent among the open questions of to-day which were open questions three centuries ago, are those of regulating the sale of intoxicating drink and of taking care of the poor. These it would seem from the old manuscripts unearthed by the Commission have long been open questions.

Another such question is the payment of Members of the House of Commons. In the seventeenth century that question was settled by the gradual establishment of the present system under which Members of Parliament served without pay. For two or three generations there was no fixed rule. Some of the old corporations paid their members daily wages. Others in the early years of the seventeenth century demanded from their representatives undertakings to serve for nothing; and all through this transitional stage preference was given to the candidates who would serve without pay. It was the lawyers who first broke through the system of taking daily wages from the boroughs. Some of the lawyers were so eager for membership in the House that in addition to serving for nothing they undertook to discharge the legal business of the municipality on the same easy terms.

The manuscripts make it plain that some corrections will have to be made even in standard constitutional histories. One or two such alterations will have to be made in Hallam. He fixes the middle of the eighteenth century as the time when Parliamentary boroughs were first for sale. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters show that the sale of boroughs was not uncommon in the opening years of that century, and the papers published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission corroborate Lady Mary's statement, if they do not actually afford material for placing the date much earlier. There were many boroughs which were admittedly decayed in Queen Elizabeth's time. As early as 1579, the Government announced that it shortly intended to carry a measure for the reform of the existing system of parliamentary representation and to sweep many of these boroughs away. Nothing, however, was accomplished. The boroughs grew worse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the middle years of the eighteenth century, and no reform was brought about until 1832.

For students of the period of the settlement of America and of that of the War of the Revolution, the manuscripts are full of first-hand matter, most of which is new. The Abergavenny MSS., and other papers covering the same period, taken in conjunction with Donne's Letters of North and the Walpole Correspondence, furnish full and excellent materials for a

study of the England against which America revolted, and of the methods which George III. used in the management of the House of Commons.

These papers are perhaps of special importance at this juncture in United States history. They show that the systems of political corruption and political management, "bossism" in politics, to use current political slang, was not invented in this country. George III. was as keen and as active a political boss as any American politician. He had henchmen at his side like the notorious John Robinson; interested financiers, who for a consideration, political and pecuniary, loaned him money to corrupt and buy the constituencies. Offices, great and small, were given solely as rewards for political services; men were broken and turned out of the army and the civil service solely on account of their votes in and out of Parliament. A subsidized daily press upheld the policy of the king, and maligned the characters of men who dared oppose him.

The Dundas letters in the Portland Collection will interest students of the period of the Revolution by reason of the light they throw upon some of the indirect inconveniences and losses resulting to England from the successful revolt of the American Colonies. Before the war, English convicts were sent in large numbers to this country. After the Revolution, the King and the Government were at their wits' end what to do with them. The hulks had been tried during the war, but that plan had failed. At first it was proposed the convicts should be sent to Scotland to dig canals. But Dundas, who for more than thirty years was the supreme political manager of Scotland in the Albany or New York sense of the word, was altogether opposed to a scheme of this kind, and finally it was decided to send the convicts to Botany Bay. Some of the convicts refused to go. They preferred the journey in the cart from Newgate to Tyburn, to a journey to a country so remote and unknown; and King George's patience was severely tried for an entire week by three men sentenced to be hanged, who refused pardons conditional upon their transportation to the Southern Hemisphere.

The romance attending many of the discoveries of the Historical Manuscripts Commission adds to the interest of the long series of publications. Prior to the establishment of the State Paper Office in 1578, now known as the Record Office, Secretaries of State and other high officials on going out of office carried their papers with them. Many of these have been re-collected by the Commission. Some of the most remarkable and valuable finds have been made in the most out of the way places. The great bulk of the Rutland papers was discovered in a loft over a stable at Belvoir, after a disappointing search in the mansion. Other equally valuable historical treasures have been found in dove cotes, and among the beams and rafters of baronial halls, and of the guildhalls of the old municipalities.

EDWARD PORRITT.

INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

SOON after the close of the Civil War one of the Southern leaders said to ex-Governor Seymour, of New York: "The North would never have beaten us if it had not been for our rivers. They ran from the North into the heart of our country; and we could not get away from you."

The converse of this is also true. The rivers of the South are an advantage in time of peace. They give access to all parts, except the mountains,

without the expensive canals of the Northern States and Canada. A slight assistance to nature, the dredging of the Mussel shoals of the Tennessee, allows large steamers to reach Chattanooga, and permanent dykes along the Mississippi would double the carrying trade of that river also. To reach the mountains the South should now develop a railway service as branches of trunk lines yet to be built. New roads are needed to bring the wealth of the forest and the mine more directly to the seaboard. The chief of these might be a direct line from Nashville to Charleston.

Western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and central Kentucky are rich in limestones. The valleys have fields of alluvium, and the crystalline rocks give strong clay soils on the mountains. The variety of soils, together with a mild climate, has always adapted the South to agriculture. The need of fertilizers caused the late Justice Lamar to say that the agricultural future of the South depends upon the rotation of crops, in which North Carolina has already set an example. Should the rich phosphate rock of South Carolina be exhausted, similar deposits can be used along the coast from North Carolina to Florida; and also in Alabama and Mississippi. The value of the deposit annually mined in South Carolina is nearly $3,000,000. Gypsum, superior to the best from Nova Scotia, is found in Washington County, Virginia, in seams 600 feet thick. This is only partially developed. With little attention paid to rotation or fertilizers, Texas now returns 10 per cent. more income to its farmers than either Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois. In Mississippi and South Carolina 80 per cent. of the men are agriculturists. More enterprising methods of farming ought to bring larger returns.

The limestone of central Kentucky gives $5,000,000 a year to the "Blue Grass" country for its splendid horses. The valley of the Tennessee has clover, blue grass, and wild cane. Stock raising is in its infancy there. In Texas the long droughts do not retard the rich mesquite grass, and $8,000,000 of cattle are exported annually. Florida raises many cattle for the Cuban market. Fifteen years ago there were only 20 breeders of cattle in all the States southeast of the Mississippi River. To-day Mississippi alone has about 100. Five years ago a short-horn from Mississippi brought $30,000 at the Milbrook sale; and this overcame the prejudice against Jerseys, short-horns, and red clover. Fine grass is grown in North Carolina, but it is still remote from the markets. There are many dairies and creameries in Florida, and those in Mississippi are increasing; but the number should be many times larger. Red clover is still almost as much of a stranger as it was to the Confederate Army at Gettysburg. And yet the materials are at hand for making a soil strong enough for even red clover.

Early vegetables for the Northern market should not be confined to the tidewater about Norfolk and to portions of South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida. Roanoke Island, Thomasville, and Savannah might send larger quantities of peaches and other fruits to the North. The sweet oranges of Louisiana ought to supply more than the home market. Florida is developing a large trade in cocoanuts and pineapples. The finest oranges and lemons in the New York market come from that State, because the Italian and the South American product will not stand the voyage. Peanuts, far superior to the African, are raised about Norfolk, while the hilly lands of North Carolina and Tennessee furnish a stronger quality. Kentucky and Georgia are raising them in limited quantities. The total crop of peanuts in the South has increased over 50 per cent. in the last five years.

The United States leads all other countries in the product of tobacco.

The total crop is worth over $40,000,000 annually; of which about $25,000,000 is exported to meet the increasing demand. More enterprise like that of Durham, in North Carolina, would have kept the farmers of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and other Northern States from raising an inferior quality. It would also have made other tobacco centres at the South besides Richmond.

When there was a duty on sugar, it formed one-sixth of all the dutiable merchandise imported into the United States. The quantity of sugar consumed in the United States is about 1,500,000 tons annually, of which the domestic product is short of 200,000 tons, including 20,000 tons of maple, 2,000 tons of beet, and less than 1,000 tons of sorghum. The beet sugar of Europe appears to be displacing the cane sugar of America. New methods of preparing beet sugar make it yield seven per cent. of saccharine matter, against four per cent. twenty years ago. It is claimed that a million tons of beet sugar will be exported within the next five years. If the cane-sugar territory of the South is fully cultivated, the uplands should grow beet and sorghum, and the hills and mountains maple sugar.

The cotton-producing States are: The two Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. While an increasing quantity is raised in southern Texas, Florida, and southwestern Tennesee, yet the Yazoo delta offers the best prospects for extending the acreage. The Sea Island product of the Carolinas might be largely increased. There may be something in store for the despised weed known as okra, which is grown in South Carolina at one cent a pound. It is said to be quite as good as cotton for many of the coarser uses. With the aid of the compress system, instead of the old method of screwing the cotton in bunks, every ship carries from 33 to 50 per cent. more cotton than it did ten years ago. The cotton crop for 1890 (the largest ever grown) was 7,313,726 bales; for 1889, 6,935,082 bales; for 1888, 7,017,707 bales; for 1887 and 1886, about 6,500,000 bales; and for 1885, 1884, and 1882, short of 6,000,000 bales. Since 1890 the crop has not reached the figures of that year, when overproduction caused the lowest prices since 1848.

In 1869 the world used only 5,000,000 bales of cotton in manufactures, instead of 11,000,000 bales now—an increase of 120 per cent. The United States has less than 15,000,000 spindles, against nearly 70,000,000 in Europe. The total takings by spinners of this country are about 2,350,000 bales, of which the Southern mills have but one-third. The South has now nearly 2,000,000 spindles, instead of 562,000 in 1880. Thus, in thirteen years it has increased the percentage of spindles from five to fourteen. The total of cotton mills in the Southern States is 271. The lower grades of cotton goods made in Alabama are in competition at Lowell, Mass., with goods made in that place, and fine brown sheetings, equal to those of Eastern manufacture, are made in the Southern mills. The manufacture of cotton at the South is growing at the expense of the industry in New England, and Atlanta is already a competitor of Baltimore in the Boston market. The prospects of the South will be even better when the mills drop the coarser grades and offer a finer product.

There were only seven cottonseed-oil mills in the United States in 1866, but in 1870 the product of the 26 mills was 547 000 gallons, valued at $293,000. This had grown to 13,384,385 gallons in 1890, valued at $5,291,178. The quantity has been reduced since that date. The total number of mills is 266. The capacity of the mills is 9,942 tons of seed daily, or 2,982,600 tons yearly. The

total value of all the products of the seed for 1890 was $25,834,261. A large quantity of the oil enters into the manufacture of lard, an expert having stated that the oil is wholesome in every respect. The oil is also sent to Italy, mixed with olive oil, and returned to the United States as pure olive. Among the products of the seed, besides oil, are: Oil cake, for animal food and fertilizers; lint; hulls, for fertilizers and the making of paper; and soap stock, for the making of soap and gas. The rivalry between the mills has given way to more business-like methods, and cotton oil is already one of the greatest industries of the South.

In 1889 Louisiana had about as many acres in corn as it had in cotton. Texas led all the Southern States in 1890 with the largest crop of corn and it was closely followed by Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Texas also leads in the wheat crop; and West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia are at its heels. The grist mills of Richmond supply flour from wheat grown in that locality to the markets of Brazil and other South American states. It is the only brand that will cross the Equator with safety. The output of flour in the South should be enough to supply all of its population. Texas already grows more wool than California. There are large sheep ranches in the mountains of Tennessee, and there might be many others in the highlands of several of the States. The South has few woollen mills thus far, but enterprise in this direction would lead to substantial results. Overproduction in cotton is sure to bring development in these several lines.

The eastern part of Texas is full of the long yellow-leaf pine; while cypress, oak and other hard woods are found in abundance in other localities. The same pine also grows in the northern part of Mississippi, in the western part of Louisiana, in the northern part of Alabama, and between the Chattahoochee and the Flint rivers in Georgia. The great wealth of North Carolina and Alabama is in hard woods. The walnut and oak of Alabama are sent to the furniture factories in Grand Rapids, Mich., when it should be made into furniture on the soil of Alabama.

But the greatest source of prosperity to the New South will be from its minerals. Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas are rich in building-stones. The raw deposits of asphalt in Alabama are equal to the best from Trinidad, and it can be mined at $1 per ton. Salt mining in Louisiana has been increased within the past five years; but the product from Kentucky and the Virginias will not be available till the Northern fields are exhausted. West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee will yield more crude petroleum as the supply grows less in the North. Even the gold mines of the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia will be made profitable when they are worked by more scientific methods.

The total annual output of coal in the United States is about 150,000,000 tons, of which the Southern States give 25,000,000 tons. Virginia is the only Southern State producing anthracite. When the supply of Northern anthracite becomes short, bituminous coal from the South, together with its products, will be more of a factor in the market. The valleys of the Kanawha and the New rivers, in Virginia, have scarcely been touched. A coal seam twenty-two feet thick has just been found in the Pocahontas district. West Virginia has bituminous coal of fine quality, and as good is found in the Warrior, the Coosa, and the Cahaba coalfields of Alabama—the thickest measures in the country. The finest coke in the South is made in the Pocahontas district, and the product is shipped to St. Louis and many other

Western points. Coke is made in Chattanooga for $5 a ton; but it is worth $45 a ton in Nevada, and $60 a ton in the City of Mexico. It is the best coke in the world for smelting, and Alabama already ranks next to Pennsylvania in the supply.

In Western Virginia and North Carolina, eastern Tennessee and Kentucky and northern Georgia and Alabama, the Appalachian mountains have deposits of iron ore and coal in close proximity. Virginia has similar deposits of iron and lime. Brown hematite and magnetic ores are being worked in that State, but not the specular ores. Kentucky is full of good ores that have been worked to a very small extent. At South Pittsburgh, Tenn., the ore has 37 per cent. of iron, and no flux is necessary with the lime. At Knoxville, car wheels are made from cold-blast charcoal iron, a most difficult process. Alabama has red hematite in deeper veins than Pennsylvania. It assays 47 per cent. of iron, while the brown hematite assays 55 per cent. Texas has hematite, magnetic, and specular ores, which will yet find a Northern market. The basic process for steel is being used in the South with good results. In a recent year the output of pig iron in the United States was over 9,500,000 tons, of which nearly 1,000,000 tons were made in six months in the Southern States. Alabama now turns out almost as much iron as the entire South did four years ago, and Alabama pig has superseded Scotch pig in Chicago. That State now holds the third position; Pennsylvania, the first; and Ohio, the second. Virginia leads the Southern States in the production of rolled iron; and nearly all the rolled steel South of the Potomac and Ohio rivers comes from West Virginia.

What is needed most in the South is, not the production of great quantities of pig iron, but, rather, the increase of manufactures of all grades, even the finest. The city of Richmond supplies seven States with nails, hardware, agricultural implements, and machinery. There is no reason why every Southern city should not be a centre for factories of these articles and many others. The miscellaneous industries of the South would then require double the $175,000,000 of capital now invested, and more commercial centres would meet a want that has long been felt. The Census of 1890 showed that the wealth of the Southern States has outrun their gain in population. As much cannot be said for the average of the Northern States during the same period.

It is evident that the South has at hand, and therefore cheap, all the raw materials entering into manufactures; that its labor and cost of living are cheaper than at the North; that it can, in consequence, manufacture goods of all kinds at less cost than the North or the West; that it can not only supply the home demand, but also export goods with profit; that in the finer lines of manufactures it is extending its operations with success; and that, to compete with it, wages in the North must be reduced. With all these advantages on its side the fault will be with the South if it fails to reach out its hands and take what nature has so kindly offered.

FREDERIC G. MATHER.

THE NEED OF BETTER ROADS.

THE Malthusian doctrine of population teaches that the people will increase faster than the means to sustain them, and that it is only a question of time when the population will press upon the means of subsistence

so as to prevent further increase in numbers, or, in other words, that the entire energy of the people will be insufficient to supply them with food. Whatever ultimate truth there may be in this doctrine, it has no application to this country in our day and generation, for the reason that the food product has increased and is increasing faster than the population, notwithstanding the fact that the population has increased with great rapidity, and substantially according to the Malthusian rule of doubling once in twenty-five years. The explanation of this most important fact is not to be found in any changed condition of nature, by which her bounty is increased, but in the increased power and productiveness of human labor, whereby the output of product proceeding from the same unit of exertion has been increased from two to ten fold. This being true, a diminished proportion of the population is sufficient to supply all with food products, and an increasing proportion are thereby released from the necessity of producing the food supply necessary to sustain themselves.

It is a material question in the industrial progress of the country, how the labor so released from the former necessity can be best applied to minister to human wants. They can no longer be employed, nor employ themselves to any advantage or profit, in the industrial villages that formerly flourished in the agricultural regions within short distances of each other, for the reason that the output of their product when so employed by solitary and primitive methods, does not show that increased output which human labor should show, and does show, when congregated together in great numbers, so that the division of labor and the application of machinery come in to supplement their power.

The concentration of population, which has astonished so many, was inevitable, for it would be impossible to successfully and continually employ a larger proportion of the population in producing food than is necessary to produce a sufficient supply, and it would be equally impossible long to employ the increasing number of those not required in the production of food in primitive and solitary industrial processes which fail to increase the output of their product when other means have been devised which increase that product many fold in connection with the concentration of population and the division of labor.

Cheap transportation has contributed much to the increased capacity of labor, by making it possible to concentrate surplus food products and material for manufacture. The increasing ease with which the food products, the materials of manufacture, and the population are concentrated together by means of cheap and still cheapening transportation, together with the increasing output of product which results from human labor under such conditions, makes it certain that the prevailing condition by which nearly one-half of our population in the older settled parts of the country is concentrated in cities is a normal and not an abnormal condition, and being based upon scientific causes is permanent and not temporary.

There are three factors which produce the existing result. First, a cheap and abundant food produced by a diminishing proportion of the people. Second, a cheapened means of transportation whereby these products and the material for manufacture may be easily concentrated in the great centers of population; and, third, the increasing output of product which manifests itself where labor is concentrated and the division of labor is supplemented by the application of machinery.

Cheap transportation, so far as developed up to the present time, shows

itself mainly in the decreased rates upon steamships and steam cars; and the rates have been so greatly lessened by these means that it is possible to transport a ton a thousand miles upon the great lakes at the same cost as would be required to move it five miles with a horse and wagon over a common road. Two hundred and fifty miles may also be reached at the same cost upon the steam cars. But with horses and wagons the rate of transportation has remained almost unchanged during all the years of this great development in cheap transportation.

Those who live in the rural districts and have seen the villages deserted, the farmhouses abandoned, the population reduced in numbers, the rewards of their industry decreased, and the value of their property diminished, adversely criticise the fact that national and State roadbuilding has been dropped, and that railroad building has been very extensive during the last thirty years, and think that if the same energy and expenditure were given to the improvement of the common roads, the results would be equally beneficial, and perhaps more beneficial than those that have followed the era of railroad building.

I do not share in these opinions, and believe that the reason we have failed to cheapen transportation by means of horses and wagons results from the intrinsic weakness of such means rather than from the lack of devotion to them. The system of State and national roads, as formerly instituted, was intended to supply the means of through or long-distance transportation. The highest rate that prevails upon the steam cars is lower than the lowest rate that could ever prevail upon wagon roads built with public money, and the use contributed free to the carrier without toll. So nothing could be more absurd than the idea of taking public money to do that which is already better done without the burden of taxation. So far as county and township roads are concerned, while still necessary, their improvement would be unwise if they should be improved without reference to the facts already stated above pertaining to the abandoned industries and the deserted villages.

A local system of improved or macadamized roads, built with a view of connecting villages that are now deserted, or of supplying the needs of a community equally distributed throughout the country, would not justify the expectation of those who contend for it. The rate of transportation with horses and wagons can never be brought on the average below twenty-five cents per ton per mile, while the average cost that prevails upon the steam cars is not to exceed one cent per ton per mile, and in many instances but half a cent a ton a mile. The steam railroads have served and will continue to serve a great purpose, but it is probable that the limit of their usefulness is nearly reached so far as the ramification of their branches is concerned; but at the very point where the ramification of these roads ceases to be an advantage, the electric road comes in and is destined to contribute still more to cheapen transportation than it is possible that the horse and wagon can do by any amount of expenditure directed to that end. The average cost per ton-mile upon the electric cars would not exceed five cents, and the cost of building the steel roadbed suitable for such cars to run upon would be no greater than the cost of building stone roads.

I therefore advocate an important and far-reaching change in the manner of building country roads. My plan is to extend the street-car tracks from our cities out into the circumjacent territory a distance of thirty or forty miles, so that all the territory between centres of popu-

lation sixty or eighty miles apart would be reached. Let these tracks be so made and laid that wagons and carriages propelled by horses may go upon them, as well as cars propelled by electricity or other inanimate power.

It is already demonstrated that only one-eighteenth of the power is required to move a vehicle over a smooth steel track that would be required to move it over a gravel road, or one-eighth of that which would be required to move it over the best pavement. When this important fact becomes generally known to the farmers, they will realize that it is a poor policy to promote the building of macadam roads when an equal outlay would provide a good steel track. When the track is once provided so that cars and carriages propelled by horses can also go upon the same tracks with cars propelled by electricity, the superiority of the inanimate power will be so apparent that horse power will be quickly abandoned. And what we have seen in Cleveland and Columbus and other American cities we will see upon the country roads, namely: a complete substitution of electric power for horse power wherever the rails are laid.

Heretofore the use of electric cars has been confined to carrying passengers, and the extension of the system has depended wholly upon private enterprise. This must be changed by enlarging the use to which the electric cars are put, and by supplementing private enterprise by a more liberal and enlightened public policy. There is no reason why the electric roads should not be carriers of freight as well as passengers, and especially of food products from the field to the market.

It is not claimed that these electric roads could be built and maintained wholly out of the profits of the carrier, but that they should rest as a burden upon the benefited land area in the same way that other road improvements now rest. No better expenditure of public money could be made in the State of Ohio for road improvements than to build a system of electric roads connecting all the county seats with each other and with the great cities of the State. This could be done by the State or by the counties with State aid. And the roads when so built could be operated by leasing to lowest bidder or by taking toll for each vehicle, the same as the State now does from canal-boats.

I have estimated the increased value of agricultural lands resulting from the decreased cost of transportation over steel rails by inanimate power at $30 per acre. Observation to confirm this only waits upon experiment.

MARTIN DODGE.

MEMORIAL LIBRARY ANDOVER

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXV.

AUGUST, 1895.

THE MENACE OF ROMANISM.

BY W. J. H. TRAYNOR, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

So MANY phases of the Papal question have been presented to the American people within the past five years that it is little to be wondered at that the great majority of our citizens are bewildered, and the remainder anything but reassured by these kaleidoscopic apparent changes. We have had Cahenslyism, Ultramontanism and "Liberal Catholicism." While Cahenslyism would appear to be consistent with Ultramontanism, there is, at first glance, something utterly irreconcilable between "Liberal Catholicism" and the others. The difference, however, if there be a difference, is rather abstract than concrete; a difference of terms rather than of principles, of policy rather than of doctrine. All true members of the Papal church must accept its canons and the *ex-cathedra* utterances of its head. Each—Ultramontane, Cahenslyist, and "Liberal" alike—believes in apostolic succession, the divine vicarship of the popes, papal infallibility, and all the dogmas and canons, superior and inferior, laid down by the church. The difference between the first and second upon the one hand, and the "Liberal Catholic" upon the other, is that Ultramontanism adheres to the principles of paparchy simply, while "Liberalism" is content with obedience to the voice of the living pontiff, as it speaks from day to day. This may ap-

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pear to be a distinction with but a scarcely perceptible difference; while, in fact, the difference is most important and will bear careful examination.

The Ultramontane believes in the temporal as well as the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and desires to assert it without regard to circumstances. The "Liberal Catholic" denies the claim of temporal supremacy literally, but admits it generally, and is prepared to insist upon its acceptance only in such degree as the living Pope may prescribe from time to time. While the Ultramontane, then, is bound by the traditions and laws of the paparchy, the "Liberal Catholic" concentrates his entire allegiance on obedience to the reigning pontiff.

When Liberal Catholics contend, as many of them do, that the Pope does not assume temporal jurisdiction, they violate neither the principles of truth nor their allegiance as papists; but not even the most liberal papist will assert that the laws of the paparchy do not confer upon the pontiff the right to claim and enforce his claim of temporal jurisdiction, nor that the popes have not frequently done so. There exists not a papist (and when I use the term I use it with all respect to the members of the papal faith) who does not place the Church above the State, and, consequently, the priest above the temporal ruler. Even Archbishop John Ireland, regarded throughout the length and breadth of the land, as the "most liberal of Catholics" and "most loyal" of American citizens, in speaking at Boston on April 28 last, said: "Next to God is country, and next to religion is patriotism." In the same speech he said: "*Vox populi vox Dei*, it is said. The words are true when the nation or state moves within the orbit of the powers delegated to it by the Supreme Master." As the papal hierarchy claims to be the only interpreter of the utterances of the Supreme Master, it follows necessarily that the Pope is the legitimate definer of the limits of the orbit of the state.

The Jesuit Schrader, in his affirmative propositions upon the Syllabus, asserts: "The Church has the power to apply external coercion. She also has a temporal authority direct and indirect." The remark is appended: "Not souls alone are subject to her authority." It will thus be seen that Archbishop Ireland merely puts a new mask upon an old face, and repeats Schrader's proposition in softened tones.

Brownson was less politic, but not one whit more emphatic, when in criticising Montor's *History of the Roman Pontiffs* in January, 1853, he wrote:

"It is certainly undeniable that the concessions of sovereigns and the consent of the people were obtained on the ground that the Popes held the power by divine right, and that those maxims on which Mr. Gosselin relies for the justification of the Popes and Councils in exercising it, were that the spiritual order, and, therefore, the Church as the representative of that order, is supreme, and temporal sovereigns are subjected to it, and to the Pope as its supreme visible chief. Popes and Councils in exercising authority over sovereigns, even in temporals, were, according to those maxims, only exercising the inherent rights of the church as the spiritual authority, and consequently sovereigns were bound to obey them, not by human law only, but also by the law of God. Such incontestably is the doctrine of the magnificent bulls of St. Gregory and Boniface, and of the maxims according to which it is attempted to justify the power exercised over sovereigns by Popes and Councils. Now these maxims either were true or they were false. If they were false, how will you justify an infallible church—expressly ordained of God to teach the truth in faith and morals, and to conduct individuals and nations in the way of holiness—in adopting and acting on them? If they were true, how can you deny that the power exercised is of divine origin or contend that it is derived from the consent of the people, or the concession of sovereigns? . . .

"How dare you suppose, in case of a collision between her and public opinion, that she, not public opinion, is in the wrong and must give way?"

Among the captious, there may be some objection offered to one or other of the authorities quoted as not being the *ex-cathedra* utterances of a pope. In anticipation of the objection I point out that no pope has yet objected to either or condemned their utterances, but on the contrary, two popes have endorsed both.

With the Syllabus itself before us and the bull *Unam Sanctam*, lesser authorities are superfluous, however, and are introduced only as corroborative evidence of the pretensions of the papacy, as in the past, to temporal as well as spiritual supremacy. And, in truth, if we concede the papal assertions regarding apostolic succession, the claim is most consistent. If Leo XIII. is one of a divinely appointed line of God's vicegerents, he is as much superior to ordinary men as he is inferior to God, and it follows logically that he is above all earthly authority, whether temporal or spiritual.

The "liberal" papist does not feel himself called upon to categorically affirm what the Pope has not yet thought proper to specifically assert in this country and what eminent prelates have only considered it expedient to present in veiled language.

But if, as the paparchy assumes, the pontiff is delegated with supreme temporal power from a divine source, the question naturally intrudes itself: Why is this power not openly asserted in the United States and why do Liberal Catholics find it necessary to cloak their utterances concerning it ?

A comparison of the American Constitution with the canon law and encyclicals of the paparchy answers the question. The two are utterly irreconcilable one with the other, unless the United States be regarded merely as a province of the papal church, *a position which they at present hold according to papal definition.* This position was made most emphatic in an apostolic letter sent by Leo XIII. to the Bishops and Archbishops of the papal church in America, dated January 6th, 1895, from which I quote the following extract:

"Precisely at the epoch when the American colonies, having, with Catholic aid, achieved liberty and independence, coalesced into a constitutional Republic, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was happily established among you, and at the very time when the popular suffrage placed the great Washington at the helm of the Republic the first Bishop was set by apostolic authority over the *American Church.*"

Yet, although the principles of our American democracy and those of the papacy are so utterly diverse, they are not so far apart but that popes and priests are forging a chain of circumstances with which to unite them together, and this, be it said, not through mutual concessions, as the apologists for the papacy would have us believe, but through generosity and ignorance upon the part of the American people, and apparent concessions which yield nothing but empty words upon the part of the Pope and his followers.

The policy of positive antagonism to the American public school system which was pursued for a number of years prior to the formation of the American Protective Association, has given place to the negative policy of letting it severely alone and extolling the merits of the parochial system. Not that the papacy hates the American public schools less nor seeks their destruction less ardently, but because the desired end can be more speedily attained through diplomacy than through force ; and while the Pontiff reserves to himself the full powers conferred upon him by paparchical laws and decrees, he holds these powers in abeyance until it may become expedient to employ them, while

meantime link by link the chain is forged that is intended to unite the State to the Church.

Pius IX. thundered anathemas and bulls at all liberty whatsoever. Leo XIII. and his lieutenants in the United States approach the same end wrapped in the mantle of American Liberty and speech softened by the oil of diplomacy. Pius IX. in an encyclical dated December 8, 1864, hurled the following utterance at the exponents of liberty :

"Actuated by an idea of social government so absolutely false, they do not hesitate further to propagate the erroneous opinion, very hurtful to the safety of the Catholic Church and souls, and termed 'delirium' by our predecessor Gregory XVI. of excellent memory, viz., that liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man, a right which ought to be proclaimed and established by law in every well constituted state ; and that citizens are entitled to make known and declare, with a liberty which neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil authority can limit, their convictions of whatsoever kind, either by word of mouth, or through the press, or by other means. . . .

"Gregory XVI. in an encyclical in 1832 declared freedom of conscience 'one of the most pestilent of errors ;' freedom of press, 'very disastrous, very detestable, and never to be sufficiently execrated, that mortal plague, never to be extirpated until the guilty elements of evil perish utterly in flames.'"

Pius IX. again, in an allocution dated March 18, 1861, condemns "modern civilization, whence come so many deplorable evils, so many detestable opinions ; which even countenances faiths that are not Catholic and which does not repel unbelievers from public employments, and which opens the Catholic schools to their children."

Even Bossuet, a 'liberal' papist, asserted that "the prince ought to use his authority to destroy false religions in his realm. Those who wish the prince to show no rigor in the matter of religion, because religion ought to be free, are in impious error."

If Pius IX. or Gregory were to send such messages to the American people to-day they would only afford sport for the satirist, yet Leo XIII. makes substantially the same assertions clothed in gentler verbiage, and these are received either with silent or expressed approval by a large proportion of the press and people of the United States. In his encyclical of January 6, 1895, he says:

"Nevertheless, since the thirst for reading and knowledge is so vehement and widespread among you, and since, according to circumstances, it can be productive of good or evil, every effort should be made to increase the number of intelligent and well-disposed writers *who take religion* (papal)

for their guide and virtue for their constant companion. It is, of course, the function of the clergy (papal) to devote their care and energies to this great work; but the age and the country require that journalists should be equally zealous in the same cause, and labor in it to the full extent of their powers. Let them, however, seriously reflect that their writings, if not positively prejudicial to religion, will surely be of slight service to it unless in concord of minds they all seek the same end. They who desire to be of real service to the church, and with their pens heartily to defend the Catholic cause, should carry on the conflict with perfect unanimity and, as it were, with serried ranks, for they rather inflict than repel war if they waste their strength by discord. In this manner their work, instead of being profitable and fruitful, becomes injurious and disastrous *whenever they presume to call before their tribunal the decisions and acts of Bishops, and, casting off due reverence, cavil and find fault. The Bishops, placed in the lofty position of authority, are to be obeyed.* . . . Now, this reverence, which it is lawful to no one to neglect, should of necessity be eminently conspicuous and exemplary in Catholic journalists."

In another part of the same encyclical the Pope declares:

"Wherefore we ardently desire that this truth should sink day by day more deeply into the minds of Catholics, namely, that they can in no better way *safeguard their own individual interests and the common good than by yielding a heart submission and obedience to the Church.*"

Not one word of admonition regarding submission to the State is inserted until we come to the following:

"In like manner let the priests be persistent in keeping before the minds of the people the enactments of the Third Council of Baltimore, particularly those which inculcate . . . the observance of the *just* laws and institutions of the republic."

The adjective in italics is worthy the consideration of the reader, and gains more than passing significance in light of the papal admonition which commands papists to refuse to obey all laws that are not sanctioned by the papacy, and of Leo's encyclical to the papists in the United States commanding them to render obedience to Francisco Satolli, "*constitutions and apostolic ordinances notwithstanding.*"

Although the exhortation to unquestioning obedience practically constitutes the chain of papal imperialism in the United States, the links thereof are numerous and varied in character. There is the anti-mixed-marriage link; the anti-freedom-of-the-press link; the anti-public-school link; the anti-secret-society link; the labor link, and last, but by no means least, the political link. In all spheres of the papist's citizenship the Pope presumes to meddle and to dictate, although apologists for the

papacy would have us believe that all there is of the papal hierarchy is religious.

Space being precious, I pass over the questions of mixed marriages, education, liberty of speech and press, and secret societies, and will confine myself to the political features of the papal propaganda, after a passing allusion to the labor question as laid down in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. The evident object of the encyclical is to unify the papist labor of the United States, in order that it may secure the same advantages in the labor market as in politics the papist vote until recently held in the City of New York and other large cities, and eventually, under the leadership of the priesthood, grasp the balance of power in the commercial and labor world. This hypothesis receives added strength in the light of the following excerpt from Encyclical *Longinqua* of January 6 last :

"Nay, rather, unless forced by necessity to do otherwise, Catholics ought to prefer to associate with Catholics, a course which would be very conducive to the safeguarding of their faith. As presidents of societies thus formed among themselves, it would be well to appoint either priests or upright laymen of weight and character, guided by whose councils they should endeavor peacefully to adopt and carry into effect such measures as may seem most advantageous to their interests, keeping in view the rules laid down by us in our encyclical *Rerum Novarum*."

The political sphere, many good, well-intentioned, but badly informed souls, and others who are neither so badly informed nor so well intentioned, would have us believe papal priests and prelates eschew, and the laity affect it only as citizens, unbiased by priestly exhortation or compulsion.

The papacy claims the right to govern the morals of her subjects, and affirms that "politics are morals on a larger scale." I am aware that both assertions have been denied by those whose interest it was to deny them, but in the light of history such denials are scarcely worth consideration. What the papacy has been in the past it is but reasonable to suppose it is at present and will be in the future, especially if its present conduct confirms the presumption.

Turning back the pages of European history for half a century, we find that in 1830 the parliament of Belgium—a country under a good king and the most liberal government—was hampered, and its freedom menaced by the clerical element, which, though in the minority, contrived to hold the balance of power,

and to stir up disaffection among their supporters against the government. At the time of the Brabant revolution the governor of the Austrian Low Countries wrote to Leopold as follows:

. . . "The aristocracy, the priests, the monks, the populace, and the bulk of the nation, which is neither democratic nor aristocratic, but which is inflamed by the fanatical and insinuating teaching of the priests.

"Since the end of the last century Belgium has had two revolutions, but both times at the voice of the clergy and to drive from the throne two sovereigns, Joseph II. and William I., who desired to introduce freedom of conscience. In 1815 King William gave the Belgians the most liberal constitution on the continent. The bishops caused it to be rejected by the notables on the following ground: 'To swear to uphold freedom of religious opinions and the concession of equal protection to all faiths, what is this but to swear to uphold and protect error equally with the truth, to favor the progress of anti-Catholic doctrines and so to contribute towards the extinction of the light of the true faith in these fair regions. . . . There are, besides, other articles which a true child of the church can never bind himself to observe—such is the 227th which sanctions the freedom of the press.'"

For a long period confessors refused absolution to persons who had taken the oath of allegiance to the king.

In 1870 all Italy threw off the papal yoke, an emancipation which even those countries disposed to be most friendly towards the papacy not only officially sanctioned but rejoiced at.

M. Nigra, Italian Minister at Paris, wrote under date September 12, 1870, to the effect that he had notified the French minister of the order given to the Italian government to cross the pontifical frontier. M. Favre replied: "That the French government would let us do as we liked and sympathized with us."

The Austro-Hungarian government refused to protest.

Count Beust, Austro-Hungarian Chancellor, stated to the Italian Minister at Vienna that the Austro-Hungarian government "was satisfied with the ideas expressed in the circular of the 18th of October, and considered that the course which the Italian government had taken was reasonable and just and such as would conduce to an equitable solution." The circular goes on: "The temporal power of the Holy Father has ceased to exist . . . that compulsion in matters of faith, set aside by all modern states, found in the temporal power its last asylum. Henceforth all appeal to the secular sword must be suppressed in Rome itself."

Count Bray, Bavarian Minister, also accepted the change without protest.

Marshal Prim, Spanish Prime Minister, also congratulated the

Italians on their entry into Rome, and the regent "manifested his satisfaction at the result of affairs at Rome."

The Minister of Portugal declared himself "beyond measure satisfied, praising much the moderation, good sense and the political tact of the government of his majesty (Victor Emmanuel) in such difficult circumstances."

In revenge for the seating of Amadeus, son of Victor Emmanuel, upon the Spanish throne, the Carlist insurrection occurred; an insurrection which received both the financial assistance and apostolic blessing of Pius IX.

In 1872 commenced the fight between the clericals and government of France; a fight which has continued with more or less fierceness ever since and has done much to retard the progress of the nation.

The fierce contest for supremacy between Prince Bismarck and the clericals of Germany is so largely a matter of well digested history that it needs but brief mention here, and I need only quote the Iron Chancellor's opinion of the clericals in March, 1872, when he said they were "the most evil element in parliament."

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, after they had been expelled from nearly every civilized country in the world, suggests the conclusion that either the priesthood were desperately wicked and overbearingly and politically meddlesome, or that the nations of Europe did not appreciate a good thing when they possessed it. I am fully aware that the answer to the proposition is: The priests and popes have always been right and kings and governments invariably wrong. It is paying a tribute to papal tenacity to assert that the course pursued by Pius IX. in the "seventies" has been persisted in unremittingly ever since. Neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. has given the Italian king or government a moment's rest. The chief aim of the paparchy seems to have been anarchy and revolution, of which the Sicilian insurrection was a fair sample. The fact that priests were caught in red-handed complicity with lay conspirators leaves no shadow of a doubt as to the part played by the priesthood in that insurrection. In Hungary the fight of the clericals against the popular will and the government to prevent the passage of the Civil Marriages Bill, and after its passage to prevent its observance, is a matter of modern history that scarcely

needs to be recalled; while the bitter hostility of the clericals of Germany to the German Emperor for the purpose of enforcing the claims of the Jesuits is a subject of almost daily illustration in the public press.

I shall be asked, perhaps, "Why go to Europe to illustrate an American argument?" I reply that I go where the Church under discussion is best known, that I may ascertain her standing and reputation in respect of all those virtues to which she lays pretensions.

No one who is acquainted with history will aver that the papacy has not engaged extensively in politics in Europe to the great discomfort and annoyance of those nations in which she has practised them.

The question now is: Has she repented of the past and is she prepared to abandon politics and settle down in the American Republic upon the same basis as other sectarian institutions, and leave matters of state entirely in the hands of the people? The recent encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. would indicate that she has changed nothing except her methods of encroachment upon the rights of the state and the privileges of the people.

That her priests and laity have been the chief factors in American politics, recent events in New York would indicate. These political operations have neither been confined to the laity nor to the inferior ecclesiasts. It is not so many months since the Bishop of Rochester publicly attacked a brother prelate for interfering in the politics of New York. Not much importance it is true, was attached to the fact of the priests of the archdiocese of New York instructing parishioners from the pulpit which way to vote during the municipal elections last fall, yet the most trustworthy newspapers of New York vouched for the truth of the incident.

Some apologists for the papacy, even after these events had become public, had the hardihood to deny that papal priests were in politics, until it transpired that the Bishop of Sioux Falls, and a large number of inferior priests throughout the country, had publicly instructed their parishioners how and for whom they should vote. Still some were unconvinced as to the part papal theologians were playing in American politics until Archbishop Ireland, towards the end of May, came out in unmistakable terms upon the silver question.

I trust this settles the vexed question as to whether or not the papacy is in politics. That she has been in politics quite actively in the past, and that her influence in the political world has been almost twice as powerful as that of all other sects combined, the enormous appropriations granted to her by the government for the alleged education of the Indians will indicate, while the large number of special privileges enjoyed by her under State governments demonstrate conclusively that her political organization is as perfect locally as it is nationally.

The course pursued by the popes in Europe during the last century is being duplicated here with variations. The paparchy is a law unto herself and will accept no other. If constitutions differ from the spirit of canon law they must be modified to harmonize with it. The constitution of the United States makes the voice of the people the supreme law ; the papal leaders add the amendment, "so long as it conforms with the law of the papal church," or words which embody that meaning.

Where the people are strong, where the state is powerful, the papacy is weak. The converse of this proposition is also true : hence the papal conspiracy to weaken our Republic by the union of Church and State, with the Church of Rome at the head.

While the Pope denies the right of the state to cross the domestic threshold and includes within the pale of domesticity the education of the young, he arrogates to the Church the right not only to intrude into the most sacred relations of family and home in the persons of her confessors, but dares to dictate to parents the course of instruction which the youth of America shall receive. Let the State concede this right and the rising generation will be Americans only in name, but in reality the subjects of a foreign paparchy. The perversion of the American constitution to conform to papal dogmas will then be only a matter of time, and the Republic as established by the signers of the Declaration of Independence be merely a memory.

What the open imperialism and arrogance of Gregory and Pius could never have accomplished in the United States, the superior diplomacy of the present Pontiff and his American prelates has partly succeeded in securing—the predominance of the papal church as a sect and the balance of power as a political body. While Pius administered allopathic doses of ultramontan-

ism and nauseated his subjects, Leo, while striving after the same end, contents himself with a slower but much more effective treatment of homœopathic liberalism.

However liberal a papist may be, he is a child of the Church and obedient to the voice of the Pope in all matters over which the Church claims jurisdiction; and when he accepts the Encyclical of January 6, 1895, the difference between him and the Ultramontane is so slight as to be imperceptible.

The paparchy seeks to renew in the new world the power of which she has been denuded in the old. While in Europe she used kings and councils as her tools, she adapts herself to American conditions here and intrudes herself into all the elements of our public life which contribute to our power. She organizes labor, not for labor's sake, but as an intimation to capital that she is mistress of the situation. She strives to obtain the balance of power in each political party and secures concessions to the Church which no other sect has ever sought or could obtain. She drives her subjects from secret societies which are legal under the constitution and declares them illegal, substituting her own laws for those of the people. She declares the civil marriage law of no effect and denies the right of her subjects to think, speak or write independently of the permission of the Bishop.

Those "liberal" Catholics who can digest all this cannot consistently reject whatever else the papal theological pharmacopœia may contain. "Liberal Catholicism" is but a term for a policy and means neither concession nor amendment. The papacy is to-day, as it ever was in the past, a despotism claiming universal jurisdiction; an end to be attained only by the weakening of governments and the transfer of the power of the people into the hands of the priests.

To combat these pretentions, to remove the hand of the Pope from the brain of the thinker and the writer, from the mouth of the speaker and the mind of the scholar, from the throat of the statesman and the will of the voter—the American Protective Association was organized. It will continue its work until popes have learned that under the American constitution as it now stands they have no right that is not possessed by the most insignificant member of the non-papal clergy or laity.

W. J. H. Traynor.

FEMALE CRIMINALS.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

Two Italian savants, Lombroso and Ferrero, both well known as earnest students of the new science of criminal anthropology, have recently directed their researches into the peculiarities of offenders of the weaker sex. Criminal woman has been brought under the mental microscope, her traits and idiosyncracies minutely and patiently examined. The process is much the same as that adopted in the investigation of the criminal man; the result also is similar. We have now put before us a particular type, a distinct and peculiar character, whose separate existence is supposed to be proved, based upon certain well established physical and physiological differences between her and the normal woman. It may be questioned, perhaps, whether we gain much by what has been elicited; whether the facts now published are not more curious than instructive. What useful purpose is served by this photographic portraiture of the female criminal is not exactly apparent, except perhaps that by recognizing criminal traits we are put upon our guard against those who exhibit them. Yet this might prove very inconvenient, sometimes; we might be led to quarrel with or misjudge our best friends. For we here touch upon the really weak spot, the one great flaw in the doctrines of the criminal anthropologist. It has no doubt been proved satisfactorily that evil-doers possess many purely personal qualities and characteristics; the awkward thing is that these same peculiarities are encountered also among the most exemplary members of society. To this the Lombroso school answers that these last have never been sufficiently tempted; that some day, given adequate inducement, they too, will certainly go astray. All that is left us, presumably, is to hope for the best; to con-

tinue to associate with those whose looks should hang them, trusting that their innate wickedness may never drive them to suddenly shock and surprise us by their misdeeds. But we may take heart of grace, for the whole position is otherwise assailable; this theory of the inherent instinctive impulse to crime in certain individuals, cursed with unsought but ineradicable imperfections, can be contested on other grounds. It is a well-known fact that evil-doers pass from the lesser to greater crimes; the old saying, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus,* is an everlasting truth. The criminal anthropologists have never yet explained how it is that the thief's nose, which is found to be a "turn up," does not become the "crooked" in the murderer, when the thief expands, as he so often does, into the more heinous criminal.

While dissenting, however, from his general conclusions, we may follow the scientist with interest through his experiments. He has discovered and classified many strange phenomena, the result of his examination of a not very large number of female offenders.

Lombroso finds that the typical female criminal has coarse black hair and a good deal of it; but this is obviously only true of Italians, there is no such general color among northern or Saxon races. She has often a long face, a receding forehead, over-jutting brows, prominent cheek-bones, an exaggerated frontal angle as seen in monkeys and savage races, and nearly always square massive jaws and a firm mouth. Lombroso insists strongly upon the last-named trait, as very generally present; the female offender is especially remarkable for her want of feminality. She is virile, masculine in voice and in figure, lank and meagre without the rounded forms, a chief beauty in the true woman, and able therefore, as in many well-known cases, to wear male attire without detection. The eyes of the female offender are said to be sunken, deep set, in color dark (only in the Italians, of course); wrinkles soon show, and in elderly women are strongly developed in certain parts of the face; the cranial capacity is inferior to that of the normal woman; there is a greater tendency to grow gray and to baldness; moles are common; hairiness, which is unusual and unfeminine, has been frequently found; strabismus also, and generally an unprepossessing appearance. Yet the offender in early years often possesses *la beauté de la jeunesse;* degeneracy does not show till the adipose

tissue has shrunk, then the salient cheek bones protrude, the lower jaw hardens, the complexion fades and wrinkles deepen. Although in subjects whose attractiveness is part of their stock in trade, beauty lingers through close attention to artificial allurements, the female offender grows more and more ugly with advancing years, till at last she becomes a hideous and repulsive old hag, with all her native blemishes and imperfections thrown up into strong relief.

Passing on to the mental or psychological characteristics, these also are strongly marked according to the Italian enquirers. It may be stated here, parenthetically, that the facts deduced in this respect rest on a broader basis. For the physical traits, but just enumerated, follow upon somewhat limited investigations; not as many as a hundred women in all having been examined. But as regards the mental qualities the professors have sought their illustrations far and wide, in all countries and all ages, and adduce some rather remote female criminals, such as the mother of Antaxerxes Messalina, Ta-ki of China, or such hackneyed cases as those of Brinvilliers, Tiquet, Lafarge, Jegado, and Gabrille Bompard, in support of their generalizations. For some strange reason, from ignorance perhaps, or possibly unfamiliarity with the English language, hardly any of the notorious female offenders in England are brought forward in evidence, although many would afford startling corroboration of the conclusions drawn. I propose, therefore, to refer to some of these in reviewing the psychological aspect of the female offender.

The vices most prominent in the feminine criminal are found to be great cruelty, a passionate temper rising quickly into extravagant fury, an excessive craving for revenge, low cunning strongly developed, greed, shameless rapacity, an inordinate love of lucre, mendacity to the utter contempt of all truthfulness. Such women are erotic, but not capable of pure, devoted love; they are weak in that maternal feeling which is usually the strongest sentiment in the feminine nature; they are given to dissipation, audacious, violent, imperious, dominating weaker characters whether of their own or of the opposite sex, their vices, in a word, are of the male rather than the female. In planning crimes they exhibit much deliberation, can bide their time with fiendish patience, following out their purpose with unshakeable, undeviating persistence, and when the moment of

action arrives will strike without cowardly hesitation or any fear of future remorse. They are especially clever in instigating others to the commission of crime, using them as catspaws or agents, evading direct responsibility themselves, and being strenuously persistent in denial, in obstinate refusal to confess. All these traits have been proved over and over again to exist in the worst types of female criminals, but happily their combination in one individual is extremely rare. When found in full development they constitute a type of extraordinary wickedness which the world does not often see. These are the class of "born" criminals, the very worst specimen of female offenders, the women of whom writers speak as "more cynical, more depraved, more terrible than any form of criminal male." "The woman is seldom wicked," says the Italian proverb, "but when she is, she surpasses the man."

This, the worst type of female, the "born" criminal is not common in the softer sex. So much so that the scientists readily admit that the "occasional" criminals form the large majority of female criminals. The two classes indeed overlap constantly, and it seems hardly necessary to distinguish between them when discussing feminine criminology. Every woman who has once fallen, not only into crime, but from the strict paths of virtue, is probably capable of further, even the deepest, forms of degradation. Speaking broadly, she is either good or bad; when she is the first but has broken through the safeguards of moral restraint and lapsed into the second she may then drift on and downward into any kind of crime. This is generally accepted as an axiom by all who have had much experience with female offenders. The only distinction is one of degree; the worst only are wholly bad, exhibiting none or but few of the "contradictions," as Lombroso calls them, the redeeming qualities which so often raise them from the lowest levels.

Whatever, then, the class of offender, whether, adopting the Lombroso division, we speak of the "born" or the "occasional" criminal, in all alike the same traits are to be found only in a greater or lesser degree. The Italian theories of facial and physical characteristics may not be entirely convincing, being deduced as has been said from too narrow data and dealing with too few nationalities to be accepted as establishing any universal law. But I have found in criminal women, both in my reading and within

my own personal experience, which is not of yesterday, not only the mental traits and tendencies already enumerated, but others not mentioned by Lombroso. Many cases might be adduced in corroboration of the alleged cold-blooded, callous cruelty of the female murderess, the savage determination with which she carries out her fell purpose; no difficulties deter her, she can wait and watch for opportunity concealing her devilish intention under a smiling face, till at last she administers poison and strikes the blow with a nice calculation of effect. She seldom shrinks, seldom falters after the deed is done, either in facing consequences or removing traces. Catherine Hayes having caused her husband's death wished to cut off his head with a penknife and boil it; Mrs. Manning dug the grave for her victim, three weeks ahead, just in front of her kitchen fire, where she roasted and ate a goose the very afternoon of the crime. Kate Webster dismembered the corpse of her mistress and boiled it piecemeal; Hannah Dobbs strangled a lodger and dragged her body downstairs to bury it among ashes in a disused cellar. Dixblanc, the French cook who murdered Madame Riel in Park Lane, did much the same. Female cruelty of a still more revolting kind was displayed by Mrs. Brownrigg and the two Meteyards; the first of whom flogged her parish apprentices to death, having first starved and shamefully ill-used them; the latter were milliners who tortured their employees under the most disgusting circumstances, killing them with refined cruelty and afterwards chopping their bodies to pieces. Within quite recent years the Irish woman, Mrs. Montagu, rivalled these monsters by her fiendish cruelty to her own children, and in the Staunton case, although the men were the principal agents, the two women were included in the crime of taking an innocent life by cruel torture, "a deed," said the Judge, "so black and hideous as to be unparalleled in all the records of crime." Professor Lombroso makes no mention of any of these cases, which are certainly not less illustrative of cruelty than any in his book.

Among the mixed motives that compel women to great crimes greed stands high, then comes the desire for vengeance, the gratification of passionate hatred for real or fancied wrongs, the ungovernable outbreaks of fierce temper, the mad promptings of jealousy, for the female offender is an ardent lover, strong in love as in hate, and implacable when crossed or flouted. Sarah Malcolm, the charwoman, committed a triple

murder, incited thereto by the sight of her mistress's wealth in coin and silver plate; the murder of O'Connor by the Mannings originated in the woman's cupidity, her thirst for her victim's possessions; it was the same with Kate Webster, Jessie McLachlan, and Hannah Dobbs. There have been numerous cases of child murder in England by mothers to secure insurance money, the policies often taken out on purpose by the inhuman parent, who has already doomed her offspring to death. Baby farmers have been driven by greed to practise atrocious cruelties on the infants committed to their tender mercies; cases innumerable might be quoted of the employment of poison (of which more directly) to gratify inordinate rapacity. Feminine rage, often the forerunner of mania, is most noticeable perhaps within prison walls, and it is sometimes so spontaneous, so persistent and terrible, as to be only explained by actual mental derangement. The woman McCarthy, who, in Millbank, stabbed a matron without a moment's warning, was, no doubt, a homicidal lunatic, but Flossie Fitzherbert was sane enough, and when she assaulted another matron and broke a medicine bottle into her skull she was carried away by momentary but quite uncontrollable ferocity. It was in a fit of passion of this kind that Dixblanc, chafing against what seemed unjust rebuke, turned on her mistress and struck her dead. For long-continued, indomitable ill-temper, the woman Julia Newman, who made Millbank hideous for nearly a year, will never be quite forgotten. Fierce feuds between the prisoners themselves continued from previous quarrels when free, or originating in new discords in durance, are of constant occurrence, leading at times to sanguinary conflicts, which but for prompt interference might have ended in loss of life. I have before my mind's eye the case of a woman whose loathing for a comrade was so intense that she could not be trusted within sight of her, and who made several attempts, happily abortive, to murderously assault her enemy.

Jealousy, as might be expected in the female subject, has impelled many to crime. It is now well known that Constance Kent, whose offence was only tardily proved on her own confession, did her infant brother to death because she was jealous of him, although on no very reasonable grounds. When sexual relations intervene the feeling is naturally intensified; many violent acts might be instanced in which outraged women have

sought to vent their disappointment on truant or unfaithful swains. When the woman of greatly perverted moral sense has been crossed in love, her thirst for vengeance has only been assuaged by the most terrible reprisals. One of the most hideous cases on record is perhaps that of Mary Blandy, who poisoned her father because he would not consent to her marriage with Captain Cranstown, whom he knew to be a miscreant and unprincipled fortune hunter.

Poisoning is a crime peculiarly attractive to the female offender, as is proved by the hundreds of cases in which it has been perpetrated by them in times past and present. As I have written elsewhere, "its chief recommendation to them is its simplicity and the many facilities that are offered for its commission to a sex so generally employed as mistress, housewife, nurse or cook." It is a strange fact and a further illustration of this contention that according to the last statistics of crime in the United States as furnished by the Census Bulletin of 1892, as many as 244, out of a general total of 393 female homicides were committed by women in "personal service," or, speaking more in detail, by 26 housewives, 50 housekeepers, 138 servants, 16 washerwomen and 10 nurses. No information is available of the method employed, but it may be safely inferred that poison was largely used. This would only be in harmony with all criminal experience. The crime which commended itself to Lucretia Borgia and Brinvilliers is still deplorably prevalent and we have our Maybricks, Cheshams, Catherine Wilsons, Christina Edmunds and Madeline Smiths in modern days. These and other cases to which Lombroso makes no reference are not likely to be soon forgotten; as that of Rebecca Smith who confessed on the scaffold, when about to suffer for poisoning her baby one month old, that she had already poisoned seven other children; of Chesham who, imitating the harridans who invented and sold Aqua Tofana, confessed that she had for years carried on a large business in removing husbands, both her own and others. Catherine Wilson was a wholesale poisoner whose foul practices were in all cases inspired by greed and who first used, if she did not actually discover, the properties of colchicum, the pretty violet flower of the meadow-saffron so familiar in Swiss summer fields, in the form of a slow and not easily detected poison. Fanny Oliver used prussic acid to get rid of a husband who was insured in a burial society; and

Madame Lafarge, whose case, being enveloped in much mawkish sentimentality, attracted world-wide attention at the time, did her husband to death with arsenic, the true "bungler's" or "beginner's" weapon, as its symptoms and the traces it leaves are so easily detected.

The typical female poisoner, however, was Anna Zwanziger or Anna Schönleben, known as the German Brinvilliers, whose crimes were committed about the commencement of the present century. It is somewhat strange that this woman has also escaped the attention of Lombroso, for she exemplifies some of the most remarkable criminal traits, and her picture as handed down to us is so much direct evidence upon the outward aspect of her species. Zwanziger was of small stature, thin, deformed, her sallow meagre face deeply furrowed by passion as well as by age. Her eyes expressed envy and malice; her brow was perpetually clouded; her manner cringing, servile and affected; age and ugliness had not diminished her craving for admiration. Mock sensibility, and weak moral sense and an undoubted taste for dissipation led her into evil courses at an early age, and left her at fifty reduced to the greatest poverty, homeless, friendless, and at her wit's end to live. It was then that she adopted poisoning as a means of livelihood, as a profession, and her own exultant account of the power it conferred on her may be commended to those who are interested in the psychological analysis of the female criminal mind.

Her attachment to poison was based upon the proud consciousness that it gave her the power to break through every restraint, to attain every object, to gratify every inclination; she could deal out death or sickness as she pleased, torture all who offended her or stood in her way; she could revenge herself through it for every slight; it amused her to see the contortions of her victims; she could get fellow-servants and others into trouble, throw suspicion upon any innocent persons whom she disliked. If she wished to bring a married man to her feet, she might murder his wife when she chose; if she hankered after the possessions of others, she might acquire them when the poison had done its work. As time went on she became an expert toxicologist; mixing and giving poison was her constant occupation. She was so devotedly attached to this deadly familiar friend that she carried it always about with her, and when arrested and some arsenic was found in her pocket, "she seemed to tremble with

pleasure and gazed upon the white powder with eyes beaming with rapture." When sentenced to capital punishment she told the judge that her death was fortunate for mankind, as it would have been impossible for her to discontinue her trade of poisoning. There can be no question that Zwanziger fully fills up the type of "born" criminal; she was in truth a veritable monster, an incarnate female fiend.

It is agreeable to turn from these sombre details, from the black traits that show criminal women at their worst, and which, as has been said, are rare in their fullest development, to the smaller foibles, the blemishes, the blameworthy but not deeply criminal failings of their everyday life, mainly as seen when under restraint. Some of these the female offender shares with her more virtuous and immaculate sister, but shows in an aggravated and exaggerated form; the vanity, for instance, which is strong even in the inmates of a prison; the intolerance of control and of constituted authority, for what in the best is mere obstinacy or self assertion becomes in the worst direct defiance; the persistent misconduct, the fluent, shrewish tongue that will not be silenced; perversity in fact so marked as to be nearly unmanageable and incurable, especially when associated with a readiness to graver offence, or a morbid tendency to surrender and despair. On the other hand female prisoners have some pleasing traits; gratitude is very common among them, they are always sensible to kindness and sympathy, and can in truth be more easily governed through the gentler influences than by stern, unyielding discipline. A very curious trait taken in connection with the maintenance of good order in a female prison is the strong inclination of the inmates towards combined disorder. There is a contagion of misconduct, if I may so call it, which spreads with strange rapidity through a prison; it may be the peculiar imitativeness of the feminine character, the ready yielding to example even in ill doing, but whatever the cause the effect is frequently observed by others as well as myself. When one woman "breaks out," many more, if within reach of her influence whether by sight or sound, will follow suit. This is why "breaking out," a favorite but not always intelligible sin against good order and which shows itself in wholesale destruction of property and personal effects, cell furniture, window panes, woodwork, bedding, clothes, seldom occurs in isolated instances; why, many years ago, the sudden

fancy to drum upon the inside of a cell with the soles of her feet which took one prisoner, soon extended to a whole ward; why if a few are insubordinate, the whole female prison is transformed speedily into a bear garden.

Vanity in a female prisoner would be merely laughable if it were not so sad to behold. It is, however, the one touch of nature which proves the human kinship, and there is perhaps some hope for even these poor degraded creatures if they are thus swayed by such harmless emotions. Prison matrons would be perpetually busy if they checked every attempt made by their charges to adopt the last fashionable coiffure; "fringes" are "going out" perhaps in general society, but they are still amazingly popular in prison. Criminals will trim their hair as it pleases them, and the wisest disciplinarian affects to see nothing of the fringe. In the same way, once, when chignons were in vogue, the female felt happy whose locks escaped the prison scissors and were long enough to fold over a pad of oakum. The ingenuity, again, with which some prisoners will twist and turn their unbecoming uniform into some faint notion of the fashions of the day might have earned these artists good wages in a dressmaker's *atelier*; I have seen panniers counterfeited and polonaises, skirts draped or tied back, dress improvers manufactured out of whalebones or horsehair; no doubt, when the present "bell" skirt is fading out of fashion it will be largely patronized in jail. The craze for personal adornment leads women to skim the grease off their scanty allowance of soup, with which they plaster their hair. I once knew an aged prisoner who was caught scraping the dust from the red brick cell wall to serve her as rouge.

Some more estimable qualities may be noticed. I must contest Lombroso's theory that maternal affection is generally wanting among female offenders; it is directly contradicted by my experience. I have found "the children's ward" quite a model nursery, and prisoner mothers exemplary in their care and attention. It may be that when at large, relieved from the controlling eye of authority, the criminal is less affectionate, but I much question whether she is any worse than others of her class. Another good point in the female (as well as in the male) in durance, is her unwearied patience and devotion in nursing the sick. Of course it may be urged, *per contra*, that here again she is under super-

vision, that hospital work forms an agreeable change to the monotony of prison routine; still with all due deductions the fact remains that the prisoner nurse is deft-fingered, soft-footed, watchful and kindly in her ministrations. The sympathy for the sick is extended even to the officers over them, and I am forcibly reminded of the case of a matron whose slow death of malignant disease was touchingly respected by the universal and spontaneous resolve of all the prisoners to "give no trouble" during her last illness. It was usually a very unruly prison, too.

Of the gratitude which lies low in the offender's heart, but which can be reached by judicious treatment, I shall quote but one instance. It is that given in Scougal's *Scenes from a Silent World*, an admirable monograph on prison life. A hardened offender, one with sixty-four convictions against her—Lombroso would have classed her as a "born" criminal—arrived scowling and sullen under a fresh sentence. Her conduct corresponded with her sullen demeanor and was continuously defiant and refractory, until an unofficial visitor took her in hand. Then "she became a totally changed being—gentle, obedient, and deeply grateful to those whom she found to her utter amazement to be really anxious to help and comfort her." It was there she had first met with pity or kindness from her fellow-creatures, and the first touch of human sympathy melted her despair as sunshine softens ice.

Among the many dicta of the criminal anthropologists is the assertion that primitive woman was not given to wrong-doing, and that the female offender is a product of civilization, increasing with it. This theory may be supported, perhaps, by wider and more general investigations made, but it is certainly not proved by English experience. Nothing is more remarkable in the annals of crime than its steady diminution among females in England in recent years. In the last decade there has been a decrease of 41 per cent. in the total numbers imprisoned, comparing 1892-3 with 1882-3. Although the prison population cannot be taken as a final test of the conditions of crime, the fact cannot be overlooked when the decrease is so strongly marked. Moreover, during these ten years there has been a general increase of the population of 25 per cent. If the statistics are sifted and the figures taken according to the gravity of misdeeds and sentences, the decrease is still more surprising. The average total of convicts, the females, that is to say who have

been sentenced to penal servitude for terms of three years and upwards, was in 1892–3 just 245, as against 887 in 1882–3, a diminution of 72 per cent.; in the "local" prisons, those for lesser terms and offences, the decrease has been 33 per cent., but the two combined give the figure already quoted of 41 per cent. Another highly satisfactory feature is found by examining the figures further and comparing the ages of criminals in custody. This clearly shows that the principal decrease has occurred among the younger criminals, in other words, that the supply is being cut off at the source, that fewer recruits are enlisted or drawn into the great army of crime. But the older habitual criminals continue to flock in; nothing seemingly will eradicate the poison when it has once been taken into the system; the woman who has fallen into evil ways seldom recovers her position. Now in 1892–3 the largest proportion of female prisoners in custody is still represented by those who have been most often convicted; in 1882–3 this total was 9,316, in 1892–3 it was 9,408. Sharply contrasted with these figures the first convictions, or those who have been convicted but once, show up in the manner already described. While these in 1882–3 were 7,008, now in 1892–3 there were only 4,377.

A further but somewhat remote diminution may be expected when the old hands gradually disappear. But this process of depletion will be slow; for, strange to say, the criminal woman seems to thrive in prison. Her longevity, not in the general population alone, but among the so-called dangerous classes especially, is established beyond all doubt. "It is a well-known fact," says Lombroso, "that the number of aged female criminals surpasses the male contingent." This he explains on the theory that women have greater powers of resistance to misfortune. "This is a well-known law which in the case of the female criminal seems almost exaggerated, so remarkable is her longevity and the toughness with which she endures the hardships, even the prolonged hardships of prison life. . . . I know some denizens of female prisons who have reached the age of 90, having lived within those walls since they were 29 without any grave injury to health." It is pretty obvious from this that criminal women stand punishment better than men.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

"TENDENCIES" IN FICTION.

BY ANDREW LANG.

If we are trying to understand the "tendencies," the main currents and back-waters of thought and sentiment, in any past age, we do not pay particular attention to its light literature. Plays and novels of the past give little of the grave information which we seek in old works of philosophy, history and theology. People used to keep their play and their earnest apart with some success. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. Greek plays contain the most profound religious and philosophic reflections of the period, but if any one calls Greek plays light literature, we "disable his judgment." And, even in this field, as time went on, and discussion abounded, and sophists multiplied, and theorists took aim at every conceivable object, we find Euripides filling his dramas with perfectly modern "tendencies." Euripides revels in "problems," as much as any lady novelist who writes under a masculine name takes pleasure in rare moral or immoral "situations." For this very quality Aristophanes, like a good literary Tory, assails Euripides. His characters exhibit on the stage, before all Athens, positions which it would be wiser not to discuss at all. The drama becomes a debating room of matters better left undebated to the verdict of tradition. The passion of a brother for a sister is one of these risky situations, riskier than the modern British novelist is likely to attempt. But here was a "problem," and Euripides was as fond of a "problem" as Dr. Ibsen.

These things are the exceptions. In all the plays of Shakspeare, in an age when the drama was to the world what the novel is to-day, how little we find of "tendencies." The great contemporary "problem" was the sequel to the English Reformation. The British middle classes, like John Knox, who refused an Eng-

lish bishopric, conceived that the English Reformation had not gone nearly far enough. There were still plenty of "idols" to break; plenty of beauty in religious ceremonial was left to destroy, numerous illogical formulæ were to be swept away. The Puritans, "a sect of perilous consequence," said Elizabeth, "such as would have no kings but a presbytery," were waxing great in the land. The attempt at a theocracy was maturing, but about all this we find, in Shakspeare, next to nothing. Sir Andrew Aguecheek, who did not give his "exquisite reason," declared his dislike of a Puritan,—in Illyria,—but of debates on Puritanism Shakspeare gives us none. His own shade of religious opinion is disputed to this day. The great early colonial efforts of his time are not more prominent in his works. The "problems" of Hamlet or of Jacques are the eternal, not the temporary or exceptional, problems of humanity.

As for tendencies in novels, till the middle of the eighteenth century, at earliest, novels were written merely for human pleasure. "Bold bawdry and open manslaughter," says Ascham, were their themes in the Elizabethan age. Love and fighting, to use more friendly and even more accurate language, were still the topics of fiction. Fielding and Richardson had their confessed moral and social purposes, especially Fielding; but they subordinated these to the story and to the play of character. Sheer romance prevailed with Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Porter, and the totally forgotten novelists of chivalry and mediæval history, whose fame, if they had any, was swallowed up in that of Scott. He, of course, was a romancer pure and simple; so, in essentials, were Bulwer Lytton, and Cooper, and even Hawthorne, despite his allegory, for Hawthorne loved old moral ideas for their romantic possibilities. Yet even Disraeli, in *Sybil*, anticipated our modern tales about social problems, and M. Taine, not quite unjustly, censured the eternal moral purpose of Thackeray. *The Newcomes* is a long parable of loveless marriages, the theme is insisted on with tedious iteration. Dickens, too, sacrificed much to tendencies; several of his tales are pamphlets directed at abuses, but then his are amusing pamphlets. We can endure plenty of purpose and plenty of preaching from novelists who are humorists. But, after the deaths of our great novelists, the novel, somehow, has become a more and more potent literary engine; till, like Aaron's rod, it has swallowed up all the other

species of literature. When the public says "literature," the public means novels,—and new novels. We can scarcely be said to have any new historians who are read as Macaulay was read, or as Mr. Froude, or Gibbon, or Carlyle were read. The public does not care for history; recently a novelist delivered a lecture in which Prince Charles was said to be the lover of Beatrice Esmond! Such novelist's history is as accurate as Miss Aikin's account of the Rising of 1715, begun, according to her, in the interests of a king who was dead, and led by a prince who was not born. In philosophy Mr. Herbert Spencer has shot his bolt, or rather, has emptied his quiver, and Darwin is lost in the Darwinians. We have, indeed, Biblical critics, or we borrow them from Germany. But History, Philosophy, Theology, are not now read as our fathers read them, in works of Theology, Philosophy, and History. These branches of literature now exist merely as "stock,"—in the culinary sense,—for novels. In I forget what South Sea isle, the women chew a certain root, and the liquid thus extracted is the beverage of the men. So modern novelists, reading grave works, or reading articles about them, produce the novel of philosophy, of theology, of "tendency" and "problem" for the pensive, but indolent public. History itself reaches the world in historical novels. Miss Pardoe's works on the French Court, and Mr. Parkman's excellent book on the Jesuits in Canada, are "stock" for Dr. Doyle's *Refugees*, and I fear that no more of Mr. Parkman's labors really reaches the English public. Every matter of discussion, however esoteric,—the relations of the sexes, the foundations of belief, the distribution of wealth,—is mixed up with "a smooth love tale," and thus the cup of learning, as Lucretius recommends, has honey smeared on its lips, and is drained by the thirsty soul. I prefer my jam and my powder separate, for one, and, if I want to know about Lourdes, turn rather to French physiologists and psychologists, than to the novel of M. Zola. But this is not the general taste, with which it were vain to quarrel. Interested in many grave and in some repulsive matters, the public declines to study these themes in the treatises of specialists, and devours them when they are sandwiched between layers of fiction.

This taste is in itself a "tendency" worth noting, and necessarily the novels of an age like ours are replete with tendencies. We are humanitarian, and so are our novels; revolutionary, and

so are our novels. All institutions are brewing in a witch's cauldron, wherein the novelist drives his hook, like the sons of Eli, and brings forth matters good or bad.

Women, naturally, take the lead in an industry to which their desultory and amateur education conducts them. I am not speaking, of course, about the accomplished author of *David Grieve*, whose education and knowledge are thorough and manly, and who does not make hysterics her favorite *motif*. But hysterics really seem to be the chief literary motive of some strangely popular lady authors. The tendency represented in their novels is the revolt of some women against the Nature of Things, and especially against the nature of their sex. They want to have all the freedom which men exercise, even that which they exercise contrary to the acknowledged laws of Christian morals. Licentiousness, the claim "to enjoy," as lady novelists call it, at random, is bad enough in men, but in men it does not cause a break up of the family, and a reduction of society to something much below the state of the Digger Indians. For women "to enjoy," that is, to behave like the nymphs of Otaheite in the *Antijacobin*, is, manifestly, to leave the new generation in the posture of young cuckoos bereft even of the comforts of a thrush's or a sparrow's nest. This obvious fact in natural history has always been regarded as a bar to the indiscriminate license of women. Horace condoles with them; *miserarum est neque amori dare ludum*, and so forth; but some of the hysterical ladies maintain their assertion of feminine equality in these matters. Though their works make a talk, and are devoured as stolen fruit, it is not likely that this particular "tendency" will do much harm. "Offences must needs come," but scandals about girls are not, perhaps, so numerous now as they have been in several other less earnest periods. Women are, on the whole, naturally averse to following the path pointed out by the more daring romancers of their sex. Again, the exceptions who want to "live up," or rather down, to their favorite novels are usually unattractive, and therefore, by the selfishness of wicked man, are condemned to theory.

Quite another kind of freedom, and of equality with mankind, is claimed and acted on by two recent English heroines. Each of these young ladies knocks down her old aunt! One of them explains that, while she deeply regrets her impulsive conduct, *men* have the privilege of expressing passion in *voies de fait*, as

the French have it. So why not women ? Well, one might put it to the *Superfluous Woman* that men do not knock down their aunts, nor even their uncles. Give woman an inch, and she will take an ell, in the matter of liberty and privilege. This *Superfluous Woman* perhaps represents the high water mark of hysterics in female fiction. The heroine, a pretty and wealthy girl, is dying of *ennui* before she is twenty-one, if my chronology is correct. Girls of twenty, with beauty on their side, and triumph before them, do not sicken of *ennui*. "They have a bully time." In a few seasons matters alter ; the vanity and vulgarity, the tedium and desolation of ceaseless pleasure hunting begin to tell, begin to be felt. The dose of "excitement" has to be increased, fiercer and stronger ingredients are added, and the girl ends in a Sisterhood, in a loveless marriage with the usual results, as a public character and topic of tattle, or, more commonly, as a weary, wandering old maid. But girls of twenty are not *blasées* to death, and, like the Sirens in Pontus de Tyard, *ennuyées jusques a desespoir*. In a recent tale, *The Maiden's Progress*, Miss Hunt has drawn, with much cleverness, the slow progress of *ennui* in the flirting spinster. But she is good natured, and lets her heroine easily off at the end. Generations of girls have I seen, gathering roses while they might, and then gathering nettles and thistles, seen them with pleasure, and soon with pity ; watched their weariness and forced feverish gaiety. But a pretty girl bored to death at twenty saw I never.

The *Superfluous Woman* takes to a hectic kind of philanthropy : flies to the North, falls in love with a Caledonian farmer who is great at putting the stone, has an erotic and not very intelligible scene with him in a barn, finds him very unlike Robbie Burns in any similar situation, hurries South, knocks down her old aunt, marries an idiot peer, bears superfluous idiots, is haunted by a "Thing" with claws, and so forth, and so forth. This novel then seems to be a sea-wrack left at the highwater mark of hysteria. The book has been a good deal tattled about in print : it represents a "tendency"—the tendency to hysterics —and, as for the heroine, she wanted the attentions of Dr. Playfair or of Dr. Weir Mitchell, or she needed to be married at seventeen. "The green sickness" was very familiar to our ancestors, but they did not write novels about it.

It is not my opinion that the author of this eccentric romance

wants to do harm; very far from it; she plainly regards herself as a moralist. Indeed they all do; all are very earnest ladies, including, doubtless, the author of *The Heavenly Twins*. But I have never been able to read that work, and have only met one of my own sex who had done so. Some, indeed, I have seen driven to this water by their lady wives, but they did not drink; they could not drink. Thus, as the ladies will not tell me the plot, and men cannot, I am unable to pronounce an opinion about the "tendencies" of *The Heavenly Twins*. *The Yellow Aster*, on the other hand, I have read some of, laying the book down where the heroine, who married out of curiosity, was so shocked by the usual "consekinses of that manœuvre," as the elder Mr. Weller says. The heroine was pleasant as Boadicea, painted blue, in childhood. Her agnostic parents I seem to have met somewhere before, in fiction. The character of the heroine is beyond me, but, if she is as rare as a Yellow Aster, it is of no importance. Long may girls like her be *introuvables*. The writer, unlike most of her peers, is not wholly destitute of humor.

Minora canamus. I have read a good deal of *Dodo*, and also the remarks on *Dodo*, published in an American journal, by "T. W. H." Am I wrong in conjecturing that Colonel Higginson is the critic? At all events T. W. H. draws a parallel between Dodo and Daisy Miller as exhibiting "the feminine low water-mark of the two nations." I congratulate you, if Daisy is your low water-mark, for I am, and have long been, in love with that pretty and amiable enchantress. She had a foolish vulgar mother, and no breeding, but *enfin*, Daisy is Daisy, and we all adore her. She did not die; Mr. Henry James resuscitated her in the play which he wrote about her. Dodo, on the other hand, is a detestable minx, and her eternal patter has no wit to recommend it. If Dodo is our low water-mark, and if Daisy is yours, we are lost indeed. But, if *French* novelists are right, you have a water-mark much lower than Daisy; and if some of your own novelists are right, I prefer your low water-mark to your high. Nay, surely there are worse lasses in America than pretty, innocent, pathetic Daisy. You are mortal, after all.

But there are other considerations. Such a yell was raised against Mr. James for his little masterpiece, that only very unusual courage would enable an American novelist to draw American woman at a lower water-mark. We, here, say what we please

Thackeray could draw Blanche Amory and Becky, without being called a bad Englishman. You know what happened to Mr. Henry James, when he sketched an American girl, not bad (as some think Becky was), not a petty minx, as Blanche was, but *mal élevée*. Mr. James was said to have libelled his countrywomen, or a class of his countrywomen. That was his crime. Now, pray observe, Dodo is not supposed by T. W. H. to represent English women, nor even a class of English women. In England we never dreamed of thinking that Dodo represented a class. On the other hand, the author of the novel was said, no doubt hastily, to have sketched a living person. To have done so would have been to commit an outrage. T. W. H. speaks of "the supposed original" and mentions that "she was recently married." If all this were true, Dodo would, of course, be not a type, but a real person; no class of English women would be represented by her. As a matter of fact, the author of *Dodo* did not even know in the most casual manner, the person to whom T. W. H. obviously refers. Again, the crime of Dodo, is, in my opinion, that she is a chattering bore. But T. W. H. complains of her guilt in "neglecting a too loyal husband," in leaving her child to dance with an old lover, and in dancing skirt dances, as it were, on the grave of the babe. Well, if the "original" was married *after* the publication of the novel (as T. W. H. says), obviously the fancied original cannot have been guilty of the excesses which T. W. H. so justly reprobates. But it is all of no importance. Dodo, if we accept all this gossip, is not a type of English woman, but is an individual. Daisy, on the showing of Mr. James's enemies, represented a class. The Dodo is an extinct bird; or was copied from *la belle Stuart*, in Grammont. The only "tendency" worth noticing, is the very general tendency to detect personal caricature in fiction. "Society" novels, bad at best, are apt to sin in such caricatures, drawn by dull people who do not even know the originals. Moreover, even if there were a real Dodo, she could not become the founder of a sect. *Ne faict ce tour qui veult.*

And now shall we discuss *Les Demi Vierges?* No, because the society, the bad society, is that of cosmopolitan Paris. We are not responsible for the vagaries of that international chaos.

Happily there are other "tendencies" than those of frivolity, fashion, bad taste, vice, sham social science, sciolistic theology,

and hysterics. There is the good old tendency to love a plain tale of adventure, of honest loves, and fair fighting. We have Gentlemen of France, we have knob-nosed Kaffirs and battles with sacred crocodiles, we have *The Prisoner of Zenda*, that pleasingly incredible scion of German royalty, we have *Micah Clarke*, and *The White Company*, and Mr. Stevenson's Highlanders and Lowlanders. Here is primitive fiction: here is what men and boys have always read for the sheer delight of the fancy. The heroines are stainless and fair, the men are brave and loyal, the villains come to a bad end, and all this is frankly popular. We have no Scott, we have no Dickens, we have no Fielding, but we have honest, upright romancers, who make us forget our problems and the questions that are so much with us, in the air of moor and heath, on the highway, on the battlefield, in the deadly breach. Our novels in this kind are not works of immortal genius: only five or six novelists are immortal. But the honest human nature that they deal with, the wholesome human need of recreation to which they appeal,—these are immortal and universal.

ANDREW LANG.

THE SOLUTION OF WAR.

BY THE REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES.

THE solution of war is Palestine.

"Palestine?" readers will ask. "How can that or any other country affect the abstract question of how to abolish war?"

The cessation of war! What a dream! What a consummation to be devoutly wished for!

Let calm, practical, sober logic be heard, and thousands of men of common-sense will say it can never be.

But it is just calm, practical, sober logic which we would invoke in order to show how great a step forward even this generation can take in the direction of the reign of law, the rule of right, the cessation of war, and the maintenance of peace.

For what can be more calm, more practical, more sober logic than that which is associated with the domain of the lawyer? And it is to the lawyer, the passionless lawyer, we must look for the initial labor, and for much more than is initial, in the attempt to attain this much-desired end.

For undoubtedly it must be conceded that the power, gradually developed, which has tended to prevent wars by diplomatic effort —and in many an instance, has actually succeeded—is what is known as international law. It follows, therefore, that for its further efficacy or potency we must look to the masters of law, who alone can unfold its possibilities.

International law has proved its usefulness many times and in many directions.

In the minds of ordinary readers it is usually identified with such questions as harbor, river, or fishery rights, rights of belligerents, protectorates, annexations, residents or capital in foreign countries, navigation of the high seas, search rights, three-mile limits, extradition, Monroe doctrine, protection *versus* free-

trade, international copyright, patent or trade-mark law, international cables, canals, tunnels, etc.

But as stated by Professor Amos, of University College, London, England, it has these additional functions to perform:

(*a*) To facilitate intercourse of states and their citizens in time of peace.

(*b*) To obviate and determine the occasions of war.

(*c*) To moderate the severities and restrict the area of war.

A clear comprehension of international law is essential for diplomatic settlement of international differences, and for the extension of a recognition of its utility, wisdom, and justice.

Hence a codification is imperatively demanded in the interests of peace, progress, and human happiness, to all of which war is so distinctly inimical.

This codification should and would be 'the embodiment of the purest reason and the loftiest morality." It would have for its sole end such an adjustment of the relations of the several states of the world as would best enable each to contribute its share to the welfare and moral advancement of all.

This would require a congress of the recognized leading jurists of the world to form a scientific opinion upon the existing state of international law; to gather, collate, sift, and point all principles and rules which affect or are likely to affect international intercourse, and to correct unjust precedents.

This would be a legitimate evolution from the beginnings of Balthasar Ayala, Alberico Gentili, Grotius, Pufendorf and Vattel, from the attempt of Prof. Bluntschli to correct "glaring gaps, contradictions, and ambiguities," and from Mr. Dudley Field's able effort to present international law in an ideal form.

Such a codification would be the first step towards the prevention of war. And the prayers of the civilized world would be with the governments convening such a congress of jurists, as with the jurists themselves in their labors.

The second step would be the education of public opinion:—

(1) To recognize the equality of populations, morally and spiritually, and to understand that even the smallest states have rights and functions which ought to be respected.

(2) To encourage commercial and social intercourse between nations and the consequent growth of mutual interests which may not be lightly imperilled.

(3) To extend proper political franchise and personal liberty.

(4) To cultivate a knowledge of what war means.

(5) To correct spurious patriotism, by which we mean patriotism based upon wrong or unjust argument. For example, French patriotism cries for Alsace and Lorraine, but these provinces were originally German. Why blame Germany for taking back what once was hers? German patriotism says "Keep Alsace and Lorraine, because they were originally German." Why then does not Germany restore Silesia, which properly is Austrian? Italy made a grand and successful fight for Italian independence, Germany for German unity. Several powers strove nobly and sucessfully for the independence of Greece. But the "spurious patriotism" of the powers which "partitioned" Poland prevents the independence and unity of that country—a country once not impotent in the councils of Europe's nations and one to which Europe is as much indebted for hurling back the tide of Mohammedan invasion through her king Sobieski, as it is to Greece for stemming the tide of Persian invasion through a Leonidas or a Themistocles.

Russia expels Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in pursuance of the "Russia for the Russians" policy. The civilized world calls that a "spurious patriotism" which drives out or coops up law-abiding and industrious citizens. The United States is, of all nations on earth, the most solemnly pledged to further the cause of popular and constitutional liberty, of which she is the very apostle. Yet a "spurious patriotism" makes her pronounce invariably for Russia, where there is anything but popular or constitutional liberty—shall we say especially where England is concerned? Never is American patriotism more spurious than when it is called forth against that very England to which she owes so much that is glorious in her fibre, her sentiments, her literature, her institutions, her liberties, and most important of all, her very religion! Never is it more spurious and more regrettable than when it impedes the natural destiny of Anglo-Saxondom—ultimate union to the real advantage of each of its constituent nations.

Following the codification of international law and the education of public opinion, a third step towards the prevention of war would be the institution of arbitration as an accepted principle, and its recognition as the duty and prerogative of an international court, duly and permanently established.

As to the actual and possible wrongs of war we need only recapitulate its costs and curses, viz. :

(*a*) Standing armies, or millions of men consumers instead of producers; the general community therefore not only taxed to support them, but deprived of their contributions toward the general prosperity and toward the lessening of the general burdens.

(*b*) The withdrawal of just so many brains and pairs of hands from the agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and other industries, and from laboratory, study, and office, wherein means are devised for enterprises which would supply work for thousands of men and women, to the increase of the country's resources.

The following figures are significant:

	Cost of army and navy.	Revenue.	Men withdrawn from industrial pursuits.	Taxes could be reduced.
France	$174,000,000	$670,000,000	500,000	One-quarter.
England	180,000,000	488,000,000	360,000	One-third.
Germany	118,000,000	300,000,000	500,000	One-third.
United States	80,000,000	385,818,629	30,000	One-fifth.

In twenty European states the cost of army and navy is $1,638,000,000; debt, $25,000,000,000; soldiers, or men withdrawn from industrial pursuits, available 22,621,800! That is to say, there are 22,000,000 standing arguments against a religion of peace and good will; 22,000,000 arguments against any claim for a civilization more ethical than that of old Rome; 22,000,000 arguments to show that it is time to make religion a power for good—the life-influencing power it was meant to be.

(*c*) War means "glorious victories," which term, translated into plainer English, means thousands of widows, more orphans, countless broken hearts, shadowed lives and shattered homes; brave men killed, more wounded, yet more stricken with diseases caught in the field; strong men made burdens for life on the community; and in this country the awful scandal and far-reaching injustice of the pension list.

(*d*) War means military and naval budgets, which summon the clouds of national bankruptcy and keep aglow the embers of discontent. Witness Italy to-day.

(*e*) Legacies of national hatred, jealousy, and ill-feeling. We

note a regrettable change in French sentiment towards England, due to clashing Eastern interests. Imagine war between France and Great Britain! They have been friends for decades and are bound by myriad ties. It is no impossibility. But what a blot on civilization! They would be face to face as foes in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America! It would mean a spread of the blood lust which lurks in men's hearts. It would mean endless complications. Few countries in the world but would feel them. Few homes in both lands but would sympathize with hearts dark with the shadow of death. Few hearts but would be wrung with the echoing moan of sorrow. Alas! It would mean kinsman against kinsman.

(*f*) War means the brute argument of tooth and claw. What an insult to our intelligence! What an insult to Christianity, the religion professed by earth's great nations! Yet we are told that preparation for war is a necessity. Gladstone expressed his misgivings to a parliamentary deputation, asking that overtures be made for a mutual disarmament of the powers, and he spoke as premier of England! Caprivi put his foot on the mere proposition! And he spoke as Chancellor of mighty Germany.

Arbitration is suggested as a remedy.

The examples already offered, especially by England and the United States, are brilliant pages in the annals of humanity.

From a paper of Professor Semmes, of the Louisiana University, read at the recent Chicago Religious Congress, we learn that the idea and practice of arbitration for national differences have steadily gained ground. This is the best, because most practical, argument for its utility. He says that from 1793 to 1848, a period of fifty-five years, there were nine such arbitrations—only nine. In the next twenty-two years there were fifteen, in the next ten years there were fourteen, and in the last thirteen years there have been thirteen; that is to say, in the last forty-five years arbitration has averted forty-two wars.

But arbitration has its dangers. The care which must be exercised in selecting arbitrators shows to what an extent distrust exists.

Small powers are often chosen, as if the greater the power, the greater the possibilities of interests being involved which might warp judgment.

For example. Suppose England and Russia clash in the East—no remote contingency—can England accept France as arbitrator? Not at all. For France is irate with England and is the sworn friend of Russia, upon whose power alone she relies for help against the Dreibund. Nor would any of the latter be acceptable to Russia. And it is useless concealing the spurious patriotism which makes the United States imagine that her interests lie in the weakening or humiliation of England, a sentiment which sufficiently excludes her good offices.

Another possible complication is France and Russia *versus* the Dreibund. England is out of the question as arbitrator, and the United States leans too much for obvious reasons, to France and Russia.

But let us ask: Does it accord with the dignity of the great powers to ask a second-rate or third-rate power to arbitrate?

A modification of arbitration is that it be submitted to competent lawyers. But natural, even though it be spurious, patriotism again enters here as a possible element, and *amour propre* is not an impotent factor in judgment.

Granted that kings, statesmen, and lawyers of high repute are gentlemen of honor, and as judges would always act as such, yet if this be so and always was so, *how is it that so many wars have taken place between nations that refused all diplomatic settlement, including arbitration?*

Not that the proposition to have a court of lawyers is at all a bad one. On the contrary, it is a decided step forward. But it is a suggestion which needs development.

At present it serves admirably to introduce what we mean by

PALESTINE THE SOLUTION OF WAR.

It is true that arbitration is the only becoming solution of the problem how to abolish war.

But there must be some established arbitrative power to which disputing nations can appeal.

1. It must be above suspicion.

2. It must be removed from any chance of being biased by any possible political considerations.

3. It must have a moral, and if need be, a physical force behind it to enforce its decisions.

There is but one arbitrative power which can fulfil all these

requirements, and we offer it because it comes from that book which has already given mankind so many practical ideals—the Bible.

But it involves the restoration of Palestine to the Hebrew nation. The mere suggestion of this opens a vista of practical results of tremendous importance, if we will only pause to merely glance at them. For it means :

(*a*) The solution of the vexed Eastern question, the political rivalries and jealousies in the East. These affect all the powers, for England cannot afford to have another power on the highway between her and her Indian and Australian empires. France chafes already at England in Egypt. Austria and Italy have Mediterranean interests which may not be overshadowed ; and Russia considers she is bound by political and religious motives to have Palestine herself.

(*b*) The solution of religious rivalries and jealousies which affect the three great religious worlds of Catholic, Protestant, and Greek Church. None can afford to have the other supreme in the land whose very dust is so sacred to all.

(*c*) The erection of the Hebrew nation by the powers into a neutral state, its boundaries prescribed by the Bible limitation (Gen. xv. 18–21 ; Deut. xi. 24), so that it could not possibly have any territorial ambition beyond them, nor could it ever be exposed to political intrigue for its own aggrandizement.

(*d*) The opening up of a vast commerce, for which the Hebrews are peculiarly qualified by commercial genius, and for which they are prepared by their commercial establishments in all countries, which would be maintained and continued. (See Isa. lxi. 9.) In this commerce all nations would advantageously participate. For Palestine, geographically, is the natural converging point of the trade routes between two continents, Europe and Africa on one side, and two continents, Asia and Australia, on the other. Tyre, Sidon, Elath, Ezion-Geber, Beyrout, Haifa, and Acre among her ports would speedily become the London, Marseilles, New York, or Hamburg of the East. And while to them the ships of the world would "fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows" (Isa. lx. 8), the hum of industry's pauseless fingers would be the psalm of life of myriads in a land once a granary of the world, the successors of the myriads of whose existence the countless ruins of to-day are the dumb but heart-moving witnesses.

(*e*) It would mean the solution of the so-called Jewish question, whether it is Russian Pan-slav policy or Franco-German anti-semitism which propounds it. And the Hebrew nation of to-day, by its eminence in finance, letters, science, and trade, deserves attention for reasons which need not here be noted.

(*f*) And it would mean the fulfilment of two Bible ideals of vital importance to humanity. The one is "a house of prayer for all nations" (Isa. lvi. 7). This would be erected in the same broad spirit which made King Solomon pray when he dedicated his temple: "And also the stranger who is not of Thy people Israel, and cometh from a far-off land, because of Thy Name, when they hear of Thy great Name and Thy strong hand and Thine outstretched arm, and he come and pray to this temple, O do Thou hear in Heaven the place of Thy dwelling and *do all that the stranger crieth to Thee for!*" (I. Kings viii. 41 *seq.*) This would mean the quickening of the idea of the Brotherhood of Man, recognizing the Father of all of us.

And the other ideal would be the institution of a world's court of arbitration, when "out of Zion shall go forth law, and He will judge between the nations and reprove many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war any more." (Isa. ii. 3–4; Micah iv. 2 and 3.)

If the codification of international law by the chief jurists of the world is the first step towards the solution of war and the education of public opinion to the cost, the injustice, the horror, and the shame of war is the second, this creation of an international court of arbitration is the final step and the guarantee of peace and its blessings. It would be based upon such codification, its force would rest secure in public opinion. The administration of international law would be intrusted to the said court, each member of which would be a graduate in international law, high in rank among the learned of the Hebrew nation, esteemed as an authority on the polity of nations by the world at large and known to be in life *sans peur et sans reproche*. We say Hebrews, because the Hebrew nation alone has and can have no political interests outside its Bible boundaries to bias its decision. Arbitration, impartial and honorable, will thus be rendered by a court of a nation whose very existence will depend upon impartiality;

whose past history will cry to it to judge righteously and fearlessly. Its environment will be the Temple, dedicated to the Father of all; and over its members will be the halo of religion.

That it would take years to codify international law and educate public opinion against war, yes. But what are a few years in view of the advantages to be ultimately gained? And it may be years before the final step can be taken, the restoration of Palestine to the Hebrews, for this is not to be until God's own time (Isa. lx. 22). The colonies, settled and settling there, seem but preparatory for their reception. But once a *fait accompli*, a general disarmament could then be safely expected and safely effected.

What if a nation should refuse to abide by the law going forth from Zion? It is a very remote contingency. The very treaty erecting Palestine into a neutral state, and clothing its court of international arbitration with its functions, would provide for just such a contingency. The moral force of the educated public opinion would speedily bring a recalcitrant nation to its senses. How could it withstand a threatened ostracism, or a combination of physical force or other penalties? But the time will come, it must come, when nations "will not learn war any more" and when humanity's watchwords at last will be Right and Reason instead of Might and Treason.

Before our eyes rises a picture of the nations restoring the Hebrews "as an offering," as the prophet phrases it (Isa. lxvi. 20): shall we say as "an amendment offering" for the injustice of lead-footed centuries? We dream of that martyr-nation of history, "despised and rejected," as that very prophet foretold, "wounded through others' transgressions, bruised through others' iniquities," at last rightly, justly, lovingly dealt with!

But with the picture and the dream, and far surpassing both in beauty, we behold a vision of peace and goodwill at last on earth —or as the psalmist grandly words it: "Love and truth meeting, righteousness and peace embracing, truth springing forth from earth, and charity looking down from heaven" (Ps. lxxxv.).

O that some statesman would crown his life by reaching out to turn war with its cost, curse, and crime, into a realization of the ideal of prophet and psalmist!

H. Pereira Mendes.

THE YACHT AS A NAVAL AUXILIARY.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM McADOO, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE true yachtsman is a genuine sailor in whose breast is that strong, enduring love of the sea that voluntarily braves its dangers and shrinks not from its possible privations and discomforts. His is the eye quick to catch the lines of beauty, the grace of form, and the elements of strength and utility in all manner of craft that go down to the sea. If he is worthy of this royal sport, his soul has heard and responded to the voice of nature, and to him the olden gods of wind and wave are no longer myths but eternal verities, speaking to him of mysteries and secrets that the profane heart cannot understand. Man first built vessels of necessity and utility, then ships of war, and lastly those for pleasure, and the last is first cousin to the second, and the country which produces them in numbers has got the naval spirit. The modern well-conditioned yacht assimilates her life as nearly as possible to that of the war ship in her order, discipline, etiquette, and even outward emblems and signs, and as a general rule all yachtsmen are the warmest and closest friends of the naval establishment. They have for many years been the most earnest advocates of a naval reserve, and are to-day, to a large extent, the stimulus that helps forward the existing naval militia.

The growth of yachting in the United States in the last twenty years, marvellous as it has been, is but one of the many signs of the turning of our people again to the sea, and the re-establishment of our merchant marine in the proud position it held in the days of the famous clipper ships. At heart we are a maritime people, and, possessing, as we do, a long stretch of coast, enclosing broad arms of the sea, it is not surprising that

yachting is growing in popularity. No other country affords such broad expanses of sheltered waters as Massachusetts Bay, Long Island Sound, the Chesapeake, the sounds of the Carolinas, Mobile Bay, Santa Barbara Channel, San Francisco Bay, Puget Sound, and the great and lesser lakes, with their numerous tributaries and adjacent harbors.

On January 1st of this year there were ninety regular organized yacht clubs and four auxiliary associations in the United States. The yachts are owned either by clubs, by two or three owners associated together, or by individuals who can afford to own one or more on their own account. There are about two thousand two hundred and fifty of this last named class in this country, and quite a number of them own two or three each. In all the remainder of this hemisphere there are but seven yacht clubs all told, three in Canada, and one each in Nova Scotia, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Argentine Republic. The state of New York heads the list with thirty-two clubs; Massachusetts has nineteen; New Jersey, ten; Connecticut, seven; California and Rhode Island, three each; Maine, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Florida, two each; North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Louisiana, one each; and there are ten clubs along the Lake region on our northern boundary, two of which are included in the thirty-two credited above to New York. Of the clubs enumerated as to States, at least forty are located in New York harbor, Long Island Sound, and their adjacent waters. The interior waterway communication along our coast line, so well illustrated in the recent trip of the torpedo boat "Cushing," gives additional impetus to yachting through the enormous water course it is now possible to traverse in even the smallest class of yachts with perfect safety, and to the rivalry thus offered through visiting yachts from various sections of the coast.

What is or may be, from a naval standpoint, the value of all this individual and organized effort?

There are two elements to be considered: First, the men; and second, the yachts themselves. Both are now of value to the country, the yachts in the lesser degree than the trained yachtsmen, but both may be made of greater value by a proper appreciation of their possibilities. The men, through their experience in handling yachts under all conditions of sea and weather, through their acquired knowledge of the waters in which

they cruise, and through their general nautical training, offer a magnificent field for the formation of State naval militia organizations and ultimately for a national naval reserve. And while few yachts are so constructed as to be of much use in time of war, yet the possibilities are such that, by mutual agreement between yacht owners and the government when the plans are under consideration, they may be constructed to answer the double purpose of yachts in time of peace and naval auxiliaries in time of war.

The fostering of a reserve of men and ships, supplemental to the regular forces, is only second in importance to the creation of a navy itself. Maritime power goes hand in hand with naval power, for a commercial marine can only be built up and maintained coincidently with the creation of an efficient navy. Unquestionably the building of war ships has contributed largely to the renewal of our ship building industries, and the study of ship construction for war purposes has served the double purpose of improving the details, and of raising the standard of the tests and requirements, of ship building in general. In the especial construction of vessels such as the "St. Paul" and "St. Louis" as naval auxiliaries, we note the gradual approach of types of ships in which the commercial and naval ideas are blended. A similar approach in type of steam yachts and the smaller auxiliaries of the navy, is sure to come later.

It takes longer to make seamen, however, than to make ships. That our present naval *personnel* is inadequate, even for peace conditions, is shown by the increase on July 1st of this year of the complement of men in our navy by 1,000, simply because we have recently added a few new ships to the navy, yet the total force at present is only 10,000 men. At the breaking out of the Civil War the complement had been fixed at 7,600. By July, 1863, there were 34,000 in the service, and when the war closed there were 51,500 enrolled in the navy. Our merchant marine, then glorious in its extent, furnished most of these; but where shall we look for our reserve now?

At the end of the war there were 7,600 officers in the navy, and 671 ships in commission. Of the officers, but one-seventh were regulars. Where shall we get others now? Of the ships, but 277 were built by the government. Where shall we get our auxiliaries now? Our merchant marine is small, and modern

naval requirements are different, the naval profession being so complex; where, therefore, are we to get our reserve of men and ships? They can no longer be picked up under the spur of necessity. It is now a question of systematic, steady preparation and organization in time of peace.

The naval militia organizations, as bred and created largely in a yachting atmosphere and now existing in thirteen States, with a present complement of 226 officers and 2,706 men, are the first auxiliaries to be considered. The existing naval militia is primarily a State organization, dependent largely upon local and State support, and enrolled as part of the National Guard. It is not a true naval reserve which should owe allegiance only to the general government and be subject solely to the naval regulations governing the general service. While subject, however, to State control, the naval militia is kept in constant touch with the regular establishment by receiving, for arms and equipments, in each State, a portion of the $25,000 annually appropriated for its encouragement by Congress, and distributed by the Department under such rules as are deemed wisest and best for the object to be accomplished. Congress has also authorized by law the loan of unused ships and other property to States having organized and equipped naval militia. The ships so loaned are those out of commission and unsuited for regular naval service. The greatest difficulty now encountered is to find a sufficient number of such vessels to meet the demand. The discarded wooden ships of the old navy make most excellent inshore armories for these organizations, but, unfortunately, these have nearly all been disposed of by sale or otherwise. Following the spirit, as well as the letter of the law, the Department has endeavored to give to these organizations every possible encouragement, keeping them in touch with the navy by advice on all professional subjects, inspection by officers whenever desired, issuing printed documents for their instruction, opening up to them all sources of professional information, and giving them each summer an opportunity for a short cruise on some of the ships in the regular service, where, in addition to being taught somewhat of the manifold duties of a man-of-warsman, they are enabled to practise firing the great guns at a target from the moving ship. They are also allowed to draw at first cost arms and equipments from the portion of the national allowance allotted to their State. As a result, in some

of the States, the naval militia is the best armed military body in the State, having rapid fire guns of the very latest pattern, magazine rifles, and good serviceable navy revolvers. All this, however, would be of little avail without intelligent, persistent, and enthusiastic individual effort and the support of the State to whose forces they belong. It is but right that it should be said here that some of the States have been most liberal and progressive in encouraging and aiding this new arm of defense. In the States where the organization is best and most efficient these results have been secured by great labor, patience, and tact. There were and are sources of opposition calling forth determination and sound judgment.

What is the future of the naval militia? Will it grow into a true naval reserve under national auspices, such for instance as that possessed by England? In time of war, where will be its most practicable field? Manning sea coast batteries, inner line coast defense ships, or furnishing crews to the regular sea-going fighting vessels? As to all this, the best officers in the service differ; and indeed at this moment, the possibilities of the organization are so great and its field so wide that no one can give categorical replies to these queries. That it is a good organization for the country scarcely any one will deny. It is now largely in its formative period, and when wisely led, is following the line of least resistance in search of its best field of usefulness as a part of the national defense of the coast and on the high seas. It is everywhere doing good, hard, honest, preparatory work, often under very discouraging circumstances; is full of naval enthusiasm; and willing to make sacrifices and undergo hardships. As a purely local organization in the large cities having navigable water front, it will, in case of need, be found a most efficient military body doing work which could not be done, at least so well, by the purely land forces. Its rapid growth in many States without any concerted movement or official encouragement is especially suggestive of the active and unselfish spirit of patriotism to be found in our country.

The sea-going yachts give to yachtsmen the very best training in seamanship and navigation, but it is to the steam yacht in particular that we must look for the auxiliary vessel for naval purposes in time of war. Three types of these are now being developed.

1st. The large, full-powered steam yachts like the "Atlanta," "Corsair," "Conqueror," "Columbia," "Electra," "Eleanor," "Margarita," "May," "Namouna," "Nourmahal," "Oneida," "Peerless," "Sagamore," "Sapphire," "Utowana," and "Valiant."

2d. The auxiliary type with moderate steam and sail power, as illustrated by the "Intrepid" and "Wild Duck."

3d. The high speed boats for sheltered waters and comparatively short runs, like the "Now Then," "Say When," "Helvetia," "Norwood" and a host of others.

The first and third classes might be utilized as torpedo boats by considerable alterations in the direction of removing unnecessary weights and strengthening the decks, but the types in the future, by conforming in the plans to one or two necessary conditions, might be made to answer all the purposes of the owner in time of peace and of the government in time of war. Just how this agreement would be arrived at between the owner and the government is a question depending largely upon the patriotic impulses of the owners and upon the liberality of the government in the way of guarantees. For instance, the government might furnish inspectors to superintend the building; provide all the supports, racks, bulkheads, fittings and outfits of a military character; have the yachts regularly inspected as to hull, fittings and machinery and the competence of the master and engineers; and finally, enroll them in a naval reserve, with the right to fly a special flag and to uniform their officers and crew in conformity therewith.

In return, the government should have the right to charter or purchase them in time of war, and, by special agreement, to use them for a few days each year for drill or training purposes at a time when the owners would need them least. Granting that this system would not spoil a yacht in any way for the purposes for which the owner built her, and that the cost to the government, outside of the actual inspection and the war materials, should be more or less nominal and should in no circumstances include anything in the nature of a bonus, it would seem that the advantages on both sides might be sufficient to warrant a trial of the system. There are, and probably always will be, numerous Whitehead and Howell torpedo oufits stored at the Torpedo Station, at Newport, R. I., and the process of

fitting out or converting a yacht would only occupy a few days.

There are three methods of installing the tubes from which the torpedoes are fired: 1st, over all; 2d, between decks; and 3d, below the water line. The last named is very expensive and need not be considered. It is the height of the upper deck above the water that determines which of the other two is used. Eleven feet is considered the limit at which a torpedo may be launched. If the upper deck is higher than this, the installation must be between decks. This necessitates extra weights, as the shutter for the tube and the ball joint for training a beam are required. The question of weights is most important.

Whitehead torpedoes weigh about 850 pounds each, and at least two are carried for each tube. Except in time of war or during periods of drill, the torpedoes would not be carried on board. The number of tubes would depend on the size of the yacht. The lower deck tubes, mounts, deck circles, etc., weigh about 2,800 pounds, and the upper deck fittings, complete, about 2,100 pounds. Each yacht would require a Bliss air compressor, with separator and accessories, weighing about 475 pounds.

The Howell torpedo weighs about 514 pounds. Weights are practically the same for the mounts, but no air compressor is needed. A boiler pressure of 80 pounds of steam is, however, required to operate the fly-wheel.

As regards the weight of battery, any type of one-pounder rapid-fire gun will weigh with mounts from 225 to 275 pounds, and the boxes of ammunition about 122 pounds each.

Within the limits of this article it has been impossible to speak of the great mass of small steam and sailing craft which are sailed and managed by their owners, who are in large part young men and boys strongly imbued with a love of things nautical and who, in case of necessity, being highly intelligent, more or less skilled in the arts of the sailor, and deeply patriotic, could be relied on as a most excellent and efficient force for naval defensive operations.

The eager and enthusiastic yachting spirit now abroad in our land bodes well, not only for the navy, but for the merchant marine, to see a healthy revival of which is the ardent hope of all who love the Republic.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

WHAT TO AVOID IN CYCLING.

BY SIR BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON, M. D., F. R. S.

IT HAS been my lot for so long a series of years to be concerned in the art and practice of cycling that the various effects of it, good and bad, have become with me a matter of common observation. I feel as conversant with the details as if they formed a part of my professional life, and this fact enables me to speak with a certain degree of confidence, which is strengthened by the circumstance that I have no kind of prejudices bearing upon the subject. Cycling came before me in the first place in what may be called an accidental manner. I had been presiding at a sanitary congress held at Leamington, in the county of Warwick; the first held in England in which matters relating to health alone were introduced. Connected with this congress was a large sanitary exhibition; and amongst the exhibits there were a few bicycles and one of the first machines manufactured in this country in the shape of a tricycle. This tricycle was worked by what was called lever movement; the pedal, now so universal, not having been then applied to tricycles. The late Sir Edwin Chadwick, one of the Vice-Presidents of the congress, who, though far advanced in life, was as alert as a schoolboy on all inventions that presented novelty and that affected the health of the body, had his attention called to this new machine. Greatly struck by it and by the good work that could be done upon it, he promised to bring me next day to see it in action, and so, accompanied by a large number of the council of the congress, I went with him and had the whole thing explained to me by the exhibitor. Seeing that movement upon it was comparatively simple, I had the machine brought out to an asphalt passage leading to the main road, and straightway mounted it. The attendants were prompt in their efforts to prevent my sustaining injury from the venture. But

all idea of danger rapidly disappeared, and I very soon ran away from my protectors, reached the main road, which lay at a right angle from the asphalt passage, proceeded a good half mile on my own account, and returned in triumph, to the great delight of the lookers-on. From that day until now I have been a cyclist. I very soon had a machine of my own, choosing what was called a "Rob Roy," in which the levers were replaced by pedals, a very nice instrument, which had, however, the misfortune of being what is called a "single-driver"; that is to say, progression upon it was by the work of one wheel. Then followed the "Salvo," in which machine the late Mr. Starley, of Coventry, got over the difficulty of the single wheel by the compensation process, and turned out a really admirable instrument, one of which kind I rode for several years with great comfort and safety, and which, in fact, I still retain. It was a very heavy machine, weighing about 120 pounds. The wheels were unnecessarily high and the gearing was low, but, nevertheless, I got on with it, climbing the hills with great ease, and, as the brake was perfect, went down hills with a rapidity and safety that could not easily be excelled. Later on I followed the various improvements of machines using two trackers.

My experience has all been, personally, with the tricycle, but my observation has extended also to bicycles through the experiences of those who have been my companions, for very soon I found companionship in cycling more than in any other pastime, and it is from such experiences, together with my own, that I write what is subjoined.

From the first my impressions have been always in favor of cycling, and, to some extent, the expression of that favor on certain public occasions has, I think, helped to popularize the movement. I believe the exercise has been of the greatest service to large numbers of people. It has made them use their limbs; it it has called out good mental qualities, and it has taken away from close rooms, courts and streets, hundreds of thousands of persons who would otherwise never have had the opportunity of getting into the fresh air and seeing the verdant fields and woods, the lakes and rivers, and the splendid scenery that adorn our land. This is all in favor of the cycle, the bicycle or tricycle, but I have yet more to say in the same direction. I am bound to indicate from direct observation that cycling has been

useful in the cure of some diseases and that it is always carried on with advantage, even when there is a marked disease. I have seen it do a great deal of good to persons suffering from fatty disease of the heart, from gout, from dyspepsia, from varicose veins, from melancholia, from failure due to age, from some forms of heart disease, from intermittent pulse and palpitation, and distinctly from anemia. Moreover, I have known persons who could not have been expected to ride without danger get on extremely well in their riding, and have often, with due precautions, given permission to ride even to some patients to whom five and twenty years ago I should have forbidden every kind of exercise. These truths I have proclaimed publicly without any hesitation, and sometimes to the wonder of friends who still held views which I had been compelled to discard.

But now it is my duty to speak on the other side and to report such experience as yields evidence of dangers from cycling. I shall speak on this point as explicitly as is necessary.

There are dangers from cycling. The first is the danger of teaching the practice to subjects who are too young. Properly, cycling should not be carried on with any ardor while the body is undergoing its development—while the skeleton, that is to say, is as yet imperfectly developed. The skeleton is not completely matured until twenty-one years of life have been given to it. The cartilaginous structures have to be transformed into true osseous structures before the body can be said to be naturally perfected. If it be pressed into too rapid exercise while it is undergoing its growth it is the easiest thing in the world to make the growth premature, or even to cause a deformity. The spinal column is particularly apt to be injured by too early riding, and the exquisite curve of the spinal column, which gives to that column when it is natural such easy and graceful attitudes for standing erect, stooping, and bending, is too often distorted by its rigidity or want of resiliency. When that is the case the limbs share in the injury. They do not properly support the trunk of the body, and pedestrian exercise, thereupon, becomes clumsy, irregular, and ungraceful. We see these errors particularly well marked in the young, now that the cross-bar system of the cycle has come so generally into use. The tendency in riding is for the body to bend forward so as to bring itself almost into the curve of the front wheel, and in this position many riders hold themselves for

hours, and the spine more or less permanently assumes the bent position. In plain words, the column becomes distorted, and through the whole life affects the movements of the body.

There are further injuries done to the youth, male or female, through other organs of the body and especially through the heart. Dr. Kolb, as well as myself, has found that it is the heart which is principally exercised during cycling. So soon as brisk cycling has commenced the motions of the heart begin to increase. In this respect cycling differs from many other exercises. Rowing tells most on the breathing organs; dumb-bells and other exercises where the muscles are moved without progression of the body, tell most on the muscles; whilst in climbing and long pedestrian feats it is the nervous system that is most given to suffer. There is not a cycle rider of any age in whom the heart is not influenced so as to do more work, and although in skilled cyclists and trained cyclists a certain balance is set up which equalizes the motion, such riders are not exempt from danger. I have known the beats of the heart to rise from 80 to 200 in the minute, in the first exercise of riding, an increase which, for the time, more than doubles the amount of work done—a very serious fact when we remember that the extreme natural motion of the heart allows it to perform a task equal to raising not less than 122 foot-tons in the course of 24 hours, that is to say, over 5 foot-tons an hour. In the young we may apply the same argument to the heart as we have done to the skeleton; the heart is undergoing its development, and it is an organ which cannot without danger be whipped on beyond its natural pace. What occurs with it under such circumstances is that it grows larger than it ought to grow, that it works out of harmony with the rest of the body, and is then most easily agitated by influences and impressions acting upon it through the mind. I have many times seen this truth illustrated too plainly, and I doubt whether in the young, after extreme exercise, such as that which arises from a prolonged race, the heart ever comes down to its natural beat for a period of less than three days devoted to repose.

In the young, excessive riding affects unfavorably the muscles of the body generally, as well as the heart, which is itself a muscle. Properly, the muscles go through stages of development just as the skeleton does, and to attain a truly good muscular form all the great groups of muscles ought to be evenly

and systematically exercised. But cycling does not do that; it develops one set of muscles at the expense of the other. It does not develop the chest muscles properly; it does not develop the arm muscles properly; it does not develop the abdominal muscles properly; it does not essentially develop the muscles of the back; but it does develop the muscles of the lower limbs, and that out of proportion to all the rest. I have a picture in my mind's eye at this moment of a youth who, when stripped, was actually deformed by the disproportionate size of the muscles of the calf of the leg, and of the forepart of the thigh—an effect which unbalanced the body as a whole, and greatly impaired it for good healthy action.

Lastly, in the young, cycling often tells unfavorably on the nervous function. The brain and nervous system, like skeleton and muscle, have to be slowly nurtured up to maturity, and if they be called upon to do too much while they are in the immature state, if the senses of sight and hearing and touch have to be too much exercised, even though by such exercise danger from collisions may be skilfully averted, perhaps to the admiration of lookers-on, there is a tax put upon those organs which makes them prematurely old and unfitted for the more delicate tasks that have afterwards to be performed.

There are two classes of dangers arising out of overstrain in cycling: the first may be called the extreme, the second the moderate danger. I will take the extreme first. This is shown in those remarkable athletes who enter into competitions such as have never before been dreamed of in the history of the world. The results of such competitions have as yet excited comparatively little notice among men who are specially skilled in estimating their importance, but they convey the strangest intelligence as to the physical capabilities of man. They show that men have been found able to travel, by virtue of their own bodily energy, 400 miles at one effort. They show also that men can be trained to perform this effort without sleep, and that the body can be kept using itself up, as it were, for the long period of 40 hours. Sleep, which the poet tells us "knits up the ravelled sleeve of care, is the balm of hurt minds, and chief nourisher in Life's feast," sleep, which is the very harbinger of health, is here set aside, with the result of a victory absolutely purposeless, at the expense of the whole body. There has not been, as far as I can ascertain, a single

example of a feat of this kind being accomplished without direct and immediate sign of injury. Finally, when the labor is done there is the period of recovery which lasts for many hours, and is in itself an ordeal which the strongest nature ought never to be subjected to. The result is that these victims of extreme competition last but few years in the ordinary condition of health and strength.

In this criticism is included a summary of the objection which has to be made to record breaking, a kind of absurd effort, the end of which it is very difficult to foresee, for, unfortunately, it may be urged with apparent plausibility that it is good as practice. The enthusiastic cyclists tell us that it is through record breaking that all the great advances have been made. Record breaking, they say, depends upon improvements which take place, not simply in the work of the riders or in those who compete, but also in the development of the machine itself. It has been found, for example, that the lightening of the machine, the reduction of its weight down even to twenty or thirty pounds, has been one of the great achievements. A man put more work originally into a machine weighing, say one hundred and twenty pounds, while doing ten or fifteen miles an hour, than is now put forth on a light machine doing over twenty miles an hour. There is a great deal of truth in this statement, and I fully admit that the record breakers have done service in making cycling, as an art, a remarkable exhibition of human skill and endurance. I have suggested for many years past that the end of these efforts will be a transition to the domain of flight, and that a good flying machine will ultimately come out of the cycle. The cycle, in fact, will develop into the flying machine through the intervention of wings, which will be workable by the power of the individual alone or aided by some very light motor. It is, therefore, with great reluctance, that I protest against the overstrain which I have seen. It is a kind of self-martyrdom to which we may conscientiously give admiration and support.

The second effect of overstrain is rather a forced than a voluntary martyrdom. Those who suffer from it are mostly young persons, often mere boys, who are made to ply the machine, probably heavily loaded, in commercial duties and business. It is astonishing in this metropolis of London what an amount of work a youth can be trained to do. He can really do the work of a

horse, owing to the quantity and weight of goods he can distribute, and the rapidity with which he can get through his task. There is a little ambition about it also, for the young people often like the exercise, and are proud of showing off their skill and energy, while their employers, apprehending no evil from it, let them do as much as ever they can. The result is a greatly expedited circulation in these young laborers and an extreme tension of the heart and arteries, these organs being as yet immature and easily over-expanded under undue pressure. The effects are not immediate, but they lead to enlargement or hypertrophy of the heart and to those derangements of the blood vessels which follow upon dilatation of the arterial circuit. Afterwards, when the maturity is completed and the organs of the body cease to develop, there is a disproportion between the vascular system and the other parts of the body, which means general irregularity of function; a powerful left heart pulsating into a feeble body, and a powerful right heart pulsating into the lungs. The effect must, of necessity, be injurious, and the fact is too well demonstrated in practice. I have seen this enlargement and over-action in so many instances I am convinced that when it is more correctly and widely understood it will be recognized that cycling is one of the causes of "disease from occupation," and that some public steps will have to be taken to limit the danger. But the danger is not always connected with occupation. Many well to do young persons of both sexes, by the enthusiasm and competitive work they throw into the exercise, become affected in a similar manner, and have to be restrained, when that is possible, from too great an indulgence in the pursuit.

In noticing these evils I have proceeded at once to the most important central evil, that which applies to the heart and circulation from overstrain. But there are other phenomena I must not let pass. There is often developed in the cyclist a general vibratory condition of the body which is mischievous and is shown in various acts of movement and thought. There are certain unconscious or semi-unconscious movements of the body which become sensible to the subject himself at particular moments when great steadiness is called for, as, for instance, when sitting for a photograph. There is also shown an over desire for rapidity of motion, as if it were necessary at every moment to overcome time and curtail distance by labor of an extreme degree. Lastly, there

is developed a kind of intoxication of movement which grows on the mind by what it feeds on and keeps the heart under the impression that it is always requiring the stimulation of the exercise. These sensations, it will be said, are entirely "nervous," and under a correct interpretation of the word I perfectly admit that they are so. It is improper, at the same time, to consider that a persistent sensation, or series of sensations, should be disregarded altogether because they are what is called "nervous." A repetition of nervous phenomena produces, in a short time, a habit that is strengthened by craving or desire, like the desire for alcohol and other stimulants when the need is felt of whipping the heart into a greater state of activity. I have long been of opinion that all cravings and impulses, indeed, spring from the heart as from their centre or magazine, and not from an independent brain ; as if, in short, the heart were the mind centre of motive desire and action.

There are some further symptoms observable in many developed men and women who indulge in cycling and which, though they may be minor in degree, should not be neglected. In all long tours carried out by cyclists we meet with these minor developments and I candidly confess that, prudent as I have been in my excursions, I have experienced the symptoms myself. You are out on a bright day skimming along the roads, with everything in favor of the exercise. You have gained your "wind," that is to say, your breathing and circulation are going together in harmony; you have lost the sensation of strain in the front muscles of the thigh; your spirits are exhilarated as you pass along; you do not indulge in spurts but keep steadily at your work, and as the day begins to close you are going so merrily that you actually regret that the journey has come to an end. You dismount for the night: you take, perhaps, a fair supper; you luxuriate in a bath, and you go to bed. But when you get into bed a most provoking thing occurs; you do not sleep ; you are kept awake by a constant restlessness of the muscles. The muscles of the lower limbs will not be quiet. They start you up in twitches and if you look at the muscles, especially the muscles in the calves of the legs, you see that they are in motion although you may not feel them. I remember an instance in which the observance of these muscular twitchings created actual alarm to the rider, and I myself counted no less than sixty of them within

the minute. They are muscular motions arising from an over-irritable condition excited by the riding. They may extend even to the muscles of the thighs and they always produce a restless night. Toward the morning the muscles become more composed and a heavy sleep follows, with a weary waking as if the body were as tired on rising as it was on going to bed. Presently, when the muscles are again exercised, the weariness passes away and a repetition of the cycling effort actually, after a time, appears to bring more relief, so that you cycle with the greatest freedom. The continued exercise is, however, no real cure; the phenomena are repeated, and cycling becomes at last a very wearisome pursuit. I have known actual breakdowns from this distressing cause, and I warn all cyclists, but especially those who have attained middle age, to moderate their enthusiasm whenever they find that the motion of cycling long continued produces muscular restlessness and impaired sleep.

The question has often been put to me whether dangers not as yet referred to are induced or increased by the efforts of cycling. Does hernia, or rupture, occur through cycling? I can say fairly I have never known it. Does enlargement of the veins increase through cycling? I can say fairly I have never known it; on the contrary I have, I think, seen a reduction of venous enlargement under the exercise. Does congestion of the brain ever occur, with giddiness or other symptoms referable to the head? I confess I have never known it, and I do not recall an example in which owing to symptoms immediately induced any rider has felt it necessary to dismount from the machine. But there are two things which I have witnessed and which I would like finally to record.

I have known persons of lymphatic and gouty tendency who have taken to cycling and have felt at first great good from it. They have become warm advocates of the pastime and, indulging in it extremely, have suffered from their extreme devotion to it. I have observed that certain of these have become depressed, have lost tone, and have been obliged, peremptorily, to give up the sport they were so fond of. I have also known amongst the gouty a peculiar kind of gout induced by the exercise, and thereupon a dislike to it—a result which is rather unfortunate, as well as unnecessary, because the injury has been brought about by overdoing the thing, and by turning what would be useful into an injurious practice. In conclusion, though, as I have said, severe

head symptoms from cycling are unusual, it is within the range of my experience to have known general injury in nervous subjects brought on by a too great stress of observation in riding, such as is induced by the fear of collision in crowded thoroughfares, too rapid a motion in descending hills, or too severe a trial in overcoming obstacles that caused the danger of a fall. I have even known young people, not bad riders, injured by too great trespass on nervous power, and I certainly would advise all timid riders to avoid tempting Providence too far in trying to show off their ability as against their better trained and cooler companions.

BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE.

BY WORTHINGTON C. FORD, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS AT WASHINGTON.

INCREASED imports of merchandise, decreased exports of domestic products; less gold imported, and more exported; a smaller import and export of silver; a larger tonnage movement, and a diminished immigration—such are the main features of the trade and navigation of the United States in the fiscal year 1895, just closed, compared with the results of the fiscal year 1894. This is not on its face a very encouraging showing; but it represents far more than the bare statement shows. In June, 1894, the situation had been one of extreme depression and financial anxiety for more than a year. The Treasury gold was going out at the rate of nearly three-quarters of a million dollars a day, and was leaving the country in even larger amounts. The banks were proffering "loans" of gold to stop a leak which seemed unending. The Treasury had been once replenished, and yet the reserve stood at a point lower than had been known since the resumption of specie payments. Enterprise was paralyzed under the strain, and the gloomiest predictions found ready endorsement in conservative circles. Small "armies" of paupers roving the country were pointed to as an example of what the future would reproduce on a large and dangerous scale. In June, 1895, the financial aspect had been improved, but only by passing through a crisis the like of which had not been experienced since 1873, perhaps not since Black Friday. The industrial prospects had also brightened, and, last of all, trade rises in volume under the stimulus of manufacturing demands, wider markets, and better prices. 1894 will be known as a panic year; 1895 will mark the turning of the tide from depression toward prosperity, absolute as well as comparative. The recovery has been slow, and at

the same time rapid. There were evidences of better things a year ago; but six long weary years were needed to recover from the consequences of 1873. To the approaching change the foreign commerce of the country bears witness.

The imports of merchandise for the twelve months ending June 30, 1895, were $731,960,319; those for the preceding year were $654,994,622. There was an increase of $76,965,697, or 11.7 per cent. This increased import lay entirely in the dutiable merchandise; $368,729,392 in 1895, and $275,199,086 in 1894. The imports of merchandise free of duty differed in the two years by about $16,000,000. The transfer of sugar from the free to the dutiable side in great part accounts for this difference; but the certainty of duties in 1895 has encouraged imports, while the uncertainty in 1894 was an effectual discouragement. In 1894 the exports of domestic merchandise were valued at $869,204,937; in 1895, $793,553,018. The loss on domestic exports was $75,651,919, or nearly the same amount as was gained in the imports. Including exports of foreign merchandise, the total trade of 1895 was $1,539,653,580, or $8,000,000 less than the total commerce of 1894. The very large excess of exports over imports which was shown at the end of 1894, $237,145,950, was not repeated, for the excess of exports in 1895 was only $75,732,942. It was remarkable that the trade conditions of 1894 did not lead to imports of gold in settlement of the apparent balance in favor of this country; and it is hardly likely that the smaller exports of 1895 can be an important factor in determining the commercial movement of gold against the very much larger influence exerted by the transfer of American securities.

Less food was imported in 1895 than in 1894, more raw materials for domestic industries, more partly manufactured articles, and more manufactures for consumption. Allowing for the disturbance due to the tariff contest, this showing may be taken as evidence of a rising industrial movement, and no more general index of economic condition can be found.

The movement of gold has been remarkable. The exports for the twelve months were $66,131,183, and were made in the first seven months—July to February. The imports were $35,120,331, making a net export of $31,000,000. This loss of gold would have been much greater had it not been for the operations of the syndicate. In the face of high rates of exchange and

a natural tendency for gold to leave the country in the spring and summer months, little gold has been sent abroad, the Treasury has maintained the reserve, and, now that the crops will come forward, the danger of a recurrence of a rush for gold is believed to be reduced to a minimum.

The time was when the farmers of the United States were the great feeders of grain and suppliers of fine cotton of the world. Other peoples have developed in competing capacity in grain and meats, and at no time has their ability been so great as at present. It was Russia and British India that were feared as competitors; it is now the Argentine Republic, which appears to have an almost unlimited power to grow and export wheat in defiance of any competition. The agrarian policies of European nations have also militated against American breadstuffs and provisions, as well by encouraging home production as by discouraging, even prohibiting, imports from the United States. No class of articles has been so materially influenced by the fall in prices. As early as 1885 wheat had fallen below the dollar mark, and only in 1892 did it rise above it. But the export price of 1894, 67 cents, was unusual, and the still lower average of 1895, 57 cents, was demoralizing. Corn, in which no competition is felt, was steadier in price, but the other breadstuffs were lower, and the result in the aggregate is startling. The value of the breadstuffs exported in 1895 was about $115,000,000; and to find so low a figure one must go back to 1877. A comparison of quantities will show how fallacious is such a test.

	1877.		1895.	
Barley	1,186,129	bush.	1,556,715	bush.
Corn	70,861,000	"	25,507,753	"
Oats	2,854,128	"	540,975	"
Rye	2,189,322	"	8,879	"
Wheat	40,325,611	"	75,831,639	"
Flour	3,343,665	bbl.	14,942,647	bbl.

It is wheat and wheat flour that have maintained the export, though due allowance should be made for the deficient crop of 1876, which was smaller than any in the last twenty-one years. Only 20 per cent. of that crop was exported, and 40 per cent. of the crop of 1893 was thus available. The distribution of exports in 1895 was normal, the few large differences being accounted for by good home crops, making a foreign supply unnecessary.

Next in importance stand provisions:—meats and meat products, and dairy products. The total value of exports in 1895

was not very different from that of 1894, seven or eight per cent. less on $145,270,000. All beef and its products show an increase over 1894, tallow alone excepted, which has been influenced by the competition of Australia. Not in twenty years was the quantity of tallow exported so small as in 1895. Bacon, hams and lard have met with greater favor, and the quantity of hams has never been equalled in any previous year, for the export in 1895 will exceed 105,000,000 pounds. It is in Europe this increase has found a market. Dairy products have declined in quantity as well as in value.

The phenomenally low price of raw cotton has tempted heavy purchases from abroad. If the crop year be taken, the exports in the ten months ending June 30, 1895, were 3,427,845,716 pounds, against 2,566,982,921 pounds in the corresponding period of 1894. Nearly 900,000,000 pounds more were sold in 1895 than in the preceding year, and netted $3,400,000 less. The distribution of this increased quantity may be taken as a fair indication of the industrial countries which have felt the approach of better demand for the manufactured goods. England naturally stands first, taking 700,000,000 pounds more in 1895 than in 1894; Germany, France, and Italy will use 450,000,000 pounds in excess of last year; and even greater needs are indicated by the increased exports to Mexico and Canada. One other country, the youngest among nations and the youngest industrial power, will repay careful study if her demand for American cotton may be taken as an indication of growing competence. In the year 1894, less than 5,000,000 pounds were exported to Japan; in the year 1895, the export was more than 11,000,000 pounds. This is the more remarkable as Japan has British India and China as sources of supply, and is known to draw heavily from them. This need for our cotton points to positive development on the best lines of manufacture. It is only five years ago that the United States sent cotton cloth to Japan. Now Japan asks for raw cotton, defeats British Indian competition in yarns, and threatens English cloth with exclusion from the continent of Asia. American cloth, by its low price and good quality, still finds favor in the East. China, through her troubles, has imported less in 1895 than in 1894 by about 17,000,000 yards; but other parts of Asia and Oceanica made good 5,000,000 yards, and in South America the market is increasing, save in the Argentine Republic. To

Brazil the exports have never been so large, in spite of the abrogation of the reciprocity agreement; while Colombia, which did not enter into the agreement and in consequence had its coffee, hides and skins subjected to a duty on entering the United States, has again reverted to American cottons and surpasses the demand in any previous year. Against these signs of advance must be set a loss of two-thirds, or more than 10,000,000 yards, in the Canadian market—due rather to bad times than to the home industries of that colony.

American cotton is sold in competition with the cotton of the East and Egypt, but so far surpasses in quantity, and, in the case of India, in quality, that it holds its own. In neither country is the power of the State exerted to encourage the planting and push the sale. Russian petroleum is a more aggressive and dangerous rival to the American oil, and has succeeded, by treaty provision, in almost excluding the illuminating oil of the United States from certain markets. Neighborhood, and a large yield of heavy oils, have contributed in part to this result; but tariffs and prejudice are more potent influences, and are able even to overcome differences in price, quality and packing in favor of the American product. The rise in the price of illuminating oil during 1895 has given better returns to exporters than in any year since 1891, but the quantity was exceeded in 1894. Severe as the struggle for markets has been, the produce of the United States has been successful, and the exports of 1895—885,000,000 gallons—are only 13,000,000 less than the exports of the banner year, 1894. The increase was in Europe, and great as that has been it was not sufficient to compensate for the losses in the East.

If any single item among the imports fixes the attention, it is raw wool. This one article has been the subject of more political discussion and economic experiment than any other to be found in the list of imports or of domestic exports. Indeed, it has only occasionally figured to any importance as an article of export. It has been a source of pride that American wool has been used in the home market, and every safeguard taken to prevent its passing into foreign hands. At the outbreak of the civil war raw wool was being exported to the amount of about 1,000,000 pounds each year, but in only one year (1886) did the quantity again attain or exceed that limit. If 300,000 pounds were sent away in one year, the quantity would be considered a large one, and

the return of 1894, 477,182 pounds, was abnormal. In 1895 the number of pounds exported was more than double the export of any previous year, and exceeded 4,000,000 pounds. The details are not so encouraging, for this quantity was mainly divided between Mexico—not a manufacturing country—and Canada, where a woollen industry does exist.

The success or failure of the experiment of free wool is yet to be determined. Since September the wools of the world have had free access to our markets for the first time since 1857, and the quantity imported shows the privilege is being extensively used, but it would be difficult to prove the imports excessive. In 1894 the uncertainties of what the issue of the tariff struggle would be nearly cut off importations of wool. In the previous year, 1893, when the movement was unhampered by any such uncertainty, the total imports were 172,433,838 pounds, of which 122,386,072 pounds were of the low grade carpet wools, not produced in the United States in quantities sufficient to meet the wants of the manufacturers. In eleven months of 1895 the imports exceeded those of the year 1893, and the full year 1895 will give a total of about 200,000,000 pounds. This increase is no more than occurred between 1892 and 1893, and, representing two years, cannot be regarded as unusual. What is noticeable is the increase in the finer grades—the clothing wools. In previous years an import of between 50 and 60 million pounds would be taken as a fair amount; in 1895 the quantity will be more than 90,000,000 pounds, or nearly one-half the entire wool importations. These larger importations of raw wools have been accompanied by smaller importations of woollen manufactures.

Prices of wools, both domestic and foreign, have ruled low, very low, and in adapting the home-growing interest to the new conditions introduced by the removal of the duty, some heavy losses were entailed. The sale of American sheep abroad has fluctuated widely. In 1883 the number was 337,251, and year by year the number lessened, until only 37,260 were exported in 1893. In 1895 the export of 1883 was slightly exceeded, but a few thousand in excess need create no apprehension, as proof of an unprofitable industry. The situation of wool is peculiar in every producing country, and enormous as the increased product has been, it is doubtful if any check will be felt on a still greater increase. In Australia the ranchmen are successfully overcom-

ing one of the most serious obstacles to the extension of sheep raising, by sinking artesian wells and making pools or dams to retain the water for their stock. The great London dealers in wools, Messrs. Helmuth, Schwartz & Co., give a suggestive comparison in the wool production in 1884 and in 1893.

	1884. Pounds.	1893. Pounds.
England	132,000,000	151,000,000
Continent of Europe	450,000,000	450,000,000
North America	350,000,000	377,000,000
	932,000,000	978,000,000
Australia	408,000,000	632,000,000
Africa (Cape)	52,000,000	91,000,000
River Plate	322,000,000	365,000,000
Other	106,000,000	164,000,000
	888,000,000	1,252,000,000
Total	1,820,000,000	2,230,000,000

The increased product for the first group was 5 per cent.; for the second group 40.9 per cent.; and for both groups 22.5 per cent. While the populations of these countries have increased in the same time only 9.5 per cent., the yield of clean wool has increased 19.4 per cent. * This in itself should explain the low prices of wool, and in such matters an economic is more permanent than a political cause.

The movement in iron and steel also is looked upon as a fair measure of the industrial situation at home, and the same measure may be applied to the import and export trade. In 1882 the heaviest imports of iron and steel and manufactures were made, $70,551,497. Since that year the value has declined, and in 1894 was only $20,559,368—the lowest record since the end of the depression of 1873–79. In 1882 the exports of iron and steel and manufactures were valued at $20,748,206—an amount exceeded only in the single year 1871. In 1894 the exports were $30,106,482—a figure never touched before—and in 1895 this aggregate is surpassed by more than a million. Through the long list of articles included in this class of manufactures only a few show diminished exports; the losses on pig iron, band iron, cutlery, stationary engines and boilers, plate iron, printing presses, railroad bars and sewing machines, are more than compensated by the additions on wire, stoves, firearms and bar iron. Brazil is equipping her railroads with American engines; and if the Argentine Republic buys fewer locomotives of the United States, it takes more cars and more agricultural implements,

*Statistics given by Messrs. Justice, Bateman & Co.

both of which may widen the wheat area of that Republic and enable it to compete to an even greater extent with the wheat grower of the West.

The exports of copper ingots in 1894 greatly exceeded those of any previous year, and were in great part caused by its demand in electrical appliances. The movement in 1895 was less by nearly one-third though the price was sufficiently low to warrant an increased consumption. Before 1894 the largest export was 56,453,756 pounds sent chiefly to Europe in 1892; and an export of 146,000,000 in 1895 is not one to give occasion to any fears that copper of the United States can not hold its own against the products of Chili and Spain. The exports of copper ore have been declining for some years, and in 1895 barely one-fifth the quantity of 1892 will be sent to the only consumer—England. That country obtains large quantities of ore from Venezuela, Spain, Cape of Good Hope and even Newfoundland. France also imports the ore from Chili and in an indirect trade through England.

Such are some of the leading elements in the foreign trade of 1895. It would be interesting to discuss them from the revenue standpoint, and show where the $20,000,000 larger customs revenue was obtained, and how, through the fall in the price of sugar, the revenue was not greater. The West India Islands, whence the great supply of sugar is derived, are well known to be in a condition of decline, politically as well as economically. The market for sugar in the United States has been their main prop, and it could remain a support only while the prices paid for raw sugar covered the cost of production. It has been asserted for years that sugar could not profitably be grown under two cents a pound; and for more than six months and at the very time the cane sugar campaign is on, the price has been given at 1.7 cents for cane and 1.5 cents for beet. The political features of sugar need not detain us, however interesting it would be to speculate upon a continuance of the current low prices, and their effects upon the West Indies, Louisiana, and that complicated structure of bounty-fed beet sugar interest in Europe. So long as the consumers of the United States get their sugar cheap, it will be as well to leave the struggle between cane and beet products to the wisdom of other peoples. This is, indeed, necessary, because of the revenue from sugar.

It would be even more interesting to map out the great geographical lines of American commerce, and study the political consequences with a special reference to the American continent. The largest share of our trade is still with European countries, and must be for many years; but the commercial relations with our neighbors are capable of great development, and a commercial supremacy would involve other relations of high importance in the near future. With 1894 as a year of comparison, the imports in 1895 had increased from Europe, South America, Asia and Africa, and decreased from Canada and the West Indies, and Oceanica. A greater value of exports was sent to South America, Oceanica and Africa, while a less value went to Europe, Canada, the West Indies and Asia. The depression in Canada has been more severe than in the United States, and the war in Asia has had its effect on trade.

The experience of 1894 in foreign trade was trying to an extreme; that of 1895 has done much to repair losses, and more to prove how firmly are established the great branches of our trade. Sharp and concentrated as was the crisis of 1894, it was better to have an explosion and a ready recovery, than a long and lingering decline, followed by a sudden access of speculation and extravagant trading, ending as it always must end, in disaster.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART.

THE editor asks me, What will be the policy of the Unionist administration, supposing it to obtain legislative power? We may begin the answer to the question by setting aside some matters as certain not to be touched, in spite of the expectations of some in the electorate that they will be dealt with. It may safely be asserted that there will be no return to protection, that there will be no steps taken in the direction of bimetallism, and that nothing will be done for Church schools. The two former of these propositions will be at once accepted by competent judges. There may be doubt about the third. The archbishops and bishops of the Established Church, and the friends of voluntary schools, which are mainly Church schools, have been active lately, and although cold water has been poured upon them by Lord Salisbury, they undoubtedly expect that some, at all events, of their demands will be acceded to. On the other hand, the accession to office of Mr. Chamberlain and his friends will form so convenient an excuse to the Conservative party for not entering upon legislation which is never popular with the constituencies, that I maintain the opinion which I long since formed and have just expressed.

Leaving the negative and coming to the positive side of the programme, it may safely be foreshadowed that labor questions will be dealt with in a comprehensive, though not perhaps in a satisfactory nor a scientific, fashion. The Factory Bill of Mr. Asquith will probably be taken by his successors without much change, and this popular measure will probably become law in much the shape in which it was introduced by the Liberal administration. Mr. Asquith's Truck Bill will probably have the same fortune, but this bill will be hotly opposed by the Trades

Unionists, as it would have been even if it had gone forward under the auspices of the Liberal administration. It may be explained that "Truck" in its original sense meant the payment of wages otherwise than in cash, and that the early Truck legislation was directed against the practice which formerly prevailed widely of forcing workmen to deal at certain shops and pay too dear for their goods, and against kindred evils. Outside the ordinary range of the existing Truck acts lies a whole class of fines and deductions, which constitute a working-class grievance of the first magnitude. Stoppages are made from wages for all sorts of reasons, and in some cases ill-paid workers, such as girl factory hands, receive in cash only a small proportion of their nominal wage. Fines for coming late in the morning are an example of what is meant. These fines are far larger in amount than seems necessary for the purpose of securing punctuality of attendance, and the amount deducted for a short absence is vastly greater than the wage which could be earned in the time. Mr. Asquith's Truck Bill proposed that deductions should be illegal, except where assented to in writing by the worker, and, on being attacked, pronounced reasonable by a court. The former of these two provisions so closely resembles the contracting-out which was recently objected to by the Liberal party in the Employers' Liability Bill, when introduced into it by the House of Lords, that it stinks in the nostrils of the trades unionists. Contracting-out is a fruitful source of inefficiency in legislation. Excellent principles are laid down, but contracting-out is allowed, becomes a standing form, and makes the legislation nugatory.

Another bill left by the late government which a Unionist government may take up is Mr. Asquith's Coal Mines Regulation Bill, which is also far from popular with the working class, but into which an attempt may be made to insert a clause limiting the labor in mines of boys under a certain age. The Miners' Federation will undoubtedly fail in attempting to limit employment underground before twenty-one, and will probably fail in attempting to limit employment under eighteen, but is not unlikely to be successful in limiting employment under sixteen. The importance of this question lies in the fact that it is the difficulty about the boys which causes the resistance of Northumberland and Durham to legislation for the purpose of regulating hours in mines of adult men. If the labor of boys in mines were

limited to eight hours in any twenty-four, the practical objection of the Northumberland and Durham miners to the introduction of a similar limit to the labor of men would disappear, inasmuch as the men in Northumberland and Durham have no personal interest in the question, for they in all cases work considerably less than eight hours at the present time. Their boys, however, work longer; and it is commonly asserted in Northumberland and Durham that it is impossible to change the system under which two shifts of men work with one shift of boys, or three shifts of men with two shifts of boys. It is the opinion of the other miners that means for meeting the difficulty might easily be found.

Mr. Bryce's bill for the introduction of a new system of conciliation in trades disputes is not likely to be taken up by the Conservative party in its present form, but it is probable that some attempt will be made to deal with the subject by legislation which will probably be popular, and also, probably, prove useless. It is a thankless task to object to any scheme for arbitration or conciliation from which good is hoped; but experienced trades unionists are inclined to think that such legislation, if ambitious, is likely to be dangerous. The pressure of public opinion would be brought to bear to induce the parties to an industrial conflict to accept any arrangement that might have been made for them; but public opinion is represented by the press, and the press, in order to live, is forced to incline towards the side of wealth. The trades unionists think that well-organized industries are able to look after themselves, and that in others the workers must go to the wall, and that it is unnecessary to consecrate the system which may cover this result.

Of bills which have not been introduced and are not *remanets* from the Liberals, but which have been foreshadowed by Mr. Chamberlain and accepted by Lord Salisbury in speeches in the country, the chief are a Workmen's Compensation Bill, a bill for the allocation of local rates to the purchase of workmen s houses, and an old-age pension scheme. It is difficult at present to say much about this last as no very definite proposals have been made on behalf of the Unionist party, except by Mr. Chamberlain, and his proposals have not secured general acceptance. The difficulties of detail are very great. There is no definite recommendation by any committee or commission before the country, and it is far from certain that any proposals which might be

placed before Parliament would receive wide support. The other two proposals for legislation are more ripe. Mr. Chamberlain in opposing the Employers' Liability Bill of Mr. Asquith suggested a general bill for compensation in case of all injuries, and he has recently introduced a bill which has met with a somewhat favorable reception, although the objection has been urged that it does not provide for employers' liability for accidents by penal provisions. The proposal for the allocation of rates to the purchase of workmen's houses came from a Conservative quarter. It has been accepted by Mr. Chamberlain, who pleaded in its behalf the analogy of the allotments legislation. Allotments, however, do not become the freehold of the holder, and the freehold remains in the local authority which makes the advance. The proposal for assistance from rates to workmen to buy their houses contemplates the freehold being the possession of the workmen, and not of the local authority. On this ground the legislation will be strongly fought by many belonging to the more advanced parties; but it will pass.

It is very probable that the incoming Unionist administration may go forward with an Irish land bill, which would contain the portions of the Irish land bill of Mr. Morley which have the support of Mr. T. W. Russell, and that they may introduce an Irish local government bill. The latter measure, however, will have to be one giving to Ireland most of the municipal and local liberties which are possessed by Great Britain, and one far more advanced than Mr. Balfour's ill-starred bill of the last Parliament, if it is to have any chance of passing without a violent conflict. It is also possible that the Unionists may try their hands at temperance legislation. The local vote might be called in for the purpose of diminishing the number of public houses, with a compensation to be borne by the survivors.

The outgoing Liberal administration had not carried a strongly reforming policy into Indian, foreign, colonial, or military affairs, and there is no ground to suppose that the change of administration will imply a change of policy in these respects. A considerable improvement in the War Office had indeed been announced by the outgoing government on the night of its defeat, and there can be little doubt that the proposals then made will be adhered to by the incoming administration.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

BY THE REV. J. A. ZAHM, C. S. C.

ONE of the greatest questions of the day, it is admitted by all, is the social question, and its most illustrious exponent is, without doubt, the august Pontiff of the Vatican. Ever since his assumption of the tiara Leo XIII. has manifested a special interest in all problems relating to the welfare of society. This is abundantly evinced by his noble encyclicals on these topics, and by his numberless letters to eminent representatives of church and state.

In a private audience, with which I was favored not long since, the social question was introduced and discussed at some length. I ventured to tell his Holiness that the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW had requested me to write an article on this subject, and that the people of America, non-Catholics as well as Catholics, were always pleased to give respectful and reverent attention to his utterances, and especially to all those in any wise bearing on the condition of the laboring classes.

"Ah, yes," he said, "the Americans are a noble people. I love them greatly. I am aware of the deep interest they take in social problems and was gratified to learn that they received so kindly my encyclical on the condition of labor. You may tell the people of the United States, through the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, that I shall always be ready to contribute to the fullest extent of my power towards their well-being and happiness, and especially towards the well-being and happiness of the wage-earners of their great republic.

"The social question," continued the venerable Pontiff, his eyes beaming with light and intelligence as he discoursed on the subject to which he attaches so much importance—"the social question is the great question of the future. *La question sociale, c'est la question de l'avenir.* It is a question in which all should

be interested, and each one should contribute his quota towards lessening and removing the difficulties with which it is at present beset. It is particularly desirable that ecclesiastics should be thoroughly conversant with the subject, and that they should take an active part in every discussion and in every movement that looks toward the betterment of the social condition of humanity, and especially the social condition of that major portion which must earn their bread by the sweat of their brow."

This is but a brief synopsis of what the Holy Father actually said, and conveys no idea whatever of the earnestness and impressiveness which characterized the spoken words of the large-hearted and noble-minded occupant of the chair of Peter. He dwelt particularly on his encyclicals *Immortale Dei* and *Rerum Novarum*, and referred incidentally to other documents, bearing on the same subjects, of which he is the author.

The encyclical *Longinqua Oceani Spatia*, recently issued, is, in a measure, but a supplement of the *Rerum Novarum*. I shall consider the two documents, therefore, in so far as they both deal with the social problem, as virtually one and the same.

So much by way of preamble. The following pages are designed to give a brief exposition of the origin, character and history of the social question from the Roman Catholic point of view, and to exhibit the gist of the Pope's teaching, as gathered from his letters and encyclicals on this all-important subject.

I.

A LITTLE more than a century ago, in 1791, the French Revolution abolished by a third and definitive decree the corporations which formed the basis of the old social order. In 1891, Leo XIII. promulgated a new economic charter, at the very moment when the industrial association, which was the outgrowth of the Manchester School, was approaching dissolution.

In lieu of the old organic *régime* the French Revolution substituted the reign of individualism. Unlimited competition, freedom of labor, the preponderance of capital and the general introduction of machinery ushered into existence the fourth estate proletarians, or wage-earners—and with it the social question. The organism became a mechanism, and from its excesses proceeded the evils from which we now suffer. As matters at present stand, we have two inimical forces, standing face to face;

on one side, the modern state with its army and its police; on the other, socialism and organized labor with its battalions and its long pent-up grievances.

Never before was humanity confronted with such a danger. It is related that when Antioch was taken by the Persians, A. D. 266, the entire population of the city was assembled in the theatre. The seats of this theatre were cut in the foot of the escarped mountain which crowned the ramparts. The eyes of all present were fixed on the chief actor; every ear was strained to catch his words, when suddenly his hands began to contract, his arms became paralyzed, and his eyes assumed a startling stare. From the stage on which he stood he beheld the Persians, already masters of the defences of the ill-fated city, rushing down the mountain with resistless impetuosity. At the same moment the enemy's arrows began to shower down within the precincts of the theatre, and to awaken its inmates to a realization of their perilous situation.

Is not our situation analagous? Have we not felt the earth tremble under our feet, and heard the social revolution, as Lassalle predicted it would, knock at our doors? And what augments the danger, is that the International seems decided on the policy of delay, until the natural pressure of our social condition shall place the reins of power in the hands of the "new masters." 1848 and 1870 appear to have been the last attempts of the Fourth Estate to achieve victory by force of arms. Its leaders are unwilling to commit new blunders, and are persuaded that the day will come when socialism will be triumphant.

Leo XIII. chose this prophetic hour to make known the social evangel to the combatants on both sides. Among the wrecks of human institutions, the Papacy remains the sole international power, sufficiently equipped, sufficiently sure of its own resources, sufficiently endowed with light and energy, to attempt the supreme work. It, alone, has imperturbable faith in the future of humanity. It is idealist, in spite of all deceptions; optimist, notwithstanding all the spasmodic weaknesses of the body politic. As in the politico-religious order, Leo XIII. has, through his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, preached the code of reconciliation, so has he, in the economic order, promulgated the charter of social harmony. We recognize in the earnest, but tender words of the Pontiff, the divine perfume of the Master, the precise lessons of

the Fathers of the Church, and the carefully pondered and the soundly democratic teachings of the Doctors of the Middle Ages. For the first time, economic science has pity on the wage-earner, and discusses the new issues raised without rancor or recrimination. At the same time it exhibits a respect for the rights of all while insisting on the duties of all, which will forever render the encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, not only the most glorious monument of the present pontificate, but also the most beneficent contribution yet made to the new order of things. In the Church alone is there a condition of stable equilibrium, which always remains unaffected. The personal character of the encyclical resides, not so much in the lessons of justice and charity as in the perfect adaptation of revealed truth to our present condition, and in the beautiful and fruitful manner in which the facts of history are harmonized with eternal principles.

Leo XIII. is at the same time as compassionate as a mother and as impassible as an anatomist; as just as a judge and as tender as an infant. He loves ardently that poor humanity which is so often blind to its best interests, but which is more frequently betrayed by its own leaders. In him the Papacy appears, even to-day, as the empyrean in which all hatreds and struggles are buried and in which all great reconciliations are effected. Indeed the most distinguishing characteristic of the encyclical is that it seeks to harmonize capital and labor, to reconcile employer with employee, to unite justice and charity.

The first part of the encyclical shows that the accord between labor and capital is one of the most beautiful and most consoling laws of political economy. As God, in the book of Job, "makes peace in the high places," so does Leo XIII., from the lofty eminence which he occupies, bring to men the peace-giving breath of the Infinite.

This equilibrium has its origin in the Pope's comprehensive genius. Leo XIII. knows not that exclusivism which divides the social order into separate compartments. His breadth of view and love of humanity preclude this. His keen intellect has grappled firmly with all the difficulties of the situation. Economists too often separate what should ever be united. One expects everything from the state, another looks for a cure only from above, while others still appeal for a solution of the problem to special associations or to private initiative. But Leo XIII.

embraces all these factors, and causes every one of them to make for the common weal. The Church, the State, individual activities, society as a whole, should not they be prodigal of their best efforts in helping forward the work of reconciliation ?

It is this harmony and breadth of view which give to the encyclical the character of arbitrament which it possesses, and make it, as it were, a kind of truce of God. Hence spring the facility with which the Pontiff steers clear of the quicksands of this vast world. And with what dangers is he not beset ? Intrinsic difficulties, technical difficulties, complexity of subject, a continual transformation of political economy, which scarcely permits one to promulgate doctrines and principles, antagonistic passions and rivalries—Leo XIII. has met all these obstacles.

Thanks to his marvellous competence and his profound knowledge of the subject-matter of debate ; his consummate art in separating theories from facts, and principles from remedies, Leo XIII. has avoided these reefs. He is at the same time a doctor and a practical man of affairs ; an illuminator and a conciliator ; resting here on the Gospel and St. Thomas Aquinas, and there seeking aid in the immense modern laboratory, where are found both men and hypotheses.

Such are the distinguishing notes of the encyclical ; its opportuneness, its evangelical character, its irenical harmony, its perfect comprehensiveness. These are combined with scientific precision and an incomparable simplicity of art, in which supreme elegance and exact science unite in sweetest symphony.

II.

WHAT, it may be asked, has occurred in society, that special exertion is now required to keep in motion a machine which formerly moved of itself without noise and without effort ? In what does this much-talked-of social question consist ? All are making the same inquiry, but the responses given are as diverse as the prescriptions of physicians. More than ever before the world is brought to face seriously the social question. Formerly certain minor social questions perturbed humanity, but the crisis which now confronts us is peculiar to our own epoch.

It is only the foolish hope of interested optimists which will lead men to believe that they are sheltered from the impending catastrophe, because, forsooth, the same endemic malady has be-

fore raged in all countries and at all times. It is, indeed, true that social antagonism is not something new or something peculiar to our century. But there is between the past and the present this essential difference. Formerly, after the struggle between employer and employee was over, rest and peace were to be found in the workshop or in the home, whereas to-day the struggle has reached our very hearthstones. It persists in a dull and sullen manner, when it does not break forth openly, and it is ever compassing the ruin of society because it is incessantly destroying all chance of domestic happiness. Never before, indeed, has the social question knocked in so threatening a manner at the doors of the civil order.

In the introduction to his epoch-making document, Leo XIII. directs attention to some of the evidences of the dominant evil—extreme riches, extreme misery, and the indescribable desolation which has entered the world of the proletariate in consequence of the atomization of society under the levelling reign of capital.

Gifted with a methodical mind and endowed with a rare genius for classification, the Pope limits himself to indicating the roots of the evil, without entering into details, or descending to investigations of secondary importance.

It may truly be said that the social question arises from a fivefold revolution : the revolution in machinery ; the revolution in political economy ; the revolution in religion ; the revolution in the state, and the revolution brought about by the general movement of humanity.

Machinery, or rather the abuse of machinery, was the first to effect a transformation in the economic order. It is not without reason that Lassalle styles it "the revolution incarnate"—*Die verkörperte Revolution.* Machinery has revolutionized the mode of production, the manner of labor, and the distribution of revenue and of property. It has destroyed the workshop and introduced the factory in its stead. It has sterilized manual labor and, by its immense productivity, has internationalized prices and markets. While, on the one hand, it has created the despotism of capital, it has, on the other, called into existence the unorganized army of the proletariate. It has ground humanity into a powder, without cohesion and without unity, and has placed the world of labor at the mercy of a few soulless plutocrats. This new order of things means the reign of the few ; it

implies the permanence of expropriation and the resurrection of ancient Rome, where millions of slaves were trampled under foot by an insolent oligarchy of wealth. And finally, by its fatal centralization, machinery has engendered a double International —the International of capital and the International of socialism.

Against such a condition of things there should have been erected some sort of protecting dike. But instead of creating a new order, in conformity with the changed mode of production, economic science introduced into the laws and institutions of the land those very principles which have rendered the influence of machinery sinister and destructive. Of an agency marvellously rich in its potentialities, it has made an engine of revolution. Production, production, nothing but production, such has been the ideal, the last word of the Third Estate and of economists. Adam Smith in England, J. B. Say in France, and Schulze-Delitsch in Germany, have traced out this new legislation, with a view to bringing out of machinery all its latent force, without ever thinking of the terrible confusion that was sure to ensue.

Science and politics have leagued together to render the state omnipotent. How then could socialism regard with serenity a factor of such unquestioned power ?

Absolute collectivism was born and received with acclamation in the *comitia* of the people before it was scientifically promulgated by Carl Marx. The sons of toil constitute the majority. Why are they not then the rulers ?

Riehl, before Sainte-Beuve, had drawn the portrait of the literary proletarian as the guide of the laboring proletarian. *Declassé* and a conspirator, ambitious, jealous and vindictive, he finds a use for his knowledge in giving his services to the advancement of revolutionary socialism. A German, Riehl spoke for the Germans. But have not his prognostications been everywhere verified ? You have supplied outcasts and the declassed with all modern arms—education, universal suffrage, literature. You have awakened them to a consciousness of their power. You have taught them that law is the voice of the majority, that education is the stepping-stone by which they may attain to power. You have endowed them with sovereignty. You have made them legislators and judges. Why, then, should not the masses rise up and announce to the Third Estate : We are the masters ?

Politics and their historical environment created Lassalle and

Carl Marx. Lassalle and Carl Marx created militant socialism and the International.

"Liberalism," says Averbeck, "has acted as a state would act if it should banish a part of its citizens to a solitary island and let them there begin a struggle for existence. This state gives to the exiles all the treasures of science—libraries and scientific apparatus—but it withholds from them what is necessary for subsistence. It is to be presumed that such unfortunates will burn the books in order to warm themselves and break the instruments in order to make tools that will enable them to gain the necessities of life." The same writer was likewise one of the first to signalize the perils of this political and social contrast. To day the situation seems even more grave. For, has not the International the same engines of war as the State? Has it not to hand all the appliances requisite to start a revolution? The stupefied Liberals persist in persecuting the Church, in weakening the ethical sense, and dancing on a volcano until everything shall be blown to atoms.

Do we not read the signs of the times? One would declare that everything conspires to crown the Fourth Estate. As far back as 1810 there were not wanting far-seeing synthetic minds, who foresaw that the reign of social democracy would issue in the natural and fatal termination of civilization. Philosophers and critics have expended an infinite amount of wit in their attempts to give a definition of civilization, but no two have been able to agree on the same definition. The events of our day, however, make a definition unnecessary, for we have before our very eyes the most salient facts of all history past and present. For what is the evolution of humanity but its expansion and progressive exaltation?

All the theories of philosophers and all the preachments of exploiters are of no avail. We are moving toward a triumphant democracy. Whether the transformation of the aristocratic and *bourgeois* society into a democratic society be slow or prompt, violent or peaceful, it is none the less inevitable; and more than this, none the less irrevocable, once it shall have been effected.

There are several reasons in explanation of the difficulty of a return. All men are not sensible of the exalted charm of liberty, and freedom is not an imperative need for a large number of men. But the sweetness of equality appeals strongly to

the most feeble intelligences, and men are slow to renounce this pleasure when they have once tasted it. Besides this, the laws and customs of a democratic society are in accord with certain ideas of right and justice, and they find in the conscience as well as in the passions of men a powerful support.

What intensity marks this movement! What a formidable support for the Fourth Estate! And how singular the coincidence of this general current with the present economic crisis. Sieyès wrote: "What is the Third Estate? Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything." Is it astonishing that the chiefs of the International apply these words to the Fourth Estate?

We have briefly considered the five confluents which constitute the river of the social question. Never has a more complicated situation, or one more pregnant with peril, weighed upon men. What were the invasions of the barbarians from the north of Europe, or the upheavals of the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, in comparison with the threatened explosion of this vast world already stirred to its profoundest depths and in a state of violent ebullition?

Has not the time at length come when some one should speak in the name of all and above all; when some one should take up the problem, not with the pedantry of party, nor with affected scholastic display, but with a keen and serene intellect which is competent to get at the heart of things without becoming entangled, and is capable of taking a comprehensive survey of the situation without getting confused? Is there not required one of those rare men with whom conscience in everything is a prime necessity and whose greatest pleasure and recompense lie in the laborious pursuit of good and in the absolute discharge of duty?

Such an one is Leo XIII. With that buoyant and indomitable spirit which has never known weakness, of which age has respected the integrity, Leo XIII., after having disentangled, analyzed and scrutinized all the elements of debate, has judged it necessary, not only as a man of science, but also as supreme teacher, to undertake the great work of synthesis and truth.

III.

SINCE issuing his famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, of which Europe, poisoned by the School of Manchester and by the teachings of a materialistic philosophy, had greater need than

young and prosperous America, Leo XIII. has developed his apostolic doctrine more in detail. This is observed especially in his letters to the Count de Mun, the Bishop of Grenoble, the Bishop of Liège, the Cardinal of Mechlin, as well as in his letters to M. Decurtins, to Abbé Six, to Abbé Naudet and others. All these manifestations of the great Papal mind are bound together by the same golden thread. Go to the people to assist and emancipate them. Establish syndicates and associations for the laboring classes. Demand from the State legislation for their protection, and strive to secure the passage of a law, international in character, which shall protect at the same time both employer and employee from economic piracy. Restrict the hours of labor, and place women and children under proper protection. Give to the poor man a just remuneration for his work, and strive to make him an upright and honorable citizen. Above all, see that religion is the inspiring and directing soul of the home, for without it the work of reconstruction and regeneration is impossible.

That which, above all else, brings out in bold relief the solicitude of Leo XIII. for the laboring man is the injunction which he lays on, the mission which he commits to, the priests of the Church. He wishes them to go forth into the market-place, to visit the factories, to found societies for workingmen, to inaugurate conferences for them, and thus to direct the large democratic and social current which is the result of long ages of effort, labor and sacrifice. To Americans, with their native activity and independence, this is easy and natural. It, however, demanded evangelical courage to impose this on the Old World, where three centuries of renaissance of pagan law, and a century of *laissez-faire* and *laissez-passer* have atomized society and divided the human family into two opposing camps—on one side the tyranny of the law and of the employer; on the other, renewed servitude and virtual rebellion—everywhere hatred, lack of equilibrium, egotism and overt struggle.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Pope's teaching anent the labor problem is his return to the ideas of evangelical solidarity, to the lessons of social wisdom, and to the principles which governed the guilds of the middle ages—all of which, with singular skill, he adapts to the needs and conditions of the century just closing. Sometimes reactionaries, and even English Liberals, reproach the Pope with going too far and with favoring

methods which are regarded as revolutionary. In the eyes of such people he is a Socialist. This revolutionist, however, but relights the almost extinguished torch of Christian traditions. He is simply continuing the spirit of the early ages of the Church. "The day when there shall be placed in the chair of St. Peter," wrote de Vogué in his *Spectacles Contemporains*, "a Pope animated with the sentiments of Cardinal Gibbons and Cardinal Manning, the Church will stand forth before the world as the most formidable power it has ever known." So be it. Is not Leo XIII. such a Pontiff? Fearlessly brushing aside three centuries of cabinet diplomacy, he declares his intention of following the traditions of those illustrious pontiffs who are honored in history as social law-givers and emancipators of the people. He synthesizes admirably the Gospel, St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas, Gregory VII., Alexander IV., Pius IV., and many others besides. "The danger is imminent," wrote Madam Adam in her *Patrie Bourgeoise*, "for Leo XIII. is preparing a crusade which a younger Pope may render triumphant. The constitution of the Church and individual devotedness, which Christianity, we must admit, is capable of exalting, in a far higher degree than the philosophy of Paul Bert, are calculated to provoke one of those grand movements of moral reform which are always based on a social movement." Madam Adam forgets that it is not a crusade, but a return to the principles of economic and organic mutuality which obtained before the Renaissance, and an adaptation of them to the age in which we live. This is what Leo XIII. told Castelar, the Spanish Republican, in so many words. "It is necessary," said he, "to bring back the Church to its original traditions." In this declaration are revealed at once the historic mind and the originality of Leo XIII. In it are disclosed his greatness and the unity and majestic coordination of all his acts and all his teachings.

Economically and socially, the Renaissance, the resurrection of pagan law, the cult of exaggerated individualism, the philosophy which issued in Darwinism, have again brought back and made general both the pride and the slavery of ancient Rome. Absolute and pagan theories regarding property, exaltation of liberty, which, while it is the honor of the human mind in the domain of politics, is folly in the domain of economic science, substitution of an artificial mechanism for the normal organism,

rupture with industrial organizations and the atomization of society—in a word, all the miseries of our modern world have proceeded from these sources. Our age is, indeed, but a walled-in field of battle, in which egotism, individual interests and passions are engaged in homicidal combat. Formerly society was an edifice, in which each social floor had its protection, its right, its security, its well-being. It was, to employ another figure, a vast organism, in which each member, while it was subject to the law governing the whole, had its proper function and its full life.

It is this thought, eminently Christian and eminently evangelic—a thought reposing on justice and love—which is the mainspring of the social action of the Holy Father. Here, as elsewhere, Leo XIII., while always having a regard for the times in which we live, supplies us with the traditional means of subsistence and defence. A man of the past and of the future, continuing in his own beneficent way the policy of his illustrious predecessors, while at the same time paving the way for a better to-morrow—without change of principles, but by the application of new methods—the present Pontiff stands conspicuous in history as an innovator, while he is all the while but a priest of the antique ideal, but an ideal appropriated for our own time.

Besides the teachings of antiquity there are other guides nearer to us for pontifical initiative. A conservative power, the Papacy scarcely ever moves in advance of the political and social exigencies of an epoch. It does not create, it codifies.

The Fathers have determined with precision this law of organic growth. Origen, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and, above all, St. Vincent of Lerins, have developed the philosophy of this phenomenon. It is thus that they speak of a *sensus theologicus*, of an *intelligentia ecclesiastica*, of a *sensus Catholicus*, which are affirmed, expanded and translated in a body of doctrines, in *eodem sensu et in eodem dogmate*.

In a lower degree, the Papacy appropriates and condenses the human teachings of each epoch in so far as they bear on the immutable principles of the evangelical and traditional deposit. In every direction in which the energies of the Church are employed, we remark a formal evolution of this institution which is in relation to the evolution of the ideas and the facts of the contemporary world. With the plastic power, which is *par excellence* the sign of her vitality, the Church adapts herself in our days to

the service of societies formed outside of herself, and often opposed to her, as she adapted herself to the feudal system, to the Renaissance, and to all the metamorphoses of its flock. Her work, sometimes, illudes the careless observer, because it goes on by processes which resemble the mysterious processes of growth and development in the higher organisms. Under the action of vital force all the atoms of our body are continually being changed and renewed, but our form and personality are in nowise modified thereby. It is in this sense that we must understand the renovation of the Church and the Papacy.

The Church and the Papacy are never in a hurry. In everything which does not concern eternity, in the domain of the contingent and the relative, her rôle is not to anticipate, but to regulate and to consecrate all the progress definitively made. Some thinkers urge, as an objection and as examples of unexplainable variation, the misfortunes of certain bold spirits, who, in the past, were blamed for having maintained political and social doctrines which were subsequently cordially received by the Vatican. These innovators had started too soon. Political truths, essentially relative, do not become complete verities and acceptable to Rome save at the moment when they appear practical, or when the circumstances of time and place clearly evince that the fruit is ripe and may be gathered. In all that concerns herself, the Church is the sole judge of this moment.

The encyclical on the condition of labor and other similar acts of Pope Leo XIII. are the official and permanent consecration of the labors and the teachings of the most devoted Catholics of this century in respect of the social question.

The first one after Ozanam, or the Viscount de Melun, to make a deep impression on Rome in this matter, was Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence. It was in 1848, when socialism appropriated all the new economic currents, that he promulgated his social evangel. His sermons, preached in the Church of St. Paul, at Frankfort, at the time of the celebrated diet; his conferences with workingmen; his book on "Christianity and Labor"; his discourses at Mayence; all his acts as bishop and statesman had this ideal: Save, emancipate the Fourth Estate by the application of the Gospel and the doctrines of St. Thomas to the economic conditions of the day.

A man of dauntless courage, comprehensive mind and noble

heart, he was at the same time a Catholic Lassalle. At one time, even, Bismarck seriously thought of making him Archbishop of Cologne, and of undertaking with him the great work of social reconstruction. The *Kulturkampf*, which the Iron Chancellor inaugurated in order to placate the national liberals, to break the power of Rome and to divide France, rendered this grandiose project illusory. Ketteler, however, did not abandon his plans. While the storms raged above the German forests he gathered about him those gallant heroes: Vogelsang, Kuefstein, Scheicher, Hitze, Joerge, Monfang, Schorlemer, Brandts, Bachem, and all that chosen band, who, even in our own day, with less *élan* and more timidity, it is true, continue to develop his ideas. At the Council of the Vatican, before the cannon of Sedan had startled Europe, the Bishop of Mayence hoped to secure official recognition of his programme, and thus bring the laboring world within the orbit of the Church. But this fondly cherished hope was not realized. "And to think"—he complained to the Archbishop of Rouen—"to think that we have not been able to utter that cry of love and sympathy to the outcasts of the century!"

But the seed which he sowed germinated. On the morrow of this same war, a representative of France took up the idea which had its birth beyond the Rhine. Supported by the teachings of Leplay and Perin, the Count de Mun, with the volcanic fire of his eloquence, continued the social crusade. He soon succeeded in rallying around himself such soldiers as La Tour du Pin, P. Pascal, M. Lorin, Abbé Noudet, Abbé Bataille, Abbé Six, M. Sabatier, and, above all, Cardinal Langénieux and M. Leon Harmel, who led to the Pope the first workingmen's pilgrimage.

At this same epoch, the Abbé Pottier, professor at Liège, in Belgium, discovered his vocation for social work. A priest and a theologian, he had a singular love for the poor, and was possessed of a judgment that was almost infallible. From the Gospel he drew forth a whole body of social doctrine, and found a sanction for his apostolate in the highest fonts of Christianity. His programme is an irrefutable, economic codification of the doctrines of the Holy Fathers and of the Doctors of the Middle Ages. In spite of all the attacks which have been directed against it, it remains impregnable. Around him also have gathered a zealous body of co-workers like the Kurths, the Levies, the de Harles, the Vetragens, and hosts of others.

Then, again, there is M. Decurtens, a layman. A born democrat, and a counsellor of the nation, he is as ardent an ultramontane as he is an imperturbable socialist. A leader of the laboring classes and a man of broad culture, erudite, eloquent, and energetic, he is endowed with not only an incomparable capacity for work, but also with an incomparable power of will.

He it was who effected in Switzerland the fusion of the labor organizations, Catholic and Protestant. He it was who induced his government to convoke an assembly of all the Estates in order to consider universal, social legislation—a project which was frustrated by William II. It is he, too, who makes periodical pilgrimages to the Vatican to engage the Holy Father to direct the social movement of our time. He has many rivals and imitators, but the noblest spirits of Helvetia are with him.

Such, in brief, is the Latino-Germanic genesis, if I may so express myself, of the encyclical.

The Anglo-Saxon race furnished the Pope with reason for action. Here appear Manning, Gibbons, Ireland and Keane, the last three of whom are better known, and more highly appreciated, in Europe than in their own country. They are men of ardor and action, always optimists, ever alert and never discouraged. Both by vocation and by environment they are leaders. Disentangled from the conventionalities of the Old World, they are more free than their European *confrères*; their faith is more pronounced and their word has the true ring of the Gospel of Christ.

As an American, I am proud that the sacred spark which set Europe and the Vatican aflame was supplied by our own favored land. In 1887, when the memorial concerning the Knights of Labor was forwarded to Rome, the Christian world still hesitated. But this document was the trumpet note which settled the issue. Rome spoke, the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was promulgated, and timid, Catholic Europe breathed a sigh of relief.

Such, then, are the origin, the character and the history of the social idea of Rome. Leo XIII. has been the grand resultant of a historical movement. It is because he was obedient to the laws of history, and because he understood the social needs of his time, that he deserves to be known forever as the Pope of the workingmen and the great high-priest of our century.

J. A. Zahm, C. S. C.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

VIII.—PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL SPLENDOR.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

THERE is one fact connected with the Second Empire which the nobodies who have lorded it over France since the Empire's fall have not been able to explain away. I allude to the unprecedented prosperity the country enjoyed during those eighteen years. All their attempted explanations to that effect are lame and more than lame; they cannot even limp along; they are positively paralyzed by subsequent facts. The impartial observer, whether he be a Frenchman or a foreigner, who happens to have lived in France under the *régime* of Napoleon III. and under that of the Third Republic cannot help pointing out that during the first-named period the peasant, and for that matter the townsman too, had his "fowl in the pot"; a condition of things which was considered by Henri IV.—not a bad king as kings went in those days—the height of a country's welfare.

The answers to such a remark come glibly enough, and in many instances they are partly epigrammatic, partly philosophical.

"That 'fowl in the pot' on which you lay so much stress," retorted a Republican, "was simply the 'goose with the golden eggs'; the nation was eating both her interest and her capital." That, I maintain, is an absolute falsehood. It could be proved over and over again, if it were necessary, that the war expenses and the war tax of five milliards of francs were paid out of the savings of the population during the previous fifteen or sixteen years, that scarcely an acre of ground was either mortgaged or sold during the two or three years after the

Treaty of Frankfort by those who invested their moneys in those loans. To adduce such proofs would lead me too far astray. I may mention, however, that in many of the smaller provincial centres those loans were almost entirely subscribed in what appeared to be newly minted gold and newly issued bank-notes, both of which tenders, though, turned out on closer examination to have been minted and issued six, seven, eight and twelve years before. The moneys had simply been lying idle during the whole of that time in the linen presses of the peasantry and the *petite bourgeoisie* in accordance with a system that has prevailed in France ever since the peasantry and *petite bourgeoisie* had something to save, a system which will not be entirely abandoned within the next century, if then. If further proofs were wanted of the unexampled prosperity of France between 1855–70, they would be found in a comparison of the reports of the Poor Law Board (*Assistance Publique*) during the Citizen Monarchy and the Third Republic with those of the Second Empire.

It would be sheer folly to pretend that there was no poverty in France during the Second Empire. But from various causes the attitude of "Fortune's favorites" towards the indigent was different from what it is to-day. The self-sufficient, pompous, quasi-virtuous big-wig of the Third Republic flatters himself that he owes his position to talents, energy, and perseverance. Though he can be lavish at times, he is rarely generous; he contents himself with being just—according to his own lights. In the majority of cases he has never had the handling of large sums of money until he wheedled himself or was pitchforked into parliament, diplomacy or office, and, what is worse for the poor, he knows his position to be insecure, and that, therefore, he must make hay while the sun shines.

It is doubtful if the big-wig of the Second Empire ever entertained those fears of relapsing into obscurity and straitened means. Whether talented or not, he was less impressed with his own "high and mightiness" than the Republican. Those whom I have known were almost inclined to laugh in their sleeves at the idea of a providential mission on the part of Queen Hortense's son, let alone at their own share in such a mission. Not a few grinned behind the backs of the worshippers at the Napoleonic shrine, but until a short time before the collapse all had great faith in the cleverness of the high priest, and above all in his

"star." And inasmuch as he, the high priest, convinced that his "star" would never fail him, gave freely, without stint, almost too lavishly, and certainly too indiscriminately, the majority of his court followed suit in that respect as in every other.*

And in spite of the Republicans' frequent assertions to that effect, Louis Napoleon's charity was *not* the result of political and dynastic calculation. It proceeded from the wish to enjoy life himself and to make every one around him enjoy it; for he was essentially the *bon-vivant* in the widest and most beneficent acceptation of the term; the *bon-vivant* whom Marivaux had in his mind's eye when he said, "*Pour être assez bon, il faut l'être trop.*" His charming ways, his amiability in all things, his disinterested generosity, his appreciation of humor, even when it was directed against himself, have never been surpassed by any monarch; and as a consequence, perhaps no monarch—Charles II. included—has contributed more to his own downfall than he. One instance of that amiability, which under the circumstances might well be called culpable neglect to checkmate his enemies in time, must suffice here. On the 3d November, 1863, Thiers and many other avowed opponents of the Empire resumed their seats at the Palais Bourbon. Morny, in his opening speech as President of the Chamber, alluded in graceful terms to the reappearance of some of his former parliamentary colleagues. "I rejoice to see them once more, and have no doubt about the loyalty of their intentions," he said. The next morning Morny paid a visit to the Emperor, who complimented him on his eloquence. "Nevertheless," added Napoleon with a smile, "it strikes me that your reference to the election of M. Thiers was a little—well, a little too intense. You are reported to have said: 'As for myself, I

*After the fall of the Empire, thousands of begging letters were found at the Tuileries, nearly all of which were annotated in the handwriting of the Emperor himself, mentioning the sums that had been sent in reply. He spent on an average £140,000 per annum in that way—thus £2,500,000 during the eighteen years of his reign. When we consider that this same man left an income of less than £5,000 to his widow, the reader will agree that the words lavish and indiscriminate are not misplaced. We are not concerned here with the private fortune of the Empress, for although it is true that she pledged her jewels in the beginning of September, 1870, in England, in order to face the immediate expenses for herself and her small band of followers, *it is by no means certain that necessity compelled that step.* With regard to the late Emperor's invincible belief in his "star," here is another proof. By his will, drawn up while he was still on the throne, everything was left to the Empress, not the smallest provision having been made for the son whom he loved with a deep-seated, almost idolatrous affection. It was because Napoleon III. felt confident that his "star" would prolong his days until he had seen that son firmly established as his successor on the throne. In that case there would have been no necessity to provide for him, and it would have been but right that the Empress should enjoy the revenues. But for that will the Prince Imperial might be alive and on the throne of his father, for he would certainly not have gone to Zululand.

rejoice, etc., etc.' Does not 'rejoice' convey a little too much?" Morny pointed out that he had referred to former colleagues with whom he had then been on the best of terms, and so forth. "Yes, yes," retorted the Emperor gaily; "I had better make up my mind to it; I am surrounded by enemies. There is no doubt about it, you are an Orleanist; decidedly, you are an Orleanist."

The note relating this incident is couched in somewhat critical terms, an unusual tone for my grand-uncles to adopt. It goes on as follows: "I do not like the way things are drifting at the Château (Tuileries). Every one there seems to be master except the master himself. Politics are discussed in the interval between two dances by men and women who have no more idea of such matters than our cook has of anatomy, dissecting and operating. I dare say our cook would indignantly refute such a charge of ignorance by triumphantly pointing to the fowl she has trussed or the joint she has trimmed, and it would be vain on my part, I suppose, to make her understand the difference between operating upon a live body and a dead one. And the Empire, though by no means a healthy body, is very much alive. A few months ago I read a book on *The French Revolution*, by an Englishman,* and one passage struck me as particularly pertinent to the present state of affairs. 'Meanwhile it is singular how long the rotten will hold together, provided you do not handle it roughly.' I am afraid those twenty-three newly elected deputies, five of whom have sat in the Chamber for the last six years, are going to handle the Empire roughly, and the mistake of the Emperor lies in his having given them a chance. He ought to have prevented their return by hook or by crook. The man who made a clean sweep of at least ten times their number twelve years ago ought not to have afforded any of them an opportunity now of making a clean sweep of him; for that, assuredly, is what they will endeavor to do.

"How long they will have to wait for such an opportunity it would be difficult to determine, but when that opportunity comes they will be ready for it. In fairness to them it should be said that they do not disguise their intentions; the noise they make in preparing their brooms—by stamping the handles on the ground in the orthodox fashion—is loud enough to awaken

* Carlyle's.

any one who is not wilfully deaf; but they are either that at the Tuileries, or else their own buffooning prevents them from hearing as well as seeing what is going on around them. From what I gather it is not easy to decide whether the latest *travestis* of Meilhac and Halévy and Offenbach are the pure outcome of these gentlemen's imaginations, or simply a faithful picture of some of the scenes enacted now and then at the Château—unless the scenes at the Château are a deliberate attempt to imitate, nay to surpass, Mdlle. Schneider, Léonce and their fellow artists. The gods, demi-gods, heroes and heroines of Homer, as portrayed by the authors of *Orphée aux Enfers* and *La Belle Hélène*, and set in motion by that truly magic music of Maître Jacques, are assuredly not more astounding to the unsophisticated, and for that matter to the sophisticated, than a great many of the warriors, clericals, *grandes dames* and *grands seigneurs* constituting the innermost circle at the Court. What, after all, is the high priest Calchas to that astonishing Abbé Bauer, the latest fad, I am told, in the way of ascetic, but at the same time elegant, Christianity? He is a convert; he was educated for the Jewish ministry, and if everything the people state be true, Judaism is well rid of him. It appears that a little while ago the abbé tried to convert Adolphe Crémieux, for Crémieux, though baptized when quite an infant, is distinctly a Jew and not a Catholic; a Jew, moreover, of whom Judaism throughout the world may well feel proud. Of course, the conversion of such a man as Crémieux, if at all feasible, could not be accomplished by an Abbé Bauer, who was more than roughly handled in the encounter. Bauer, however, in spite of his quasi-refined exterior, is a vulgarian to his fingers' ends and thick-skinned besides. Crémieux's hard hitting did not make him wince, and at the end of the interview he said: 'I am very much surprised at your views about the founder of our religion, for I really believe that you are so liberal a Jew as to have legally defended Christ if you had lived in His time.' 'That I certainly should have done,' replied Crémieux, 'and, what is more, I should have got Him acquitted —unless—unless I had been obliged to put the like of you in the witness-box for the defence.' More scathing than even this is Monseigneur Dupanloup's criticism on Abbé Bauer's first sermon before the Court. The preacher, in spite of the warnings of his superiors, had given too much prominence to the Virgin in his

address. '*Place aux dames,*' said the Bishop of Orleans. 'According to Abbé Bauer there is no God, and the Virgin Mary is His mother.'

"I may be permitted to doubt, though, whether this treatment *à l'ancien régime* of sacred subjects, or rather the reintroduction of the perfumed, theatrical, and too worldly abbé into Court circles, by which the Empress wishes to emphasize her admiration for Marie-Antoinette, her surroundings and legitimacy in general, is calculated to give the nation a very exalted opinion of their rulers. One does not want a John Knox thundering against everything, nor does one want an Abbé Bauer 'under-studying' the rôle of a Cardinal de Rohan. Monseigneur Dupanloup, notwithstanding the sally just quoted, is a highly gifted, worthy, and absolutely disinterested prelate. He is thoroughly imbued with the dignity of his sacred office, and although very militant at all times, and often abrupt and the reverse of amiable, he would not condescend to enact the buffoon, or instruct his clergy to that effect, for no matter how good a cause. He would not do evil that good might come. But a great many of his fellow-prelates do not possess the same tact and discrimination. They fulminate, or allow their clergy to fulminate, against the vices and foibles of the hour in a manner which is apt to breed as much contempt for the would-be physician as for the patient. Not long ago a parish priest, inveighing against the *can-can,* actually held up the two sides of his cassock and performed some steps in the pulpit to show his flock how the Holy Virgin danced and how they, his flock, should dance. That priest decidedly beats Calchas in *La Belle Hélène,* but there is a warrior at the Court who beats both the *curé,* the Calchas and the Agamemnon of the opéra-bouffe. This is no other than Count Tascher de la Pagerie, who imitates barn-yard fowls, the sun and the moon, by making idiotic grimaces at the command of his imperial mistress, and who is 'trotted out' on all occasions for the amusement of visitors. Count Tascher does not think it incompatible with his rank in the army, his relationship to the Emperor and his position of Chamberlain to the Empress to oblige in that way. He is prouder of those accomplishments than of his birth, the brave deeds of his father, and of everything else besides. After that, people need not wonder at Gustave Doré's performing somersaults and standing on his head for his own amusement, and at his announced in-

tention of abandoning his own career, in which he has already won much fame, for that of Auriol, the clown.

"And it is more than probable that in the intervals of his clowning, this same Count Tascher pretends to lend a hand in the steering of the 'ship of State,' for the Tuileries is fast becoming a '*cour du roi Pétaud et chacun y parle haut.*'*

"The worst of it is that those whose very existence as a body depends upon their unquestioning obedience and abstention from comment until such comment is invited are becoming infected with the prevailing mania for laying down the law on every conceivable subject. When I say 'becoming infected' I put it mildly; in reality they have set the example—I mean the army. I have seen enough of soldiering to know the inestimable value of silent obedience to the orders of one's superiors. The order may be wrong, and tantamount to a death sentence to its recipient; he is bound to carry it out to the letter. And yet, with the examples of Lords Lucan and Cardigan at Balaclava before them, French officers will go on discussing orders, not only from a military point of view but from a political.

"One instance in point will suffice. The delinquent is gone, and peace be to his ashes! for he was a brave and honorable soldier. But his well-known bravery and uprightness, and, above all, his position near the Emperor as aide-de-camp, called for more circumspection on General de Cotte's part than he exercised on the occasion alluded to. The thing happened a few evenings before the Emperor's departure for the Franco-Austrian war. General de Cotte was on duty at the time, and after dinner went down to the smoking-room set apart for the military and civil household. 'The thing is settled,' he said aloud, lighting a cigarette; 'in a day or two we shall be on our way to Italy, unless Providence and the Lunacy Commissioners stop us at the first stage at Charenton.'† Half an hour later the general went upstairs to the Empress's drawing-room. He had scarcely entered

* In olden times the mendicants, in imitation of the guilds, corporations, and communities in France, annually elected a king, who took the title of King Pétaud, from the Latin *peto*. In *Tartuffe*, Orgon's mother compares her son's house to the court of King Pétaud. "*On n'y respecte rien, chacun y parle haut*," she says.

† Charenton is the well-known madhouse just outside Paris. At the news of the declaration of war in 1870 Prince Napoleon made a similar remark. He was on his way to the East with Ernest Renan. "Reverse your engines," he said to the master of the yacht; "we are going back." "Where to, monseigneur?" was the question. "To Charenton." The reply was quoted as something spitefully witty and original. It was spiteful, but not original.

the apartment when the Emperor came up to him with a smile. 'My dear general,' he remarked, quietly, 'I have too much respect for the opinion of others, even when they are diametrically opposed to mine, to ask people to fight battles the causes for which they do not approve. You will remain in Paris with the Empress.'

"That did not suit the general's book at all; but he did not utter a word in defence, he only bowed. He was, in fact, too astonished at his comment having reached the ears of the Emperor so soon. As far as he was aware, no servant had entered the room while he was there. He was, then, reluctantly compelled to conclude that an equal had played the part of tell-tale; and that alone would convey a fair idea of the code of honor that obtains among the immediate *entourage* of the sovereigns. Nevertheless, he was not going to be left out of the fighting, so on the 14th of May he simply had his horses and baggage taken to the Imperial train, selected a seat in an empty compartment, and only showed his face at Marseilles. The Emperor merely smiled and held out his hand. This is a sample of the Emperor's amiability, of his willingness to let bygones be bygones."

My notes contain a hundred similar anecdotes, all tending to show that the Emperor was *too* good-natured; and I shall have no difficulty in proving, when the time comes, that this excessive *laissez-faire* finally caused his ruin.

As yet, however, the cloud on the horizon is not bigger than a hand, and certainly not visible to the naked eye. And France is too busy enjoying herself to scan the sky with a spyglass. She does not even enact the fable of the hare with the telescope; she remains profoundly ignorant of the approach of her enemy. France resounds with laughter, and above it all rings that modern version of Rabelais' "*Fay ce que vouldras*," viz., the chorus of Thérésa's song, "*Rien n'est sacré pour un sapeur*," which chorus paints the moral atmosphere in one line.

For the sapper stood not alone in his irreverence for any and everything. He simply took his cue from those above him, from educated and talented men who deliberately mocked at "the whole world and his wife," including the sovereign and his consort, the former of whom they not only slighted in his private capacity, but as the chief of the State. Rochefort, at a later period, had at any rate the courage to attack openly; the par-

tisans of the d' Orléans *régime* lacked that courage. They sailed as close to the wind as they dared without risking penalties. Strange to say, though, the worst blows to the Emperor's dignity came from the Emperor's friends and *protégés*, and were dealt in fun—"*histoire de s'amuser et d' amuser les autres.*" They came in the shape of practical jokes at which Society roared and the victim himself, who was rarely seen to smile, laughed outright.

On the face of it, the jokes perpetrated by "Napoleon III.'s double," as Eugène Vivier was called, may appear trivial. But the startling likeness of the famous cornet-player to the Emperor which made those jokes possible had its influence, nevertheless, on the Emperor personally, and gave rise to the most absurd stories during the heyday of the Empire, and above all at its fall; which stories only tended to diminish the Emperor's prestige.

"Paris is ringing again with another exploit of Vivier," says my note. "This time he has impersonated the Emperor at a supper at Mme. de Païva's and to such good purpose that several of her guests who frequently see and talk to his Majesty were completely taken in. It would appear that about a week ago the Emperor and the Empress were at the Italian opera, where Mme. de Païva's box faces that of their Majesties, and that the glare of the footlights hurt her Majesty's eyes. There was no screen in the Imperial box, and the Empress had only her fan to keep off the heat.* The Emperor remarked quitè casually on the inconvenience to one of his aides-de-camp, saying, 'Mme. de Païva is better off than we are; look, what a beautiful Japanese screen she has!' The aide-de-camp in question happened to be on friendly terms with Mme. de Païva, and paid her a visit between the acts. Quite as casually as the Emperor he remarked upon the beauty of the screen, adding that the Emperor would be pleased to have a similar one for the Empress. Thereupon, Mme. de Païva unfastens the screen in question, hands it to her visitor, and bids him offer it to the Emperor with her respectful compliments for the use of the Empress. The aide-de-camp, though considerably embarrassed, dare not refuse the offer, and makes his way to the Imperial box with the screen, which he quietly adjusts in front of the Empress, who, however, sweeps it contemptuously out of her way. The Empress has not got her temper under sufficient control, and often allows it to get the better of her in public; under

* Fans were very small in those days; the large ones date from much later.

such circumstances the Emperor invariably pours oil upon the troubled waters, and he did so in this instance. He picked up the screen, and with a smile placed it in front of himself; and inasmuch as Mme. de Païva had narrowly watched the scene from the other side of the house, he considered himself bound to go and thank her personally the next day or the day after. For that part of the story I will, however, not vouch. I am under the impression that it is a pure fabrication, whether of Mme. de Païva herself or of some of her familiars I am unable to say. Both are equally inventive, and the rumor was evidently set afloat in order to find a basis for the next scene in which Vivier was to play his part. For even if one admits that the Emperor paid the alleged visit, his Majesty would certainly not have followed it up by inviting himself or accepting an invitation to a supper at Mme. de Païva's—at any rate not to a supper in company with a half-score of guests, not one of whom is particularly famed for the art of holding his tongue.

"Be this is as it may, the supper with the carefully 'prepared' entrance of Vivier, took place and has furnished fresh gossip for at least a week. Practically, the Emperor is powerless to prevent those things; he can neither send Vivier into exile nor condemn him to wear a mask, but there was no necessity to invite Vivier to the Tuileries and to have the performance repeated for the delectation of all and sundry, as the Emperor has done.

"The fact is, Vivier is *persona grata* with Louis Napoleon for a far different reason than people suspect. To begin with, Vivier is a Corsican; secondly, many years ago Vivier gave unsolicited testimony to Louis Napoleon's legitimacy, which has been so often called in question, and on which the Emperor is so exceedingly sensitive. It happened in 1844, while Vivier was giving some performances in London. One day he met a countryman of his with the name of Ceccaldi, who told him that Prince Louis was in London, and that he (Vivier) ought to pay his respects to him. 'Come to the French Theatre to-night and I will present you,' said Ceccaldi. At that time Vivier had never set eyes on the Prince, but the moment he entered the theatre he pointed him out to his companion. 'How do you know?' asked Ceccaldi; 'you have never seen him before.' 'No,' was the reply, 'but I recognized him at once by the like-

ness to his father, to whom I was presented at Pisa.' Then there is the truly startling likeness between the Emperor and Vivier himself. Although it has already led to much mischief, *and may lead to further mischief*,* the Emperor, with his 'big heart,' his somewhat too active imagination, and his fatalism, is almost convinced that Vivier's existence is more or less bound up with his own.

"Thus we have the Jester in Ordinary to the Court, *i. e.*, Count Tascher; the Jester who performs 'by command,' namely, Eugène Vivier; and we have also the *corps de ballet* and the *corps dramatique*, for now and again there are choregraphic and other entertainments, generally arranged by the Princesse von Metternich, who enjoys herself at the Tuileries as she probably would not be allowed to enjoy herself at the Hofburg. The daughter of the famous Count Szandor, who by the by was as mad as a March hare (I mean the father), does not think it necessary to observe the same strict rules of etiquette towards the grandson of a Corsican lawyer and his wife, she would be bound to observe towards a Hapsburg and his spouse, herself a Princesse des Deux-Ponts-Birkenfeld. And to make the resemblance to the ordinary theatre complete, the noble and aristocratic ballerinas quarrel among themselves just like *rats de l'opéra*, issued from *concierges* and cabmen, and would come to blows now and then, like the humbler-born dancers, but for the timely intervention of the Empress."

"Is it a wonder, then, that the Païvas, the Skittles, the Cora Pearls, and the rest shrug their shoulders and smile, nay, laugh outright, at the mention of some of those *grandes dames de par le monde*. I doubt whether many of those *déclassées* be very witty; nevertheless, they are credited now and then with saying things which are worthy of a Ninon de l'Enclos and Rochefoucauld—although I strongly suspect that some of the clever literary men and journalists among their familiars are mainly responsible for the epigrammatic form of those remarks. This is perhaps another instance of 'Nemesis at work again,' for if in the beginning of the Empire the papers had been allowed a certain latitude

* I feel convinced that there was no prophetic intent to the words I have underlined in the above note. Nevertheless, after the fall of Sedan there were hundreds of people in France, and above all in Paris, who said that the Emperor was not at Wilhelmshohe at all, that Vivier had been sent for in hot haste and had taken his place. Absurd as was the story, it was encouraged by the Republicans, who saw in it a means of still further damaging the Emperor's prestige.

in their comments upon matters political, the writers would not have been obliged to make themselves the assiduous chroniclers of the *faits et gestes* of that particular section of society in order to live. As it is, those records have become a permanent feature and will probably not disappear, however much the stringent rules with regard to political comment be relaxed in the future. At present there appears to be a tendency in the other direction, and the Emperor—who I feel persuaded is liberally inclined—does not know which course to adopt in consequence of the multiplicity of his counsellors, not two of whom appear to be agreed as to the degree of liberty to be granted, and all of whom—not to mince words—are making fools of themselves.

"Of course, the Cora Pearls, the Skittles, the Païvas, and the rest are only too delighted at all this, and confident of the support of their friends the journalists have entered into open rivalry with the Court beauties—again, of course, on the only ground where such rivalry was possible, namely, Longchamps, the Bois de Boulogne, the Champs-Elysées, and the theatres. Mdme. de Païva's boxes at the Opéra and at the Italiens are more luxuriously appointed than those of the Emperor and Empress; her diamonds are more costly than the latter's; Skittles's pony-chaise, with its pair of black cobs, and its two grooms on coal-black cattle behind, beats anything and everything from the Imperial stables; Cora Pearl's turn-out throws everything into the shade except Skittles's; the two latter cut a better figure on horseback than either the Comtesse de Pourtales, Mme. de Gallifet, Mme. de Contades, or Mme. de Persigny; they have only two equals in that respect—the Empress and Mme. de Metternich. Their carriage-horses, hacks and hunters look better, are better bred and broken in than the best elsewhere, and need not fear comparison with those provided by General Fleury for the use of her Majesty. As may be readily imagined, her Majesty is not particularly pleased. Fleury admits that there is cause for displeasure, but professes himself unable to alter the state of things."

By that time I was a young man of over twenty, and had paid several visits to London in the season, which enabled me to appreciate the difference—of course from a merely amateurish point of view—between the two capitals in the matter of horseflesh and conveyances. Well, the trained and severely critical eye of the real connoisseur would have unquestionably

awarded the palm for merit to the simple elegance in the Row and the Ladies' Mile; to the uninitiated the spectacle in the Avenue de l'Impératrice (at present the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne) would have appealed with greater effect. It was more showy; nevertheless, it was very beautiful, and the Parisians had, from what I was told, never seen anything like it.

The recollection in the shape of mental pictures has remained bright and vivid throughout these many, many years. I have no need to refer to notes to reconstruct the scenes; in fact, I have no notes bearing on that subject. I have simply to sit still and let the pictures uprise before me. The backgrounds are almost invariably the same; it is either the Arc de Triomphe standing like a grey pawn against a deep blue sky or the masses of dark green of the Bois apparently forming an impenetrable barrier at the end of the Avenue de l'Impératrice.

The first in the field is generally Mme. Feuillant with her two charming daughters, mere girls at that period. The whole of the turn-out is absolutely perfect, from an artistic point of view—I am not quite so sure about the other point—from the small heads of the two big black steppers, with large tufts of Parma violets at their headstalls, to the hood which appears to do duty as a storehouse for similar bouquets large and small. Violets predominate in the whole of the arrangement; they are conspicuous in the bonnet of Mme. Feuillant herself—a bonnet with a vallance, and which enframes the face like a portrait; the footman and coachman have hugh nosegays of violets, the tint of which harmonizes admirably with the collars and cuffs of their dark green liveries.

More conspicuous was the carriage of Mme. de Metternich. It was yellow, and yellow had almost entirely disappeared in those days, to be revived, however, later on. But in the early sixties only Mmes. de Gallifet, de Jancourt, and the Austrian Ambassadress patronized that colour.

Then came Rothschilds' turn-outs, always more remarkable for their magnificent horses than for the beauty of their carriages, and hard upon them the landau of Mdlle. Schneider, who as yet was not the Duchesse de Gérolstein, but simply La Belle Hélène.

Between half-past four and five there was generally a slight stir of expectation among the occupants of "la Plage," better

known to-day as "le Cercle des Décavés." In a little while there appeared on the horizon four troopers of some crack regiment of the Imperial Guards, flanked by a corporal, and immediately afterwards came the carriage of the little Prince Imperial followed by a captain's escort of the same regiment. To the left of the carriage rode the officer in charge, with a trumpeter by his side; to the right M. Bachon, the Prince's riding master and equerry, in a gold-embroidered green tunic, cocked hat with black feathers, white breeches, and jack-boots. About that period, however, M. Bachon's office was an absolute sinecure, the Prince having met with an accident which disabled him for many, many months from mounting his ponies, and the cause of which accident subsequently became also the cause of his premature and sad death in Zululand.*

Shortly afterwards came the Emperor in his phæton, without an escort of any kind, and only his aide-de-camp by his side. The pace of his Orloff's, which had cost 40,000 francs, was remarkable and somewhat dangerous to those who got in their way, for every now and then, and up to the last, the Imperial whip, forgetting that he was in France and not in England, mistook his nearside for his offside. Not once, but a dozen times, have I heard the indignant Jehu exclaim: "Where is he going to, the brute? Where did he learn to drive?" Though no man looked better on horseback than Napoleon III., he left off riding almost immediately after he ascended the throne, except on special occasions, such as reviews and at Compiègne while out hunting. Already at that time the Emperor had his horses broken in by M. Faverol de Kerbrech, just as he had his new boots worn by his barber. Then came the Empress in her elegant calèche drawn by four bays with postilions, outrider, and grooms, in green and gold, the first-named wearing jockeys' caps half hidden by the golden fringe of the tassels.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be Continued.*)

APPENDIX TO PART VIII.

This is a note I made on the day the particulars of the Prince's death came to hand. The note was written entirely from memory, but I feel certain that all my facts are correct. "Several of the Prince's little playfellows had a foreign (English?) riding-master who knew nothing of the classical

* See Appendix to this Chapter.

traditions of the French school, and who taught his pupils things which M. Bachon, the Prince's riding-master, was probably unable and certainly unwilling to teach his. M. Bachon had been second master to the celebrated M. d'Aure, in Paris, afterwards he had taught at Saumur. M. d'Aure, however, though a most brilliant horseman himself, had not founded a school of horsemanship. He was what I should call a brilliant equestrian improvisator rather than a sterling teacher. M. Bachon was an excellent riding-master, and that was all. He had none of the flashes of genius of his chief. He taught the Prince to ride perfectly broken-in ponies, and tacitly discountenanced all showy riding and tricks. And the showy riding and tricks were exactly what the little lad seemed to like most. Fired by the example of his playmates, who vaulted in the saddle while their tiny mounts were going at a galop, jumped down again, and repeated the feat over and again in spite of their frequent tumbles, the Prince tried to do the same, and one summer evening at Saint Cloud, while the Emperor was looking on, his son came heavily to the ground. He was up again in a moment, and there was no sign that he was badly or even slightly hurt. Had there been such a sign, the Emperor would have been too seriously alarmed to countenance for a single moment the continuation of the game, for assuredly no man ever loved his child better than Louis Napoleon loved his. The boy returned that affection a hundred fold, and it was this sweet trait in his character that caused him to hide his pain, for he fancied his father was annoyed with him for his inferiority to his play-fellows. Was his father annoyed, and did he show his annoyance? I cannot say. Certain it is that the little Prince went on vaulting; young as he was he would not be beaten.

"I know of a similar case of perseverance in his father's life. One severe winter while he was staying at Leamington there was a great deal of skating, and one of the favorite games was to jump over an upturned chair while going at a great pace. Prince Louis attempted the feat several times without success, coming down each time with a tremendous crash that made the lookers-on stare. He would not give in, though, and finally conquered the difficulty.

"To come back to the little Prince, who, after that night went on taking his riding lessons, but so languidly that M. Bachon began to reproach him with laziness. Instead of jumping into the saddle as he was wont to do, he had to be assisted, and in a little while bodily lifted on to his pony. M. Bachon, as yet ignorant of what happened, peremptorily bade him one day to place his foot into the stirrup, and then it all came out. Intensely frightened, the riding-master immediately communicated with the Emperor, who only remembered his son's fall in connection with his pluck. For months and months the child suffered and never mounted his ponies. He recovered gradually, but the habit he had contracted of hoisting himself into the saddle by means of his hands clung to him. Many of his friends in England could bear testimony to this. It was the cause of his death in Zululand. Trusting to his skill, he attempted to jump on to his horse which was already in motion; the holster, of which he caught hold for the purpose, gave way, and he was left to face the foe by himself. A. D. V.

GUESSES AT THE RIDDLE OF EXISTENCE.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

NEVER before has the intellect of man been brought so directly face to face with the mystery of existence as it is now. Some veil of religious tradition has always been interposed. At the beginning of this century most minds still rested in the Mosaic cosmogony and the Noachic deluge. Greek speculation was free, and its freedom makes it an object of extreme interest to us at the present time. But it was not intensely serious ; it was rather the intellectual amusement of a summer day in Academe beneath the whispering plane.

No one who reads and thinks freely can doubt that the cosmogonical and historical foundations of traditional belief have been sapped by science and criticism. When the crust shall fall in appears to be a question of time, and the moment can hardly fail to be one of peril ; not least in the United States, where education is general and opinion spreads rapidly over an even field, with no barriers to arrest its sweep..

Ominous symptoms already appear. Almost all the churches have trouble with heterodoxy and are trying clergymen for heresy. Quite as significant seems the growing tendency of the pulpit to concern itself less with religious dogma and more with the estate of man in his present world. It is needless to say what voices of unbelief outside the churches are heard and how high are the intellectual quarters from which they come. Christian ethics still in part retain their hold. So does the Church as a social centre and a reputed safeguard of social order. But faith in the dogmatic creed and the history is waxing faint. Ritualism itself seems to betray the need of a new stimulus and to be in some measure an æsthetic substitute for spiritual religion.

Dogmatic religion may be said to have received a fatal wound

three centuries ago, when the Ptolemaic system was succeeded by the Copernican, and the real relation of the earth to the universe was disclosed. Dogmatic religion is geocentric. It assumes that our earth is the centre of the universe, the primary object of divine care, and the grand theatre of divine administration. The tendency was carried to the height of travesty when an insanely ultramontane party at Rome meditated, as, if we may believe Dr. Pusey, it did, the declaration of a hypostatic union of the Pope and the Holy Ghost. But it was in Byzantine or mediæval theosophy that the travesty had its source. The effect of the blow dealt by Copernicus was long suspended, but it is fully felt now that the kingdom of science is come, and the bearings of scientific discovery are generally known. When daylight gives place to starlight we are transported from the earth to the universe, and to the thoughts which the contemplation of the universe begets. "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?" is the question that then rises in our minds. Is it possible that so much importance as the creeds imply can attach to this tiny planet and to the little drama of humanity? We might be half inclined to think that man has taken himself too seriously and that in the humorous part of our nature, overlooked by philosophy, is to be found the key to his mystery. The feeling is enhanced when we consider that we have no reason for believing that our senses are exhaustive, however much Science, with her telescopes, microscopes, and spectroscopes, may extend their range. We cannot tell that we are not like the sightless denizens of the Mammoth Cave, unconsciously living in the midst of wonders and glories beyond our ken.

Nor has the natural theology of the old school suffered from free criticism much less than revelation. Optimism of the orthodox kind seems no longer possible. Christianity itself, indeed, is not optimistic. It represents the earth as cursed for man's sake, ascribing the curse to primeval sin, and the prevalence of evil in the moral world as not only great but permanent, since those who enter the gate of eternal death are many, while those who enter the gate of eternal life are few. Natural theology of the optimistic school and popular religion have thus been at variance with each other. The old argument from design is now met with the answer that we have nothing with which to compare this world, and therefore, cannot tell whether it was possible

for it to be other than it is. Mingled with the signs of order, science discloses apparent signs of disorder, miscarriage, failure, wreck, and waste. Our satellite, so far as we can see, is either a miscarriage or a wreck. Natural selection by a struggle for existence, protracted through countless ages, with the painful extinction of the weaker members of the race, and even of whole races, is hardly the course which benevolence, such as we conceive it, combined with omnipotence, would be expected to take. If in the case of men suffering is discipline, though this can hardly be said when infants die or myriads are indiscriminately swept off by plague, in the case of animals, which are incapable of discipline and have no future life, it can be nothing but suffering; and it often amounts to torture. The evil passions of men, with all the miseries and horrors which they have produced, are a part of human nature, which itself is a part of creation. Through the better parts of human nature and what there is of order, beneficence, majesty, tenderness, and beauty in the universe, a spirit is felt appealing to ours, and a promise seems to be conveyed. But if omnipotence and benevolence are to meet, it must apparently be at a point at present beyond our ken. These are the perplexities which obtrude themselves on a scientific age.

What is man? Whence comes he? Whither goes he? In the hands of what power is he? What are the character and designs of that power? These are questions which, now directly presented to us, are of such overwhelming magnitude that we almost wonder at the zeal and heat which other questions, such as party politics, continue to excite. The interest felt in them, however, is daily deepening, and an attentive audience is assured to anyone who comes forward with a solution, however crude, of the mystery of existence. Attentive audiences have gathered round Mr. Kidd, Mr. Drummond, and Mr. Balfour, each of whom has a theory to propound. Mr. Kidd's work has had special vogue, and the compliments which its author pays to Professor Weismann have been reciprocated by that luminary of science.

Mr. Drummond undertakes to reconcile, and more than reconcile, our natural theology and our moral instincts to the law of evolution. His title, *The Ascent of Man*, is not new; probably it has been used by more than one writer before; nor is he the first to point out that the humble origin of the human species, instead of dejecting, ought to encourage us, since the

being who has risen from an ape to Socrates and Newton may hope to rise still higher in the future, if not by further physical development, which physiology seems to bar by pronouncing the brain unsusceptible of further organic improvement, yet by intellectual and moral effort. Mr. Drummond treats his subject with great brilliancy of style and adorns it with very interesting illustrations. Not less firmly than Voltaire's optimist persuaded himself that this was the best of all possible worlds, he has persuaded himself that evolution was the only right method of creation. He ultimately identifies it with love. The cruelties incidental to it he palliates with a complacency which sometimes provokes a smile. All of them seem to him comparatively of little account, inasmuch as the struggle for existence was to lead up to the struggle for the existence of others, in other words, to the production of maternity and paternity, with the altruism, as he terms it, or, as we have hitherto termed it, the affection, attendant on those relations. To reconcile us to the sufferings of the vanquished in the struggle he dilates on "the keenness of its energies, the splendor of its stimulus, its bracing effect on character, its wholesome lessons throughout the whole range of character." "Without the vigorous weeding of the imperfect," he says, "the progress of the world would not have been possible." Pleasant reading this for "the imperfect"!

"If fit and unfit indiscriminately had been allowed to live and reproduce their kind, every improvement which any individual might acquire would be degraded to the common level in the course of a few generations. Progress can only start by one or two individuals shooting ahead of their species; and their life-gain can only be conserved by their being shut off from their species—or by their species being shut off from them. Unless shut off from their species their acquisition will either be neutralized in the course of time by the swamping effect of inter-breeding with the common herd, or so diluted as to involve no real advance. The only chance for evolution, then, is either to carry off these improved editions into 'physiological isolation,' or to remove the unimproved editions by wholesale death. The first of these two alternatives is only occasionally possible; the second always. Hence the death of the unevolved, or of the unadapted in reference to some new and higher relation with environment, is essential to the perpetuation of a useful variation."

This reasoning, with much more to the same effect, is plainly a limitation of omnipotence, and supposes that the ruling power of the universe could attain its end only at the expense of wholesale carnage and suffering; which cannot be glozed over, and which, as the weakness was not the fault of the weak, but of their

Maker, is in apparently irreconcilable conflict with our human notions of benevolence and justice.

This, however, is not all. We might, comparatively speaking, be reconciled to Mr. Drummond's plan of creation if all the carnage and suffering could be shown to be necessary or even conducive to the great end of giving birth to humanity and love. But Mr. Drummond himself has to admit that natural selection by no means invariably works in the direction of progress; that in the case of parasites it has consummated almost utter degradation. The phenomena of parasites and entozoa, with the needless torments which they inflict, appear irreconcilable with any optimistic theory of the direction of suffering and destruction to a paramount and compensating end. Not only so, but all the extinct races except those which are in the line leading up to man and may be numbered among his progenitors, must, apparently, upon Mr. Drummond's hypothesis, have suffered and perished in vain. That "a price, a price in pain, and assuredly sometimes a very terrible price," has been paid for the evolution of the world, after all is said, Mr. Drummond admits to be certain. But he holds it indisputable that even at the highest estimate the thing bought with that price was none too dear, inasmuch as it was nothing less than the present progress of the world. So he thinks we "may safely leave Nature to look after her own ethic." Probably we might if all the pain was part of the price. But we are distinctly told that it was not; so that there is much of it in which, with our present lights or any that Mr. Drummond is able to afford us, men can hardly help thinking that they see the ruthless operation of blind chance. Nature, being a mere abstraction, has no ethic to look after; nor has Evolution, which is not a power, but a method, though it is personified, we might almost say deified, by its exponent. But if there is not some higher authority which looks after ethic, what becomes of the ethic of man? The most inhuman of vivisectors, if he could show that his practice really led, or was at all likely to lead, to knowledge, would have a better plea than, in the case of suffering and destruction which have led to nothing, the philosophy of evolution can by itself put in for the Author of our being.

Mr. Drummond's treatise, like those of other evolutionists, at least of the optimistic school, assumes the paramount value of the type, and the rightfulness of sacrificing individuals without limit

to its perfection and preservation. But this assumption surely requires to be made good, both to our intellects and to our hearts. The ultimate perfection and preservation of the type cannot, so far as we see, indemnify the individuals who have perished miserably in the preliminary stages. Besides, what is the probable destiny of the type itself? Science appears to tell us pretty confidently that the days of our planet, however many they may be, are numbered, and that it is doomed at last to fall back into primeval chaos, with all the types which it may contain. Far from having an individual interest in the evolution of the type, the sufferers of the ages before Darwin had not even the clear idea of a type for their consolation. Evolutionists, in their enthusiasm for the species, are apt to bestow little thought on the sentient members of which it consists. "Man" is a mere generalization. This they forget, and speak as if all men personally shared the crown of the final heirs of human civilization. The following passage is an instance :—

"Science is charged, be it once more recalled, with numbering Man among the beasts, and levelling his body with the dust. But he who reads for himself the history of creation as it is written by the hand of Evolution will be overwhelmed by the glory and honor heaped upon this creature. To be a Man, and to have no conceivable successor; to be the fruit and crown of the long-past eternity, and the highest possible fruit and crown; to be the last victor among the decimated phalanxes of earlier existences, and to be nevermore defeated; to be the best that Nature in her strength and opulence can produce; to be the first of the new order of beings who, by their dominion over the lower world and their equipment for a higher, reveal that they are made in the Image of God—to be this is to be elevated to a rank in Nature more exalted than any philosophy or any poetry or any theology has ever given to man. Man was always told that his place was high; the reason for it he never knew till now; he never knew that his title deeds were the very laws of Nature, that he alone was the Alpha and Omega of Creation, the beginning and the end of Matter, the final goal of Life."

To be the last victor among the decimated phalanxes of earliest existences, and to be nevermore defeated, is, to say the least, a different sort of satisfaction from the glorious triumph of love in which the process of Evolution, according to Mr. Drummond, ends, and in virtue of which he proclaims that Evolution is nothing but the Involution of love, the revelation of Infinite Spirit, the Eternal Life returning to itself. It even reminds us a little of the unamiable belief that in the next world the sight of the wicked in torment will be a part of the enjoyment of the righteous. Perhaps there is also a touch of lingering geocentri-

cism in this rapturous exaltation of Man. Evolution can give us no assurance that there are not in other planets creatures no less superior to man than he is to the lower tribes upon this earth.

The crown of evolution in Mr. Drummond's system is the evolution of a mother, accompanied by that of a father, which, however, appears to be inferior in degree. The chapters on this subject are more than philosophy; they are poetry, soaring almost into rhapsody. "The goal," Mr. Drummond says, "of the whole plant and animal kingdoms seems to have been the creation of a family which the very naturalist has to call mammals." The following passage is the climax :

"But by far the most vital point remains. For we have next to observe how this bears directly on the theme we set out to explore—the Evolution of Love. The passage from mere Otherism, in the physiological sense, to Altruism, in the moral sense, occurs in connection with the due performance of her natural task by her to whom the Struggle for the Life of Others is assigned. That task, translated into one great word, is Maternity—which is nothing but the Struggle for the Life of Others transfigured to the moral sphere. Focused in a single human being, this function, as we rise in history, slowly begins to be accompanied by those heaven-born psychical states which transform the femaleness of the older order into the Motherhood of the new. When one follows Maternity out of the depths of lower Nature, and beholds it ripening in quality as it reaches the human sphere, its character, and the character of the processes by which it is evolved, appear in their full divinity. For of what is maternity the mother? Of children? No; for these are the mere vehicle of its spiritual manifestation. Of affection between female and male? No; for that, contrary to accepted beliefs, has little to do in the first instance with sex-relations. Of what then? Of Love itself, of Love as Love, of Love as Life, of Love as Humanity, of Love as the pure and undefiled fountain of all that is eternal in the world. In the long stillness which follows the crisis of Maternity, witnessed only by the new and helpless life which is at once the last expression of the older function and the unconscious vehicle of the new, Humanity is born."

The father seems to be here shut out from the apotheosis; though why, except from a sort of philosophic gallantry, it is difficult to discern. The man who toils from morning till night to support wife and child surely has not less to do with it than the woman who feeds the child from her breast.

Somewhat paradoxical as it may seem, Mr. Drummond maintains that love did not come from lovers. It was not they that bestowed this gift upon the world. It was the first child, "till whose appearance man's affection was non-existent, woman's was frozen; and man did not love the woman, and woman did not love the man." Apparently, then, in a childless couple there can

be no love. Here, according to Mr. Drummond, is the birth of Altruism, for which all creation has travailed from the beginning of time. This appears to him a satisfactory solution of the problem of existence. Yet the races which have been sacrificed to the production of altruism, if they were critical and could find a voice, might ask if there was anything totally unselfish in the indulgence of the sexual passion, which after all plays its part in the matter, and of which the birth of a child is the unavoidable, not perhaps always the welcome, consequence. To the mother the child is necessary for a time in order to relieve her of a physical secretion; while it repays her care by its endearments, the enjoyment of which is altruistic only on the irrational hypothesis that affection and domesticity are not parts of self. To both parents, in the primitive state at all events, children are necessary as the support and protection of old age. Beautiful and touching parental affection is; pure altruism it is not. Very admirable, as a part of man's estate, it is; but we can hardly accept its appearance as a sufficient justification of all that has been suffered in the process of evolution or as a solution of the mystery of existence. It is curious that Mr. Drummond should place the happiest scene of female development and all that depends on it in the country where divorces are most common and the increase of their number is most rapid. He may have noted, too, that in that same country and among higher civilized races families are proportionately small and fewer women become mothers.

Then put the mammalia as high as we will in the scale of being, they are mortal. Evolution tells us complacently that death is necessary to the progress of the species. It may be so; but what is that to the individual? The more intense and exalted affection, whether conjugal or parental, is, the more heart-rending is the thought of the parting which any day and any one of a thousand accidents may bring, while it is sure to come after a few years. Pleasure and happiness are different things. Pleasure may be enjoyed for the moment without any thought of the future. The condemned criminal may enjoy it, and, it seems, does not uncommonly enjoy it in eating his last meal. But happiness appears to be hardly possible without a sense of security, much less with annihilation always in sight. The oracle to which we are listening has told us nothing about a life beyond the present. It is needless to say how much the character of that

question has been altered since the corporeal origin and relations of our mental faculties, and of what theology calls the soul, have been apparently disclosed by science. The thought of conscious existence without end is one which makes the mind, as it were, ache, and under which imagination reels; yet the thought of annihilation is not welcome, nor has it, up to this time, been distinctly faced by man. If ever it should be distinctly faced, its influence on life and action can hardly fail to be felt. Is the evolutionary optimist himself content to believe that nothing will survive the wreck, inevitable, if science is to be trusted, of this world?

To say that a particular solution of a difficulty is incomplete is not to say that the difficulty is insoluble or even to pronounce the particular solution worthless. Mr. Drummond's solution may be incomplete, and yet it may have value. The only moral excellence of which we have any experience or can form a distinct idea, is that produced by moral effort. If we try to form an idea of moral excellence unproduced by effort, the only result is seraphic insipidity. This may seem to afford a glimpse of possible reconciliation between evolution and our moral instincts. If upward struggle towards perfection, rather than perfection created by fiat, is the law of the universe, we may see in it, at all events, something analogous to the law of our moral nature.

Mr. Kidd's work was criticised in detail in the last number of this REVIEW by the vigorous pen of Mr. Roosevelt. His theory is that man owes his progress to his having acted against his reason in obedience to a supernatural and extra-rational sanction of action which is identified with religion. The interest of the individual and that of society, Mr. Kidd holds to be radically opposed to each other. Reason bids the individual prefer his own interest. The supernatural and extra-rational sanction bids him prefer the interest of society, which is assumed to be paramount, and thus civilization advances. The practical conclusion is that the churches are the greatest instruments of human progress.

What does Mr. Kidd mean by reason? He appears to regard it as a special organ or faculty, capable of being contradicted by another faculty, as one sense sometimes for a moment contradicts another sense, or as our senses are corrected by our intelligence

in the case of the apparent motion of the sun. But our reason is the sum of all the faculties and powers which lead us to conviction or guide us in action. To be misled by it when weak or perverted is very possible; to act consciously against it is not. Simeon Stylites obeys it as well as Sardanapalus or Jay Gould. He believes, however absurdly, that the Deity accepts the sacrifice of self-torture, and that it will be well for the self-torturer in the sum of things. His self-torture is therefore in accordance with his reason. A supernatural sanction, supposing its reality to be proved, becomes a part of the *data* on which reason acts, or rather it becomes, for the occasion, the sole *datum;* and to obey it, instead of being unreasonable, is the most reasonable thing in the world. Misled by his reason, we repeat, to any extent a man may be, both in matters speculative and practical; but he can no more think or act outside of his reason, that is, the entirety of his impressions and inducements, than he can jump out of his skin. What Mr. Kidd seems at bottom to mean is that we may and do, with the best results, prefer social to individual, and moral to material, objects. But this is a totally different thing from acting against reason, and while it requires a certain elevation of character, it requires no extra-rational motive.

Mr. Kidd speaks of "reason" and the capacity for acting with his fellows in society as "two new forces which made their advent with man." He cannot mean, what his words might be taken to imply, that the rudiments of reason are not discernible in brutes, or that sociability does not prevail in the herd, the swarm, and the hive. To the herd, the swarm, and the hive sacrifices of the individual animal or insect are made like those of the individual man to his community. Is there supernatural or extra-rational sanction in the case of the deer, the ant, or the bee?

Altruism, acting against reason with a supernatural and extra-rational sanction, is, according to Mr. Kidd, the motive power of progress. But this altruism of which we hear so much, what is it? Man is not only a self-regardant, but a sympathetic, domestic, and social being. He is so by nature, just as he is a biped or a mammal. How he became so the physiologist and psychologist must be left to explain. But a sympathetic, domestic, and social being he is, and in gratifying his sympathetic, domestic, or social propensities, he is no more altruistic, if altruism means disregard of self, than he is when he gratifies his

desire of food or motion. Self is not disregarded because self is sympathetic, domestic, and social. The man of feeling identifies himself with his kind; the father with his children; the patriot with his state; and they all look in various forms for a return of their affection or devotion. The man in each of the cases goes out of his narrower self, but he does not go out of self. Show us the altruist who gives up his dinner to benefit the inhabitants of the planet Mars and we will admit the existence of altruism in the sense in which the term seems to be used by Mr. Kidd and some other philosophers of to-day.

Reason, as defined by Mr. Kidd, appears to be a faculty which tells us what is desirable, but does not tell us what is possible "The lower classes of our population," he says, "have no sanction from reason for maintaining existing conditions." "They should in self-interest put an immediate end to existing social conditions." Why, so they would if they had the power, supposing their condition and the causes of it to be what Mr. Kidd represents. It is not altruism that prevents them but necessity; the same necessity which constrains people of all classes to submit to evils of various kinds, submission to which, if unnecessary, would be idiotic. That poverty and calamity have been endured more patiently in the hope of a compensation hereafter is true. but makes no difference as to the reasonableness of the endurance. From a comparison of the two sentences just quoted, it would appear that Mr. Kidd identifies reason with self-interest, and, therefore, with something antagonistic to society. Whereas, in a sociable being conformity to the laws of society is reason. "The interests of the social organism and of the individual," says Mr. Kidd, "are and must remain antagonistic." Why so in the case of a man any more than in that of a bee?

What is the "supernatural and extra-rational sanction" in virtue of which man acts against the dictates of his reason, and by so acting makes progress? Religion. What is religion?

> "A religion is a form of belief providing an ultra-rational sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual where his interests and the interests of the social organism are antagonistic, and by which the former are rendered subordinate to the latter in the general interests of the evolution which the race is undergoing."

Here is a definition of religion without mention of God. The supernatural sanction is religion, and religion is a supernatural

sanction. This surely does not give us much new light. But we are further told that "there can never be such a thing as a rational religion." Superstition, such as the worship of Moloch, that of Apis, that of the gods of Mexico, or mediæval religion in its debased form, is not rational, nor will our calling it supernatural or extra-rational make it an influence above nature and reason, or prove it to have been the motive power of progress, which, on the contrary, it has retarded and sometimes, as in the case of Egypt, killed outright. The religions which in their day have been instruments of progress, and among which may perhaps be numbered, at a grade lower than Christianity, Mohammedanism and Buddhism, have owed their character to their rational adaptation to human nature and their consecration of rational effort. They are counterparts, not of the polytheistic state religion of Greece, but of the Socratic philosophy, which had a divinity of its own, the impersonation of its morality, and paid homage to the state polytheism only by sacrificing a cock to Æsculapius. Christianity, as it came from the lips of Jesus of Nazareth, was, like the philosophy of Socrates, unliturgical and unsacerdotal: its liturgy was one simple prayer. "Supernatural" is a convenient word, but it by implication begs the question, and when applied to superstitions is most fallacious. "Infranatural," or something implying degradation and grossness, not elevation above the world of sense, would be the right expression. Christian ethics, as distinguished from dogma, are not supernatural; they are drawn from, and adapted to, human nature. It is disappointing to find that a theorist who makes everything depend on the influence of religion should not have attempted to ascertain precisely what religion is and what is its origin, or to distinguish from each other the widely diverse phenomena which bear the name. His sanction itself calls for a sanction and calls in vain.

When a hypothesis will not bear inspection in itself, time is wasted in applying it, or testing its applications, to history. But Mr. Kidd says of the first fourteen centuries after Christ:

"So far, fourteen centuries of the history of our civilization had been devoted to the growth and development of a stupendous system of other-worldliness. The conflict against reason had been successful to a degree never before equalled in the history of the world. The super-rational sanction of conduct had attained a strength and universality unknown in the Roman and Greek civilizations. The State was a divine institution. The ruler held his place by divine right, and every political office and all subsidiary power issued from him in virtue of the same authority. Every consideration of the present

was overshadowed in men's minds by conceptions of a future life, and the whole social and political system and the individual lives of men had become profoundly tinged with the prevailing ideas."

Of all the actions by which mediæval civilization was moulded and advanced, what percentage does Mr. Kidd suppose to have been performed under religious influence or from a spiritual motive? How many feudal kings and lords—how many, even, of the ecclesiastical statesmen of the Middle Ages does he suppose to have been carrying on a conflict with reason for objects other than worldly and under the inspiration of divine right? How much resemblance to the character of the Founder of Christianity would he have found among the rulers and the active spirits of the community or even of the Church? How much among the occupants of the Papal throne itself?

It has already been pointed out that Mr. Kidd, to say the least, overstates his case in saying that Christianity was directly opposed by all the intellectual forces of the time. So close was the affinity of Roman Stoicism to it that one eminent French writer has undertaken to demonstrate the influence of Christianity on the writings of the Roman Stoics. But it had also an ally in the melancholy of a falling empire and a perishing civilization. It had intellectual champions as soon as it had intellectual assailants, and their arguments were addressed to reason. The pessimistic melancholy of a falling empire and the revolt from a decrepit polytheism were also intellectual or partly intellectual forces on its side.

In the recent concessions of political power by the upper classes to the masses, Mr. Kidd finds an example of altruism prevailing over reason. That something has in the course of this revolution occasionally prevailed over reason might be very plausibly maintained. Whether it was anything supernatural or extrarational seems very doubtful. In Great Britain, for instance, the extension of the franchise in 1832 was the result of a conflict between classes and parties carried on in a spirit as far as possible from altruistic and pushed to the very verge of civil war. Afterwards, the Whig leader finding himself politically becalmed, brought in a new Reform Bill to raise the wind, and was outbid by Derby and Disraeli, whose avowed object was to "dish the Whigs." Of altruistic self-sacrifice it would be difficult in the whole process to find much trace.

If this branch of the inquiry were to be pursued, it might be worth while for Mr. Kidd to consider the case of Japan, the progress of which of late has been so marvellously rapid. It appears that in Japan, while the lower classes have a superstition at once very gross and very feeble, the upper classes, by whom the movement has been initiated and carried forward, have no genuine religion, but at most official forms, such as could not sustain action against self-interest.

The cause of human progress has been the desire of man to improve his condition, ever ascending as, with the success of his efforts, fresh possibilities of improvement were brought within his view. It is in this respect that he differs from the brutes. Mechanical evolution and selection by struggle for existence apply to man only in his rudimentary state or in his character as an animal. Of humanity, desire of improvement is the motive power. There is no need, therefore, of importing the language, fast becoming a jargon, of evolution into our general treatment of history. Bees, ants, and beavers are marvels of nature in their way. But they show no desire for improvement, and make no efforts to improve. Man alone aspires. The aspiration is weak in the lower races of men, strong in the higher. Of its existence and of the different degrees in which it exists, science may be able to give an account. But it certainly is not the offspring of unreason, nor can it be aided in any way by superstition or by any rejection of truth.

A work on the foundations of religious belief by the leader of a party in the British House of Commons, who is by some marked out as a future Prime Minister, shows, like the theological and cosmogonical essays of Mr. Gladstone, the increasing interest felt about the problems, not only by divines and philosophers, but by men of the world. In Mr. Balfour's case the union of speculation with politics is the more striking, inasmuch as his work is one of abstruse philosophy. It is by metaphysical arguments that he undertakes to overthrow systems opposed to religion, and to rebuild the dilapidated edifice on new and surer foundations. He is thus treading in the steps of Coleridge, the great religious philosopher of the English Church. It is to a limited circle of readers that he appeals. Ordinary minds find metaphysics "out of their welkin," to use the words of the Clown in *Twelfth Night.*

They venerate from afar a study which has engaged and still engages the attention of powerful intellects. But they are themselves lost in the region in which "transcendental solipsism" has its home. They are unable to see at what definitive conclusions, still more, at what practical conclusions, such as might influence conduct, philosophy has arrived. Metaphysic seems to them to be in a perpetual state of flux. "The theories of the great metaphysicians of the past," Mr. Balfour says, "are no concern of ours." They would surely concern us, however, if, like successive schools of science, they had made some real discoveries and left something substantial behind them. But as Mr. Balfour plaintively tells us, the system of Plato, notwithstanding the beauty of its literary vesture, has no effectual vitality; our debts to Aristotle, though immense, "do not include a tenable theory of the universe"; in the Stoic metaphysics "nobody takes any interest"; the Neo-Platonists were mystics, and in mysticism Mr. Balfour recognizes an undying element of human thought, but "nobody is concerned about their hierarchy of beings connecting through infinite gradations the Absolute at one end of the scale with matter at the other"; the metaphysics of Descartes "are not more living than his physics"; neither "his two substances, nor the single substance of Spinoza, nor the innumerable substances of Leibnitz satisfy the searcher after truth." Had these several systems been investigations of matters in which real discovery was possible, each of them surely would have discovered something, and a certain interest in each of them would remain. But they have flitted like a series of dreams, or a succession of kaleidoscopic variations. Mr. Balfour doubts "whether any metaphysical philosopher before Kant can be said to have made contributions to this subject (a theory of nature) which at the present day need to be taken into serious account," and he presently proceeds to indicate that "Kant's doctrines, even as modified by his successors, do not provide a sound basis for an epistemology of nature." Mr. Balfour seems even to think that philosophy is in some degree a matter of national temperament. He says that the philosophy of Kant and other German philosophers will never be thoroughly received so as to form standards of reference in any English-speaking community "until the ideas of these speculative giants are thoroughly re-thought by Englishmen and reproduced in a shape which ordinary Englishmen will

consent to assimilate." "Under ordinary conditions," he says, "philosophy cannot, like science, become international." This seems as much as saying that philosophy is still not a department of science, or a real investigation resulting in truths evident to all the world alike, but a mode of looking at things which may vary with national peculiarities of mind and character.

Locke, as Mr. Balfour reminds us, toward the end of his great work assures his readers that he "suspects that natural philosophy is not capable of being made science," and serenely draws from his admissions the moral that "as we are so little fitted to frame theories about this present world we had better devote our energies to preparing for the next." Perhaps we might amend the suggestion by saying that most of us had better devote our energies to the search for attainable truth and to the improvement of our character and estate in this world as a preparation for the world to come. A man so metaphysical in his cast as Emerson is obliged to say that we know nothing of nature or of ourselves, and that man has not "taken one step towards the solution of the problem of his destiny."

Before the relation of mind and body had been proved, and while the mind was supposed to have a divine origin of its own and to be a sojourner in the body as a temporary home or prison-house, it was perhaps easier to believe, as did the mediæval philosophers, that in the mind there was a source of knowledge about the universe apart from the perceptions of sense, and that the world might be studied, not by observation, but by introspection, and even through the analysis of language as the embodiment of ideas. Transcendental Solipsism and a world constructed out of categories would, under those conditions, have their day. Something of the mediæval disposition seems to lurk in the effort to demonstrate that the material world has no existence apart from our perceptions. Be this true or not, it can make little difference in our theological or spiritual position. The fact must be the same in the case of a dog as in the case of a man.

Most of us, therefore, will be content to look on while Mr. Balfour's metaphysical blade, flashing to the right and left, disposes of "Naturalism" on the one hand and of Transendentalism on the other. We have only to put in a gentle *caveat* against any idea of driving the world back through general scepticism to faith. Scepticism, not only general, but universal, is more likely

to be the ultimate result, and any faith which is not spontaneous, whether it be begotten of ecclesiastical pressure or intellectual despair, is, and in the end will show itself to be, merely veiled unbelief. The catastrophe of Dean Mansel, who, while he was trying in the interest of orthodoxy, to cut the ground from under the feet of the Rationalist, himself inadvertently demonstrated the impossibility of believing in God, was an awful warning to the polemical tactician.

Mr. Balfour gets on more practical ground and comes more within the range of general interest when he proceeds to set up authority apart from reason as a foundation of theological belief. Above reason authority must apparently be if it is apart from it, for wherever authority has established itself reason must give way, while it has no means of constraining the submission of authority. No one could be less inclined to presumptuous rationalism than Butler, who, in his work, which though in partial ruin is still great, with noble frankness accepts reason as our only guide to truth. In combating the objections against the evidences of Christianity, Butler says that "he expresses himself with caution lest he should be mistaken to vilify reason, which is indeed the only faculty we have to judge concerning anything, even revelation." What is deference to authority but the deference to superior knowledge or wisdom which reason pays, and which, if its grounds, intellectual or moral, fail or become doubtful, reason will withdraw? This is just as true with regard to the authority of tradition as with regard to that of a living informant or adviser; just as true with regard to the authority of a Church as with regard to that of an individual teacher or guide. Authority, Mr. Balfour says, as the term is used by him, "is in all cases contrasted with reason and stands for that group of non-rational causes, moral, social, and educational, which produces its results by psychic processes other than reason." A writer may affix to a term any sense he pleases for his personal convenience; but the reasoning of the psychic process of deference to authority, though undeveloped, and, perhaps, till it is challenged, unconscious, whether its cause be moral, social, or educative, is capable of being presented in a rational form, and cannot, therefore, be rightly called non-rational. There is, of course, a sort of authority, or what is so styled, which impresses itself by means other than rational, such as religious persecution, priestly thaumaturgy,

spiritual terrorism, or social tyranny. But in this Mr. Balfour would not recognize a source of truth or foundation of theological belief. A philosopher who proposes to rebuild theology, wholly or in part, on the basis of authority, seems bound to provide us with some analysis of authority itself, and some test by which genuine authority may be distinguished from ancient and venerable imposture. Papal infallibility, which Mr. Balfour cites as an instance, does undoubtedly postulate the submission of reason to authority ; but it proved the necessity of that submission by the extermination of the Albigenses and the holocausts of the Inquisition. It is still ready, as its Encyclical and Syllabus intimate, to sustain the demonstration by the help of the secular arm.

So in the case of habit. Our common actions have no doubt become by use automatic, as our common beliefs are accepted without investigation. But if they are challenged, reasons for them can be given. A man eats without thinking, but if he is called upon he can give a good reason for taking food. A soldier obeys the word of command mechanically, but if he were called upon he could give a good reason for his obedience.

Mr. Balfour scarcely lets us see distinctly what is his view of belief in miracles, which must play an important part in any reconstruction or review of the basis of theology, an all-important part, indeed, if Paley was right in saying, as he did in reply to Hume, that there was no way other than miracle in which God could be revealed. He seems inclined to represent the objections to them as philosophical rather than historical, and such as a sounder philosophy may dissipate, intimating that rationalists have approached the inquiry with a predetermination "to force the testimony of existing records into conformity with theories on the truth or falsity of which it is for philosophy not history to pronounce." This might be said with some justice of Strauss's first *Life of Jesus,* and perhaps of some other German philosophies of the Gospel history. But the current objections to miracles, with which a theologian has to deal, are clearly of a historical kind. A miracle is an argument addressed through the sense to the understanding, which pronounces that the thing done is supernatural and proof of the intervention of a higher power. It seems inconceivable, if the salvation of the world were to depend on belief in miracles, that Providence should have failed to provide records for the assurance of those who were not eye-witnesses

equal in certainty to the evidence afforded eye-witnesses by sense. Are the records of the miracles which we possess unquestionably authentic and contemporaneous? Were the reporters beyond all suspicion, not only of deceit, but of innocent self-delusion? Were they, looking to the circumstances of their time and their education, likely to be duly critical in their examination of the case? Is there anything in the internal character of the miracles themselves, the demoniac miracles for example, to move suspicion, it being impossible to think that Providence would allow indispensable evidences of vital truth to be stamped with the marks of falsehood? What is the weight of the adverse evidence derived from the silence of external history and the apparent absence of the impression which might have been expected to be made by prodigies such as miraculous darkness and the rising of the dead out of their graves? These questions, daily pressed upon us by scepticism, are strictly historical, and will have to be treated by restorers of theological belief on strictly historical grounds.

Mr. Balfour recognizes mysticism as an "undying element in human thought." That it is not yet dead is evident. Minds not a few have taken refuge in various forms of it. But undying it surely is not. The mystic, however exalted, merely imposes on himself. He creates by a subtle sophistication of his own mind the cloudy object of his faith and worship. He had himself written his Book of Mormon, and hidden it where he found it. In that direction there can be no hope of laying the foundation of a new theological belief.

There can be no hope, apparently, of laying new foundations for a rational theology in any direction excepting that of the study of the universe and of humanity as manifestations of the supreme power in that spirit of thorough-going intellectual honesty of which Huxley, who has just been taken from us, is truly said to have been an illustrious example. That we are made and intended to pursue knowledge is as certain as that we are made and intended to strive for the improvement of our estate, and we cannot tell how far or to what revelations the pursuit may lead us. If revelation is lost to us manifestation remains, and great manifestations appear to be opening on our view. Agnosticism is right, if it is a counsel of honesty, but ought not to be heard if it is a counsel of despair.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

REVOLVER OR SABRE.

THE introduction of gunpowder created a revolution in the art of war which has developed for the military student some interesting and curious facts. Before then, physical strength and endurance were absolute requisites of an accomplished soldier. The great captains of those days, upon every available opportunity, practised their men in such athletic sports as would make them most proficient with the weapons they used. The Roman soldiers during the long period of their military supremacy had for their principal weapon a short heavy sword, with which they rushed into a hand to hand conflict with the enemy. Their athletic training and disciplined valor carried victory with them for hundreds of years and maintained their supremacy in arms, till luxury and dissipation rendered them an easy victim to their more hardy conquerors from the North. Ancient traditions are clung to most persistently in the selection of military weapons. In modern cavalry armament, we find the sabre and lance, a modification of the ancient sword and spear, adhered to with a pertinacity for which it is difficult to account on rational grounds. Let us fancy two soldiers in the mounted service, equally brave, one thoroughly trained to handle the sabre and the other an accomplished revolver shot. Station them one hundred yards apart and let them advance toward each other at any gait, with hostile intent. Can any one for an instant expect but one result—that the man with the sabre shall certainly be destroyed before he can arrive within striking distance of his enemy? Suppose we made the number a thousand; is there any ground to suppose the result would differ materially in illustrating the superiority of the revolver over the sabre? To exemplify this in another form; let us suppose, that a sabre cut over the head, or a thrust through the body, is equal to a wound from a revolver bullet: and for the sake of argument we will allow the man with the sabre, to arrive within ten feet of his enemy with the revolver; we will assume that ten seconds are required for a "sabreur" to successfully carve one man and get within striking distance, about three and a half or four feet, of another. We know that it is a very ordinary feat for a good revolver shot, mounted, to fire five shots in five seconds and hit a mark the size of a man, every time, at a distance of ten feet, and this with his horse at a full run. The reverence with which we cling to arms ancient might make a wise soldier laugh, were its effects not so pernicious, as sometimes, to make a good soldier weep. Our recent civil war developed some excellent cavalry officers on both sides, and in the opinion of many competent judges, General Custer was second to none. For some time previous to 1876 he commanded the Seventh Cavalry in various Indian campaigns. Being full of energy and ambition, it is reason-

able to suppose he trained his troopers with all the judgment and skill derived from his extensive experience. The sabre was the recognized cavalry weapon, and at that time, our cavalry officers gave little or no attention to mounted fire. In 1876 we find a portion of this cavalry, under General Custer, numbering about three hundred of his best troops, engaged with hostile Sioux and Cheyennes.

These Indian warriors had been brought up on horseback and trained from boyhood to use firearms mounted. The battle took place upon an open and gently undulating country near the Little Horn River, and not a single white man was left to clear the mystery which shrouded the details of the engagement. About two years subsequent to this event, the writer became well acquainted with some of the Sioux and Cheyennes engaged in this fight against the Seventh Cavalry, and after much difficulty they were induced to describe the details of the action. Three of these Indians at different times gave their versions of the battle, and their accounts did not vary in material points. They said the Indians charged upon the cavalry, firing their rifles and pistols, and that the action lasted about half an hour. Thirty-five or forty Indians were killed, and they believed most of the casualities were due to the Indians shooting one another, as they attacked the cavalry on both flanks at the same time.

They said that the cavalry horses were so terrified by the yells, shooting and appearance of the warriors that the soldiers had all they could do to keep their seats, that many of them were thrown, and that they did little execution among the savages. It must be remembered that up to this time our cavalry had received little or no training with the revolver, and that the Indians outnumbered the cavalry, three or four to one. Had the latter known how to handle their revolvers, they would have sent many times their own number to the happy hunting ground.

Toward the close of our late unpleasantness the central part of Missouri was infested by a body of men claiming to belong to the Southern Army, under a leader named Bill Anderson. These men had for their sole armament from four to six revolvers each and were mounted upon the best horses the country afforded. For about a week they were camped in a pasture near the house where the writer, then a boy, lived, and we had a number of opportunities to observe their occupation. They spent several hours each day at mounted pistol practice, putting their horses at a full run and shooting at trees or fence posts. Some of them would, at times, vary this practice by taking the bridle reins in their teeth and firing a revolver from each hand. As we remember, their shooting was excellent. A few months later, a body of cavalry, variously estimated at from 200 to 250, were landed by the railroad at Centralia, Mo., to operate against Bill Anderson and his men. The country around this railroad station is an almost perfectly level prairie. This cavalry had proceeded but two or three miles from their landing place when they encountered the enemy. Anderson formed a skirmish line and charged, some of his men taking the bridle reins in their teeth and a revolver in each hand. The affair was soon ended. Of the 200 or 250 men only ten escaped with their lives; the others were laid out over the prairie for a distance of several miles. Anderson lost only five or six men.

So far as we can learn, little progress has been made by the cavalry of European armies in mounted revolver shooting, owing to the fact that they lack a knowledge of the art and that they have too much respect for ancient traditions. The military establishment of our country has reached a much

higher state of efficiency in the use of firearms than that of any other nation.

This is due to the liberal appropriations of Congress for target practice, the knowledge and skill of our officers in revolver and rifle shooting, and the facility with which they impart this most valuable of all military accomplishments to the enlisted men.

For many centuries the theory and practice amongst civilized nations has been to train cavalry to act by the collective shock; that is, to develop no individuality, but to have them ride boot to boot, in a solid mass with drawn sabres and with an irresistible force, so as to overwhelm all in front of them. With the individuality now to be found in the foot soldier of an ordinary skirmish line, such a mass of cavalry would be destroyed, or rendered useless before they could arrive within two hundred yards of the objective point. The modern cavalry soldier should be trained to the highest degree of individual excellence in the management of his horse and revolver; he should be armed with a carbine and at least two revolvers, and have the useless, clanking and antiquated sabre consigned to some spot from which it could have no resurrection. The cavalryman should be practised with the revolver till he could fire five shots in four seconds, and be able to hit, two out of three times, an object the size of a man, at a distance of ten yards, with horse at a full run. To one not familiar with revolver shooting this may seem a difficult thing to do, and it may appear to require too high a standard of excellence from the average cavalry soldier, but it must be remembered that revolver shooting is like many other physical accomplishments: it is learned much more rapidly when the instruction is carried on according to some correct system. The exercises of the recruit, while he is learning to ride and handle his horse, should be varied by at least two hours' work each day, devoted to handling and snapping his revolver on foot, so that the correct execution of these exercises may become mechanical; in other words, the recruit should be trained to bring his pistol to bear upon an object and hit it without any perceptible time being spent in taking aim and pulling the trigger. Ours is an age of specialists, and it is seldom that one is found who can reach the highest degree of excellence in more than one mechanical art. When this skill is once attained in using a revolver, there is ever a good demand for its services, and the confidence and courage which its possession is certain to give to our cavalry soldier will make him brave and self-reliant to an extent which will render him on the field of battle more than a match for five times his number of the best cavalry the old world has ever seen.

W. P. Hall,
Major and Assistant Adjutant-General; late Captain Fifth United States Cavalry.

WHAT MEN THINK OF WOMEN'S DRESS.

If we accept the oldest writings concerning the subject, we must concede that the first costume worn by primitive man and woman was selected only after a consultation of the two sexes. It is a curious fact that after centuries of groping in the blind labyrinths of dress, women are returning in some measure toward primitive ideas and conditions. They are just beginning to appreciate the aid of men in matters of this sort.

The increase of liberty that women enjoy in this latter decade or two, their entrance into the realm of men's occupations, and their consequent

desire for greater freedom in dress, make it a hard matter, under these scarcely-adjusted conditions, to draw the line between masculine likes and dislikes as to dress reform. It may be stated emphatically, however, that almost all men abominate all forms of woman's attire that merely aim to be "mannish," that are adopted only for the sake of making a "smart" appearance. Mannish collars, vests, hats, neckties, etc., when worn by women, almost always create a revulsion of feeling in a man by impairing that femininity in appearance which must always be one of the greatest charms of womanhood.

At the same time men would gladly encourage women in their natural right to adopt such modifications as would give them greater freedom for exercise or business pursuits, and consequently greater health. There was great fear among the timid that the adoption of the modern bicycling costumes would subject the wearer to vulgar comment, or at least insufferable stares, from men. The fact is that women stare at and criticise their progressive sisters more than men do.

Men do not object in the least to their wives, or sisters, or daughters, wearing "gym" suits for athletics, divided skirts or Turkish trousers for bicycling, or even for business, so long as the touch of femininity, of modesty, is never lost in the making of such costumes. The man does not concern himself with details about such garments, but he looks for that roundness, as opposed to angularity; that grace, be it of a fluffy wing, or a ruffle, or gather; that little adornment, a touch of color, ribbon, flowing outline, that shall proclaim at once the sweetness and preciousness of womanhood.

Men naturally wish to pay, and do pay, the greatest deference to womanhood, even in the crowded business life of New York City, but they demand in return that women shall dress so as to suggest unmistakable womanliness.

As we are all striving to attain to Altrurian conditions we need to study the matter of dress from the very base and beginning. Science is now only content to go to the very bottom of things, and, discarding all custom and tradition, demands a reason for everything. So it should be with dress. Men and women are different. Therefore their dress should be different. But as their spheres of activity are becoming more and more closely allied, so their dress should permit equal freedom of movement and equal health. A beautiful statue, be it the cruelly amputated Venus of Milo, or the Medici, or the Greek Slave, almost all of us, except some singular back-country spinster, unite in saying needs no adornment. But it would be a good practice to take that statue and dress it, not according to the prevailing mode, but according to the demands of the figure, that, being itself beautiful, its beauty should not be lost, but in some degree preserved, if not enhanced by its dress. A company of art critics would dress it in the flowing robes of ancient Greece. At the same time a committee of doctors or disciples of physical culture might not grant it any more drapery than has the Diana of St. Gaudens on the Madison Square tower.

It should be a recognized principle that beauty of figure is not to be hidden or lost by means of dress. There is no need to distort the art of the Creator by the art of the milliner. If a woman has a beautiful throat, she has a perfect right to reveal it, except when she runs a risk of taking cold. Almost every woman has some good feature. Let her make the most of it. Be it beauty of eyes or hair, or complexion, beauty of stature, of strength, of arm or limb, dress should enhance it.

The gain, for instance, that would accrue to the race in the way of increased health and happiness, and lessened pain and doctors' bills, if the average skirt was cut ten inches shorter, would be tremendous. By that one simple surgical stroke of the scissors, quick and painless, think how many hundreds of tons of mud-bedraggled dry-goods would drop from the overweighted hips of womanhood! But the very women who abbreviate the corsage of their opera-dresses to an equal extent would shrink at the display of a well-turned ankle. Yet the former practice is far more vulnerable to criticism than the one we would advocate. It must be kept in mind that a style of dress that encourages physical development is not designed alone for women of fine physique. Its popularity would lead all women to covet health and symmetry of form and to work for it by all the proper agencies of diet, exercise, sleep and sensible living generally. It has been an old grievance of our fathers and grandfathers that it took a fearfully sharper eye to select a good woman than a good horse. And when they so often got cheated on a horse, is it a wonder that millions of men have filled bachelors' graves? A bachelor's grave is a cold thing to look forward to, but many have thought that it was preferable to taking a chance in that lottery where the diamonds and the booby-prizes, the Venuses and the viragoes, have all been concealed in a maze of crinoline and whalebone, cotton, powder and paint. Who could know whether the beautiful maiden or the ugly dwarf would step forth on the night of disenchantment? We gladly testify that our *fin-de-siècle* daughters are dressing in some respects with greater good taste and fidelity to common sense, truth, health, the laws as well as the lines of their own physique, than did their grandmothers.

Of course there is a dress for children, a dress for the young, for the old, for the invalid. We kindly drape the angles and the weaknesses in the loved forms where age has set its wrinkled seal over the once virgin stamp of beauty. Yet old age, too, has its beauties, and its fitting adornment. It is among the ranks of the women themselves that there is the greatest objection to new ideas. Speaking for men, it may be said that they consider themselves fortunate in a dress that is fairly easy and healthful, if not pleasing from an artistic standpoint. In their good fortune they do not begrudge to women any modifications of their attire on which they can set the stamp of true femininity and add grace and artistic effect to what is merely practical. Whatever makes for greater health and comfort to women is not a matter of indifference to the stern sex, however they may seem to leave the women to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. There will be no more hearty plaudits to the successful solver of the dress reform problem than will come from the "men's gallery." Ahasuerus is still gracious, and Esther need never fear but that she will find favor in his sight in any sort of modest garb whatever.

On one detail of dress I think I can speak with confidence, and that is, it makes no difference in a man's eye what material a dress is made of. You can please him just as well in calico as in silk, and perhaps better, if he has to pay the bills. "It is all in the making," is a phrase that means much to men. They like symmetry, grace, harmony of colors, perfect fit. For one man that will be dazzled by purple and gold there are a dozen who will be charmed by quiet grays or browns, relieved by a bright ribbon and a bright face. "Back to nature" is the cry of this logical, matter-of-fact and yet impressionable age; and learning of nature, and of her garments of leaves

and grass and snow, we shall see how closely she clothes her forms, only softening the outlines, selects her quiet harmonies of colors rather than glaring contrasts, and covers nothing from sight that is of itself beautiful.

C. H. CRANDALL.

HISTORICAL NICKNAMES.

EDMOND ABOUT, in one of his last contributions to the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, suggested that the political history of several nations could be written in the form of a compendium of national epigrams and *vaudevilles* —a sort of facetious ditties in which the French are rivalled only by their Italian neighbors.

A collection of historical nicknames would, however, serve the same purpose in a still more compendious form. There are *sobriquets* that sum up all the physical and moral characteristics of an individual and sometimes of a party or even a whole nation. "What are the main tendencies of your 'Liberals' and 'Serviles,' as your Highness has begun to call them?" a German politician asked Prince de Ligne, the Austrian Chesterfield. "Well, you see, our Serviles want *sehr vieles* (a good many things), but our Liberals want *lieber alles*" (rather everything), said the keenwitted courtier.

When the braggard Bernadotte had got himself elected Crown Prince of Sweden, he did his best to propitiate public opinion all around, assumed the name of Charles Jean, loaded foreign diplomatists with decorations, and offered his services as mediator between France and the victorious allies, but his old companions in arms had sized him up to an inch and nicknamed him "Charles Jean Charlatan." Complacent King Joseph they called "*le roi par ordre*," and the depredations of General Vandamme were commemorated in the epithet "Jacques Brigand"—"Billy Bushwhacker," as we might translate it. For Napoleon himself his soldiers had only affectionate nicknames: "The Little Corporal," "Little Wideawake"; but Madame de Staël in a fit of resentment called him "Robespierre on horseback" (*Robespierre à cheval*), and the nickname stuck like the pun of that Ghent Alderman who bribed the retail butchers of his city (locally known as *les petits bouchers*) to get up a transparency with the inscription: "The little butchers of Ghent to Napoleon the Great."

The "Grand Butcher" was not apt to forgive a personal squib of that kind, but nevertheless almost choked with laughing when Count Las Cases at Longwood ventured to acquaint him with the popular nickname of his royal brother-in-law, Murat. The *parvenu* King of Naples was incorrigibly fond of dressing in theatrical finery, gold-lace jackets with broad lace collars and blue velvet surtouts, and in allusion to that foible the Parisian wits called him "King Franconi," Franconi's Opera being a flashy pleasure resort of the French capital. Louis XVIII. they called "Gros Revenue," to commemorate a high treasonable pun of a witty Imperialist, who had heard his comrades complain of the enormous taxes of the new regime. "Never mind, *payons, payons, nous avons un gros revenu*"—we have a large revenue—the three last words meaning also "a returned potbelly." After the battle of Waterloo they called their wellfed sovereign "Louis *deux fois neuf*," "twice nine," with the additional meaning of "twice new." Those puns had much to do with the final expulsion of the Bourbons, and it might be questioned if all the speeches of the Jacobins hurt the cause of the royal family as much as the Queen's nickname, "Madame Veto." That those same

Jacobins were capable of self-banter is, however, proved by their sobriquet of the frivolous cut-throat Barère, "the Anacreon of the Guillotine."

With a similar humor the wits of the Napoleonic era called the flunkey naturalist Lacépède (a great authority on snakes), "The *chef* of the reptiles." "The Deity rested after the creation of Napoleon the Great," the eloquent professor concluded one of his characteristic speeches. "A pity that the Deity did not rest then a little sooner," said the Count de Narbonne. As a rule the Imperialists would not permit the humorists of any other nation to quiz their new made potentates, but they could not help endorsing the verdict of the tax-burdened Hessians who called their profligate king (Brother Jérôme) "Koenig Don Juan."

In the Crown Prince phase of his existence, Kaiser Wilhelm, the victor of Sadowa and Sedan, had made himself so unpopular that the Berliners called him the *Kartätschen Prinz* (the grape-and-canister Prince, and demolished his metropolitan palace. Voltaire, after his Prussian experiences, could not revenge himself in that manner, but contrived to saddle old Fritz with the sobriquet of "Luc"—originally the name of a mischievous and highly irascible baboon which a French traveller had presented to the Philosopher of Ferney. The brother of the Canister Prince had a constitutional horror of gunpowder, and worshipped Bacchus rather to the neglect of Mars, but was so affable to interviewers of all parties that he got off with the nickname of "Champagne Freddie" (Der Champagner Fritz). All in all, he was about the easiest-going King that ever contrived to maintain himself on a storm-tossed throne, and when the Burgomaster of a rather democratic Rhineland city presented him with a bumper of wine, "warranted as pure as our citizens' loyalty to your royal house," his majesty merely held the glass against the light and whispered: "Vintage of Forty-eight?"—the year of the Rhenish insurrection.

He knew his nickname, and connived at the public banter of his foibles with a philosophical tolerance entirely foreign to the character of one of his successors, whose subjects have never yet ventured to translate the London-made sobriquet of "Billy Bombastes." Marechal Blucher took part in a debate on the best way of translating Napoleon's favorite nickname of the bibulous leader of the Prussian cavalry, and finally voted that "*Der versoffene Husar*" (the drunken old Hussar) would come the nearest to a good fit.

"I know what they call me," said the Calabrian robber-chief, who had baffled Murat's rangers for eighteen months, "but I would much sooner be known as 'Fra Diavolo' (Friar Satan) than as Fra Sandu cho—Brother hypocrite"; and it is probable that the remorseless representative of the Borgias would have rather prided himself on the title of "Cardinal Mephistopheles." The Venetians can compete with the wits of the French metropolis in the manufacture of telling nicknames, and a lady whom Napoleon in his consular days had pronounced the best-looking female of Southern Europe was ever after known as "La Bella par decreto—ma' sin il *verendo*"— the beauty by special cabinet order—but without the "verendo" ("Seeing," *i. e.*, "whereas," the initial phrase of an official decree); and when Maria Theresa ordered some nude Italian statues to be draped in nether garments, the sculptor revenged himself by calling her *la calzonera*—the "pantaloon maker." The good-natured empress laughed at the conceit as heartily as her great son at his sobriquet, *der Kloster Hetzer*—the "convent cleaner" (the cleaner-out of superfluous monasteries), and Marshal Vendôme used to

say that he would forfeit all his titles sooner than his nickname, "General Bonhomme." With all his cynicisms, he was, indeed, *Bonhommie* personified, and once pardoned a petty marauder for the sake of his ready wit. "So they are going to hang you? Serves you right; only a scoundrel will risk his life for ten francs." "Ah, *mon general*, how often had I to risk my life for ten coppers," (the daily pay of a French soldier) said the delinquent, and was at once dismissed with a laugh and the admonition to "keep his neck greased for the next time." The slang-loving old campaigner had a vein of pathos, too, and in his last moment, when a friend tried to draw the stiff curtains of his Spanish chateau, to keep the moon from shining in the sick room, the dying veteran beckoned him to desist: "*Laissez-ça; je vois la grande ombre de l'Eternité qui s'avance*"—"Never mind; the shadow of eternity is going to save you that trouble in a minute or two."

The subjects of the late Czar called him in his Crown Prince days the "Young Steer," and afterwards simply "the Steer," and the Army of the Potomac is said to have very privately applied a similar sobriquet to a general who confessed that he "never manœuvred," and certainly preferred headlong charges to elaborate tactics. Some Berlin journalists who had seen him on his *tour de monde*, called him *der Nussknacker General*, in allusion to a silent automaton that is placed upon German banquet tables together with a plate of hazelnuts, but added that he had unquestionably contrived to crack some nuts that had broken the teeth of all other comers.

The soldiers of the first Napoleon embellished the accounts of their campaigns with a vocabulary of historic geographical nicknames: "Capuchin-Land" for Spain, "Knoutland," for the dominions of the Czar, "Mastiff land" for Great Britain, and "Big-wig land" *(terre des perruques)* for Prussia. But their exploits in that special field have been rather eclipsed by the achievements of American humor; witness the following list of *facetiæ* that was collected at a recent convention of commercial travellers:

British Columbia, "The Drizzle Land"; Maine, "The Foggy State"; Vermont, "The Clabber State"; Massachusetts, "The Schoolmar'm State"; New Jersey, "The Mosquito State"; Delaware, "The Cowhide State"; Pennsylvania, "The Blue Law State"; Ohio, "The Lobby State" (Kinsmen of Orpheus C. Kerr in force); Kentucky, "The Shotgun State"; Indian Territory, "The Horse-thief Reserve"; Kansas, "The Howler State"; Arkansas, "The Quinine State"; Mississippi, "The Ku-klux State"; Tennessee, "The Moonshine State"; South Carolina, "The Congo State" (preponderance of Ethiopian elements); North Carolina, "The Granny State"; California, "The Boodle State"; Texas, "The Rowdy State"; Colorado, "The Growler State"; the Dakatos, "Blizzard Land"; Indiana, "The White Cap State"; Mexico, "Bushwhacker Land."

F. L. OSWALD.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

WHY WOMEN DO NOT WANT THE BALLOT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

WHETHER we like it or not, the question of giving the ballot to women is a question to be faced. From the last Legislature of the State of New York favorable action was secured on the proposal to submit to popular vote the omission of the word "male" from the qualification of voters in the Constitution. This is of course only tentative and preliminary. Another Legislature must pass the law before it can be submitted to the people. But it behooves men and women who are opposed to it to be awake to the duty of hindering its further progress. And it is quite worth while to note how this first step was secured.

The story of the action of the Constitutional Convention upon this subject is familiar. The proposal, backed by monster petitions, was brought to the Convention at a very early day. With praiseworthy and untiring perseverance, its advocates fairly swarmed in the Capitol. Hearing after hearing was given, and the button-holes of members were absolutely worn out by the persistence of personal appeals. The committee to which it was referred was a large, able, and intelligent committee. Hours, both of day and night, were given to the public arguments, including a single hearing (the only one asked for) of the representatives on the other side. And after due and thorough delib-

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eration, an adverse report was made by the committee, which was, after full debate, accepted by a large majority vote. It is certainly not too much to say that such a decision, reached after such deliberations, in such a body, has and ought to have the greatest weight.

The opposite result last winter was reached in a very different way. The movement upon the Legislature was cleverly planned, and quietly executed by personal influence and appeal, with no hearing whatever in the Assembly, and with only one hearing in the Senate, held after the whole matter was known to be a foregone conclusion; a sufficient number of votes having been secured by personal pledges to make the passage of the bill sure. This is a well-known method among politicians, which hardly rises to the level of high-minded statesmanship. If it indicates the kind of political manipulation likely to be adopted, in caucuses and at the polls, in popular assemblies and legislative halls, by what is commonly called the "new" woman or the "coming" woman, it will certainly induce most thinking people to feel that "the old is better," and to be thankful that yet awhile, at any rate, the new woman has not *come*. I think I am hardly betraying any confidence in repeating the argument of a famous suffragist leader, tried upon Mr. Choate before his election as President of the Constitutional Convention. "I hear you are to be President of the Constitutional Convention," she said. "Possibly," "If you are, you will have the appointment of committees?" "Undoubtedly." "If you do, I want you to appoint on the committee to consider woman's suffrage, a majority of members known to be in favor of it." "But," he said, "supposing I find in the Convention a large majority opposed to it, could I make up a committee with a majority of its members in favor?" "No" she said: "I suppose you could not, but that is what *we want*." And all through the management of this campaign the appeal has been made, backed often by no other argument than "we want it," to the gallantry of a man towards a woman.

It seems important, in view of the renewed effort in Albany this coming winter, to appeal to the sober-minded thought of men and women; to omit rhetoric, oratory, abuse, misrepresentation, and ask for a serious consideration of a subject, certainly fraught with grave and serious consequences; for anything that touches the ballot touches the foundations of government.

Among the difficulties which beset the whole question now are the indifference and listlessness, or the frivolity and trifling with which in too many instances it is regarded. Many a man says: "Oh! let the experiment be tried; it cannot succeed; it will do no harm to pay women the courtesy of this complimentary vote, and then defeat it at the polls." But this is an experiment too much like playing with fire to be safe. Once granted, it can never be recalled. And the risk of random voting on matters of such importance is too great to be run. Many a woman opposed to the measure feels that the whole thought of signing petitions, and having her name printed, and appealing to the Legislature, is so distasteful to her, that she would prefer to take the chance of probable failure. Meanwhile, the advocates pile up petitions, and multiply unmeaning names. Many a man trifles with his responsibility, under the silly idea that it is ungallant to say "*No*" to a woman. And many a woman laughs at the whole matter as a joke, mixed up with bicycles and bloomers, and a number of other trivial questions which have no remotest relation to the principle involved.

Let us look fairly and squarely at the facts. There is one class of women to be eliminated from the discussion, because they fly into a "frenzy" which is not "fine," mistake abuse for argument, and are only vulgarly violent, with sharp tongues or sharper pens saturated with bitterness and venom. They are, if there were *only* such as these, their own best answerers, furnishing sufficient reason against the movement. There is another class which includes members of both sexes, with whom one cannot deal without sacrificing self-respect or reverence, who revile all that one holds in holiest veneration, Holy Scripture, holy Matrimony, St. Paul, even our dear Lord Himself. How reverent and religious women can cast their lot in with a cause which has this drift in it is inconceivable; and yet some of them do so. One has neither need nor desire to make reply to such as these. They may be safely left, when the sediment has gathered at the bottom, and shows through the quietness of the settled surface, to their own condemnation.

But the cause has among its adherents and advocates a very different class of women and men, to whose sober second thought it is worth while to appeal, and against whose specious but sincere reasonings others need to be warned and guarded. It is

because of these, and of their reasonings, that this paper is written. It is not intended to argue the underlying principles of the case, which have been argued abundantly already, but only to assert them.

1. Suffrage is not a right of anybody. It is a privilege granted by the constitution to such persons as the framers of the constitution and the founders of the government deem best.

2. The old political proverb, "No taxation without representation," is utterly inapplicable to this question. It grew out of the tyrannical action of a government "across the sea," in which no one of all the people on whom the tax was levied had the faintest voice in the framing of the laws or in the choice of the government. We may be said to have in this country a great deal of representation without taxation, because, in thousands of instances, voters, and indeed the very men who impose the tax, own no property at all. But women who are taxed *are* represented by their relatives, by their potent influence, and by men's sense of justice, amounting even to chivalry, which the woman suffragists are doing all they can to destroy, but which has secured to them far more protection, far more independent control of their property, than men have reserved to themselves. The complement and object of taxation is not the right to vote, but the protection of property. And women's property is better protected than men's.

3. Equality does not mean identity of duties, rights, privileges, occupations. The sex differences are proof enough of this. The paths in which men and women are set to walk are parallel, but not the same. And the equilibrium of society cannot be maintained, nor the equipoise of the body, unless this is recognized. As St. Paul put it forcibly long ago: "If the whole body were hearing, where were the smelling?" Over-stocked professions, men and women crowding each other in and out of occupation, neglected duties, responsibilities divided until they are destroyed, must be the result if this unnatural idea be enforced.

4. The theory of increased wages for women, to be secured by giving votes to women-workers, is equally preposterous. Wages, like work, are regulated by the unfailing law of supply and demand. Work cannot be created, and wages cannot be forced up. If there are too many workers there will be less employment and lower pay.

These are some of the fundamental and axiomatic truths of the argument.

It is important, too, to guard against the specious method of mixing up things that have no relation to each other. A man or a woman who opposes the forcing of the ballot upon women is classed with the people who dislike female bicyclists and the bloomer costume—questions of taste about which we may differ, but which lie upon the lower plane of æsthetics. The unattractiveness of an ugly dress or an ungraceful movement may repel a man's feelings and lessen the charm of a woman, but there it ends. Women may ride bicycles and wear bloomers without violating any political principle, provided they neither ride *on* the one, nor walk *in* the other, to the polls.

It is still more important to draw another distinction. The slavery of American women exists only in the warped imaginations and heated rhetoric of a few people, who have screamed themselves hoarse upon platforms or written themselves into a rage in newspapers. There is no freer human being on earth to-day, thank God, than the American woman. She has freedom of person, of property, and of profession, absolute and entire. She has all liberty that is not license.

Let a woman tell the facts. I quote from one of Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer's admirable papers in the New York *World:*

"For more than thirty years all the women of New York have been able to enjoy their own property, whether inherited or acquired, without control or interference from any man. A married woman may carry on a trade, business, or profession and keep her earnings for herself alone. She may sue and be sued and make contracts as freely and independently as an unmarried woman or a man. She may sell or transfer her real as well as her personal property just as she chooses. And she is not liable for her husband's debts or obliged to contribute to his support. Meanwhile, a husband is obliged to support his wife and children. He is liable for the price of all 'necessaries' purchased by her, and for money borrowed by her for their purchase; and 'necessaries' are liberally construed as 'commensurate with her husband's means, her wonted living as his spouse, and her station in the community.'

"A man who obtains a divorce cannot ask for alimony; a woman who obtains one is entitled to it, and to continue to receive it even if she remarries. A woman in business cannot be arrested in an action for a debt fraudulently contracted, as a man may be. Every woman enjoys certain exemptions from the sale of her property under execution, but only a man who has and provides for a household or family is exempt in the same way. A woman is entitled to one-third of her husband's real estate at his death, and cannot be deprived of it by will; and no real estate can be sold by him dur- his lifetime unless she signs off this dower right. A husband's right to a

portion of his wife's property begins only after the birth of a living child, and even then she need not have his consent to sell it during her lifetime, and may deprive him of it altogether by will."

While one "forbears threatenings," it is worth while to wonder whether this would go on if the relations of the sexes to each other were changed. Courtesies that are compelled by law would soon become onerous. Instincts that were required by statute would become irksome, until they were laid aside. A man jostled at the polls and in the primary meetings would be less inclined to step aside or stand up elsewhere to give a woman place.

The almost uniform method of confusing questions, resorted to so constantly in the attacks of the woman suffragists, must be protested against to the end. Giving a woman the ballot has nothing whatever to do with her higher education, with her choice of occupations, with the part she may take in the discussion of public questions, or with her share in the administration of public interests. Along the lines of their distinctive ability, and in the ways of their natural adaptation, no sane man questions the wisdom and the duty of the highest education for women, of the freest following out of their vocations, of the importance of their intelligent knowledge, and the value of their expressed opinions in great moral and social public questions, and of their capacity in certain offices of responsibility, duty and trust.

So far as to principles, and fairness of methods in argument. And now for the appeal to serious men and women, for the serious consideration of this most serious question. The appeal is rightly made, first, in behalf of the women of America who are earnestly opposed to the imposition upon them of a burden which, from their point of view, not only is *not* a duty, but *is* an evil; not only not a right, but actually a wrong. It is very easy, by the process that is sometimes called "counting noses," to say that this is a matter of minorities, and that majorities must rule. But, like many other arguments in favor of this cause, the statement is based upon the "take-things-for-granted" plan. Given a large body of earnest agitators (some of them paid agents who live by the agitation), and everybody knows that numberless signatures may be obtained to a petition for almost anything—names of indifferent, unintelligent, brow-beaten and button-holed people, who sign rather than argue, and assent in the spirit of

lazy complaisance, rather than offend the asker by refusing. Such signatures mean nothing, although they swell the number into a more than millenary petition, and make it more or less miles long. Not for a moment disputing the fact that some of the names stand for intelligence and intention, for conviction and conscience, that they represent education, social position, tax-paying interest, I claim, from my own large and long experience, that, in any community with which I am acquainted, the most serious, intelligent, cultivated women, with the largest money interest in the government, and the most quiet, thoughtful, earnest women, are, conscientiously and on clear convictions, opposed to woman suffrage. I insist that it is a wrong to force such women to the alternative of going to the polls, against their instincts and their convictions, *or* of allowing the unthinking majority of votes to be enlarged by the ballots of women carried away by a theory, or influenced by a desire for power. What the result would be is matter of conjecture ; but my conviction is that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bring the great mass of really intelligent and responsible women to vote, against their ingrained habits, their instincts, their inclinations, and their judgments. And it is important to stop and consider what that means. The old proverb applies here of the horse dragged to the water, which cannot be made to drink. Legislation may be secured that will say to every woman: "You *shall* have the privilege of voting" ; but, after all, it means only "may," and you cannot put the verb into the imperative and say: "You *shall* vote."

There are two factors of grave danger in the political issues and elections of America. First of all, the religious question, which, guard it as we will, crops up from time to time, in appropriations to charities or schools or religious organizations, or in fanatical fury against some form of religious order and belief. There have been two noted instances, at least, in which the danger has been shadowed forth in the arraying of Protestants against Roman Catholics. In one case, the violent stirring up of Protestant women about a school question produced an angry contest, in which the Protestants carried the day ; while in the other, after a careful canvass, quietly made among Protestant women, the summons of a single Roman priest mustered a force of female voters, always liable to be controlled by clerical direction, which carried the day for Rome. And the dregs and debris

of the contest were bitter and wretched to a degree. It is to the infinite honor of women that they are more quickly interested, more keenly concerned, and more deeply influenced in their religious feelings and convictions than men. But it adds to the wrong and horror of allowing religion to be dragged into politics, if, on one side or the other, a great body of voters could be wielded by any religious or ecclesiastical influence to decide the question and carry the day.

The other factor, known and read of all men, is the venal voter—the man whose ballot is for sale to the highest bidder. The possession of the ballot has not purified the male voter from the heinous sin of a sold vote. Why should it purify the woman? It is a well-known fact that, in all our large cities, there is a great body of women who sell themselves, soul and body. It is idle to stop and say that men are responsible for this horror. I have no desire to screen men. I believe the man who sins against purity is before God a sinner equally with the woman. But the fact stands that a woman who will sell her purity, her honor, her reputation, herself, will sell anything. And in the city of New York, with its fifty thousand fallen women, there is this enormous and awful possibility of a vote that might turn the tide of any election, purchasable by the highest bidder, who would naturally use his disreputable bargain for disreputable and dangerous ends. By some strange confusion of infantile innocence, unimaginable ignorance of facts, or malicious interpretation of words, men who have called attention to this danger have been accused of insulting their wives and mothers, or of implying that Mrs. Cady Stanton or Miss Anthony would sell her vote. But this sort of answer is only the action of the cuttle-fish which hides its method of escape, or the dust of the fleeing animal which blinds the eyes of its pursuer. The hideous fact of the number of degraded and venal women remains. The awful fact of venal voters among men remains; and of the equally criminal class of political go-betweens, who spend the money of candidates and corporations in these most illegitimate "election expenses." And the possibility and probability of the increase of a corrupted ballot giving, in a close election, the balance of power, secured by a purchase of the votes of women lost to all sense of shame, follows as an immediate and inevitable danger.

It is constantly urged that women voters would be more con-

scientious and careful than men are, would be always on the side of reform, would advance the interests of temperance and of all great moral and social movements. But, in the first place, this is purely prophetic, without the inspiration of prophecy. It is mere guess-work. To reach a real conclusion through an imaginary premiss is illogical to the last degree. There are, perhaps in smaller proportion, bad women as well as bad men, intemperate women, ignorant women. In the comparisons usually made by the advocates of woman's suffrage, it is always the virtuous and intelligent woman who is contrasted with the ignorant and unprincipled man. The fact is, that to multiply suffrage means to multiply *every kind of vote* by two, and while it would mean an increase of votes cast on principle and for principle, it would also mean an increase of unprincipled votes against the best interests of society. It is greatly to be doubted whether politics, either in its methods or in its results, would be purified in this way. The giving of the ballot to men has not improved either the morals or the responsibility of men. Why should it make women more moral or more responsible? Voting, after all, is to a large degree *by* parties and *for* individuals, and there is no such violence of partizanship in the world as the violence of female partizanship. No one who has heard a good "Primrose League lady" in England abuse Mr. Gladstone will question this. And the condition of feeling in the South during and since the war is a painful evidence of it. It was the women of the South who fanned the flame of secession, who forced the continuance of the hopeless strife, and who to-day, where there is any spirit of out-and-out sectionalism, are the unrelenting, unforgetting, unforgiving Southerners. This relation of the Southern women to the war is a serious note of warning, in another direction, about "the woman in politics." There can be no doubt that women in the South knew more, thought more, felt more, talked more about politics than the women of the North. And what was the result and effect of their intelligent interest? Slavery and the slave laws, with all their frightful possibilities, maintained in the time of peace, and sectionalism run mad when the opportunity for the war came!

There are two other considerations which cannot be omitted in the study of this subject, the family relation, and the relation between men and women in the world. To-day, in the household, the man is the voter. Suppose the wife becomes a voter

too. She will either reproduce her husband's political views, and there would be in one house *two* Democratic voters, and in another *two* Republican voters, where there had been one. And this is no gain towards a decision of questions. It is only a multiplying of ballots, producing no change of results. Or else the wife would take the opposite side from her husband's, and, instantly, with all the heat and violence of party differences and political disagreements, a bone of contention is introduced into the home; a new cause of dissension and alienation is added to the already strained relations in many families. Then there is the question of mistress and maid. Shall the cook leave her kitchen to cast a vote, which shall counterbalance the vote of the mistress, or shall the employer undertake to control the politics of the "kitchen cabinet"? And all this, not merely on the voting day, or in the deposit of the ballot, but the weeks before and after the election are to be spent in the heat of discussion, or in the smart of defeat. The American home is not too sacred and secure to-day to make it safe to undermine it with the explosive materials of politics and partisanship. And meanwhile, as things are now, the intelligent woman, interested in some great measure of reform, has in her hand, not the ability to rival, offset, or double her husband's vote, but the power of her persuasion, her affection, her ingenuity, to influence it. It would be incredible, if it were not shown to be true, that any large number of thinking and intelligent beings, knowing, feeling, using, this tremendous power, should be willing to run the risk of losing it, by substituting a thing far lower and feebler in its stead. And with the experience of what she has gained for her sex, with the evidence of what voting men have brought about for her under the influence of non-voting women, and through solicitude for their interests, the rashness of this proposed experiment defies description.

It is perfectly idle to imagine that the relation between men and women in the outside world can remain the same when their attitude to each other is so entirely changed. With women mingling in the rough strifes and contests of political life, and assuming positions and duties hitherto unknown to them, there will inevitably come the quenching of that chivalrous feeling of men towards women, born of the protection hitherto expected by women and afforded by men, which is the inspiring cause of so

large a part of the amenities of life and the politeness of manners. And yet, just because woman is physically weak, and man physically strong, there will be no change in the real necessities of things. One may well look with grave anxiety at what is really *a revolution of* the natural order, utterly unable to conjecture what the results may be when women shall have become, not only *votresses,* but legisla*tresses,* mayor*esses,* and alder*women.* It is the favorite habit of women arguing this cause to deal with it as though woman's suffrage were an *evolution.* But it cannot fairly be considered as, in any way, a progress along the line of that steady advance in the power and position of women, which has been wrought out by Christian civilization. It would not be progress, it would be retrogression. And it is not the least after the manner of growth and improvement in the character, the education, or the opportunities of women. It is a new departure; an entire digression; a violent change, and the appeal of this article is in a way "from Philip drunk to Philip sober." Certain women have said so loudly, and so often, that they are "enslaved," "reduced to a level with idiots," "classed with criminals," "deprived of natural rights," "down-trodden and oppressed," that they have really come to believe it and to make some sensible people believe it. I trust that wiser counsels may in the end prevail. Meanwhile, inasmuch as the active agitators for this radical revolution in the very fundamental elements of government, have resorted to every known means to secure their ends, I cannot but feel, that, however the other women may shrink from the publicity, it is their bounden duty by influence, by argument, by petition, to "fight fire with fire"; to see to it that, in the approaching elections for the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, men shall be chosen who will defend them from this wrong; and when the elections are completed, to let it be known and felt in Albany that what some women claim as a political right, they consider a personal grievance and a public harm.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BLUE-JACKET.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

It is to be observed of all pictures representing the Arctic regions, that they are seldom true to nature : and this because it is always the exceptional, and never the ordinary, scene that is painted. In every part of the picture we have the icebergs running up with fantastic peaks and pinnacles, developing into graceful arches and airy columns. It is not to be said that such natural freaks are absent from every Arctic scene, but it is that they give a character to few Arctic scenes. Thus the ordinary aspect of the ice is scarcely picturesque, and something like a dull monotony of form characterizes the real iceberg.

I think that most probably what is true of the pictures we have of the Arctic regions is also true of those we have of the blue-jacket who won our battles for us in past times. What was picturesque, odd, eccentric, and therefore rare, about him was selected to give character to the scene, so that the extraordinary, instead of the ordinary, blue-jacket is the type of which we have the greatest knowledge. It has often struck me as a curious anomaly that Dibdin's songs were never sung by the blue-jackets of my early days, that is, the days of nearly fifty years ago. They had songs of their own—the "fore-bitter" of sixty or seventy verses, with a roaring chorus at the end of each ; or the sentimental solo describing the joys of wandering by river sides and in soft, green meadows with the maiden of your choice ; or, less frequently, the broad comic song, scarcely of a drawing room character. I reconciled the fact to my sense of the fitness of things by reflecting that Dibdin's blue-jacket was most probably a stage sort of character, interesting to the lay mind of England, but altogether unrepresentative of the real thing and rejected by the real thing for this reason.

There are not wanting here and there direct proofs of my view. I have among my books a curious and rare pamphlet, written at the very beginning of this century, descriptive of the inner life of a man-of-war of the day. It is in the form of dialogue. A Member of Parliament becomes the guest of the captain for a short cruise, and he carries on a conversation with the officers as the ship passes through a variety of situations, including, if I rightly recollect, getting ashore, and experiencing an alarm of fire on board. The Member never ceases to express his surprise at the misrepresentations current on shore as to the character and conduct of "the guardians of the deep," as they were to be seen in their floating houses. Everything the Member sees and hears shows order, discipline, temperance, delicacy of language—he never heard an oath—and kindliness of thought and demeanor. If, again, we turn from hypothesis to reality, and remember the extraordinary good health which prevailed in the fleet under Nelson's command throughout his long and monotonous blockade of Toulon, it is hardly possible to associate it with the belief that his men were the rollicking, drunken (that is, much more so than society of the day), reckless creatures that have been popularly painted.

I, personally, am confirmed in my view from my own experience. I never served in a ship where there were not a few representatives of the picturesque but unmanageable devilry which has been handed down to us as the common character of the blue-jacket; and if I were to paint the general aspect of the crew in the colors proper to the exceptions, I should show that the blue-jacket of 1850 was a true descendant of him of 1800. I doubt not that at the time I write there are on board many of our ships specimens, probably very few in number, of the traditional type. But no one now would write about them or draw attention to their eccentricities as having in them anything to be amused at, still less to admire. Public opinion, on the lower deck as elsewhere, has changed its view of these things. Doubtless a blue-jacket, in the gradations from perfect sobriety to perfect drunkenness, does and says pretty nearly the same things now that he did and said ninety years ago. Fifty, forty, twenty years ago, perhaps, the comic side of the case would have been seen, and would have predominated in the minds of onlookers; now men would regard the case, not in its immediate, but in its future aspect. The

beginning of the drunkard's life, with all the horror and misery of it which was to come, would now be the dominating thought, and the idea of anything comic would be an impossible association. And so with any other variation from a fair standard of sensible conduct and morality. We may find it, but it no longer bears a picturesque appearance. No popular writer would speak of it as a necessary concomitant of loyal courage, in all cases to be excused, if not to be regarded with affectionate pity.

So, perhaps, it is this way with the evolution of the blue-jacket. Perhaps we should find that his main characteristics are unchanged and unchangeable; that there always was and always will be a minority with qualities eccentric and striking which were once thought to be picturesque and inherent in a "jolly tar," but which were really excrescences that time and enlightenment have worn away, so that now the minority is infinitesimal.

The blue-jacket, in short, always was what circumstances made him, and he always will be so. Most of the blue-jacket's surroundings have immensely changed in the course of this century; some of them it is impossible to change. His character has obeyed the impulses forced upon it.

It is too early yet to understand fully what the change from sail to steam may effect in the bluejacket's physique, but the change for the majority cannot be so great as might be inferred. A proportion of the blue-jackets of any fully rigged ship were necessarily athletes. The "upper yardmen" in a line-of-battle-ship or a frigate were exceptional men in this way, and much more so, perhaps, just about the time that sail power was receiving its death warrant than ever before. These young men had to race aloft to nearly the highest points, at top speed, eight or ten times a week when the ship was in harbor; to keep their heads and maintain their breath while "holding on by their eyelids," as the phrase went, and manipulating with a careful and measured order of action the various and intricate arrangements for "crossing" or "sending down" the royal and top-gallant yards. It was all done at full speed, for it was universally held that the upper yardmen gave a character to the whole ship; and that one which was foremost in this exercise was ever considered "the smartest ship in the fleet." These upper yardmen were always the coming men. They had most opportunities for distinguishing themselves, were the best known, and were most un-

der the eye of the authorities. They developed great muscular power in chest, shoulders and arms. Their lower extremities suffered, and one always knew the men who had been upper yardmen by their tadpole-like appearance when they were bathing.

But in the modern steam line-of-battle-ship and frigate these extremely athletic specimens formed a very small minority of the "ship's company," and none of them could lose his turn at being upper yardman so long as the ship's reputation depended on the speed with which the upper yards were crossed and sent down. In harbor the rest of the blue-jackets had the handling of yards and sails for exercise once or twice a week, but at sea the use of sails for propulsion grew less and less important, and most of the work aloft was more of an exercise and less of a necessity.

I am not at all sure that the year 1800 produced even the minority of athletes which our upper yard system was famous for in 1860. Any one examining the logs of any blockading fleet about the end of last century, can scarcely doubt the fact. The ships as a rule were kept under extremely low sail and were for days and days under the same sail, the "evolutions" being confined to "tacking" or "wearing," "per signal," five or six times in the twenty-four hours-manœuvres which called for little work aloft. "It blew so much harder in the days of the war," that double or even treble reefs in the topsails were found co-existent with the ready passage of boats from ship to ship. There was then no such thing as "sail drill," the actual necessities of cruising being held all sufficient. Even in my own time, I have noted that the training of a minority of athletes was the work of steam, and that the exercises aloft by a sailing fleet, such as Sir Wm. Parker commanded in the forties, were a small matter compared to those instituted in the "Marlborough" under the splendid auspices of the present Admirals, Sir Wm. Martin, Sir Houston Stewart and Sir Thomas Brandreth in the sixties.

But however all this may be, there has been for a couple of centuries a body of men serving afloat, second to none as loyal fighting men, with whom it was a traditional privilege that they could not be ordered "above the hammock-nettings." Since the earliest times the proud position of the marines was to mess and to sleep between the blue-jackets and the officers. And even now, when the loyalty of marines and blue-jackets is equal,

and is preserved by the same means, tradition puts the marine to mess and to sleep in as good an imitation of his old place as modern naval architecture will allow. This body of men got few advantages, moral or physical from the use of sails, and so far, the marine of to-day, when sail has gone, cannot differ much from the marine of a hundred years ago.

Steam brought in a second body of men who were free from training aloft, and who by the nature of the case could hold no competition as athletes with the upper yardmen, though to some extent the nature of their work below brought the operation of mind and muscle into nearly as close an alliance as did that of the upper yardmen aloft. These men, the stokers, were so noted for their muscular power that in regattas it was generally allowed that the stoker's boats ought to win. The marine again was somewhat hampered by the general buttoned-up-ness of his dress. The stoker dressed as a seaman, and enjoyed all the splendid freedom of limb which the seaman's dress offers behind its picturesque and graceful outline.

Thus the evolution of the blue-jacket may be more direct from him of the last century than from him of the time when there was a contest between coal and wind for the right to propel and when it was not certain which would win. The blue-jacket proper has diminished in comparative number. The absence of sail has brought him towards the marine; his dress and much of his training and mode of life leave him less distinguished than heretofore from the stoker. In another way, the difference between the stoker and the blue-jacket proper is minimized. All that working in hemp and canvas; knotting, splicing, grafting, pointing, worming, sewing, tabling, and all the hundred and one manufacturing operations of the blue-jacket as a handicraftsman, have disappeared. There was a certain character about all hemp and canvas handicraftsmanship which certainly must have had its effect on the character of the handicraftsman. It was never exact work. A job might be a neat job of work or it might be a rough one, yet the work as work was equally good.

The seaman could put some of himself into the seizing of every block he stropped, into the end of every rope he pointed. That is all gone. He is not yet a mechanic; he is not yet a worker in brass and iron as he was once in hemp and canvas, but he is constantly handling mechanisms so exactly formed that

no part of the former is left in them. There is no individuality in the things he handles; they are impassive and impersonal.

And then again he has wholly lost that sense of contention with the elements, that romantic uncertainty which lay in the doubt whether, in the sailing ship, man or nature would win in any contest. The character of a man perpetually wondering whether nature would be kind and blow him into the haven where he would be, or whether nature would be rough and give him a week's dose of treble-reefed topsails to a dead foul breeze, could not possibly embrace the same characteristics as that of him who spends his life in feeling and asserting his entire mastery over the elements, and his perfect indifference to the freaks of wind or sea.

So this, the ideality of the blue-jacket, his romance, his individualism, has been roughly assaulted by the advent of steam and the number and exactitude of the mechanisms which steam has developed, and which are the daily and hourly companions of his life afloat.

Only two sorts of work remain to the blue-jacket into which he can put his personality, or on which he can stamp his character. In as far as he makes his own clothes, washes them, and scrubs his own hammock, he is doing work which is not exact, and into which his energy, or the want of it, his fancy, or the want of it, may enter. It is to be hoped that the contractor for slop clothing may be kept as much at arm's length as possible, and that the pipe, "Scrub 'ammicks and wash clothes," may not become obsolete on the advent of some terrible inventor who proposes to do the business by steam.

But on the other hand, seaman, marine, and stoker lead on board ship now a life not differing so very much from that which their forefathers so lived. The absence of privacy; much of the crowding; the habit of doing hour by hour, like the works of a clock, hosts of disagreeable things only because some one else has ordered them to be done; all these remain to form the physique and the character, and to stamp their peculiarities on each of the three great branches of the naval service. The very long, solitary cruises of men-of-war have passed away in our own time. yet many of our smaller ships are for months isolated, cut off from all civilization except their own, when their lot is cast in distant and unfrequented parts of the world: so that whatever effect this separation had in the past is not wholly lost in the present. And,

quite apart from everything which was or is peculiar to the blue-jacket's situation on board ship as contrasted with that of the marine and the stoker, we know for certain that ship life leaves a special stamp upon him. We know it because of the special stamp it leaves on the marine. Admittedly there are no troops in the world like the Royal Marines. Besides the peculiar steadiness and solidity which they exhibit, their capacity for making themselves comfortable under the most adverse circumstances of a campaign has long been the envy of the pure soldier. In this the blue-jacket shares equally, and the fact shows that it is inherent in ship life to produce this sort of thing, and that the change to steam has not affected it. I have had occasion to follow some of the early history of the Sherwood Foresters, late the Forty-fifth Regiment, and I have traced in it most of the characteristics now so marked in the marines. The regiment had such an extraordinarily prolonged experience of life in transports, that when several regiments were under convoy, those carrying the Forty-fifth were held up as the patterns which other regiments should copy in order, cleanliness and comfort.

But if the blue-jacket has much changed, and I think he has, generally for the better, it is law and rule that has done it and not so much physical surroundings.

Though I have said that the average is not represented in our pictures of the blue-jacket of a past age, I should paint that average, as I knew it, in sadder colors than I could now use. The average blue-jacket as I knew him long ago was always a good fellow, but you seldom knew where to have him. He was unquestionably a drunken fellow, and he used to manage to get dead drunk faster than any other class of men with whom I have been acquainted. He was not steady. Apart from his officer he seemed almost a reed shaken with the wind, though his personal courage was always lion-like when roused. He was proud of his officer, especially if the officer was hard on him. He was somewhat of a fatalist, quick to imagine that fate was against him and to give up the struggle against it. He was quarrelsome in his cups, but almost always distinctly witty out of them. He preserves his humor to the present day. A story is told of a certain "Bill" standing at the corner of a street in Natal during the Zulu war, when a certain general just landed, covered with medals and orders, and equally hung with soldierly knicknacks,

the whistle, the field glass, the compass, the note book, etc., passed near "Bill" and his companion "Jack."

"Who's 'im, Jack?" asked Bill.

"Dunno," said Jack, "seems to be one o' them new generals just come ashore."

"H'm," returned Bill, preparing to put his pipe in his mouth again, "looks like a bloomin' Christmas tree!"

The stories about frying watches, and lighting pipes with £5 notes, give an utterly false notion of the blue-jacket. Philip, drunk, might have done such things, but not Philip, sober. Philip, sober, has always been, and is, eculiarly sharp and thrifty about money. Philip, sober, forty or fifty years ago took wonderful care of the pence, and he does so still. But forty or fifty years ago he was filled with an ignorant suspicion of every one who had to do with his money and who did not play upon his fancies. He has got over that now perhaps pretty well, but no one of his rank of life makes closer calculations or drives a better bargain than the developed blue-jacket of to-day. I think he has overdone it in not meeting Government half way on the score of his widow's pension, but he is the descendant of tradition and Rome was not built in a day.

His thrift has been in every way helped by wise legislation in the matter of naval savings banks, in the frequency of his payments, and in the facilities given him when abroad for remitting to his friends and dependents at home. To these he is almost uniformly generous. I give some figures which show both his thrift and his generosity, or care for his family.

A certain battleship, in the year 1893, with a complement of less than 500 blue-jackets, marines, and stokers, sent home by means of regular monthly allotments to relatives, dependents, and friends, more than £4,700. At odd times, as they had it to spare, they remitted a further sum of over £900. This was generous thrift, exercised toward others. If further inquiries had been made it would be shown that many of the remitters, and more of those who were not remitting, were hoarding in the savings banks. In 1892–3, 17,934 men in the navy had savings bank accounts open, and the total amount thus hoarded was £229,173, an average of more than £12 per head of depositors, or perhaps nearly £4 per head of the men serving. The sum actually put away that year was over £173,000.

I have said that in old times he was a drunken fellow; but then we were all drunken fellows a hundred years ago. I have seen the journal of the captain of a frigate written in the West Indies during the War of Independence. He had flogged a man for drunkenness, and the man in the course of his punishment said the captain himself had been drunk a couple of days before. The man, according to the custom of those times, got another dozen. But the captain, narrating the occurrence in his journal, reflected that after all the man had spoken the truth. The wise conclusion of the captain thereon was "that he would never get drunk *on board the ship* again."

When I throw my mind back forty years to the days when I served in what was called "a twelve-gun pelter"—that is, a man-of-war brig—it seems to me as if, just outside of the midshipman's berth, which was then my domicile, there were always two or three drunken men lying on the deck with their legs in irons and their heads on wet "swabs"—bundles of rope yarns which were used in drying the decks after washing. And, showing how we then regarded such matters, it is the comic side of the scene which alone dwells in my mind. I have a remembrance of a certain Thompson, a carpenter's mate, waking up, half recovered, and prefacing a long soliloquy on the injustice of the commander in speaking of him as "the man, Thompson," by quoting Shakespeare, "Now is the winter of our discontent." Turtle, when taken on board ship as fresh meat, are laid on their backs with a wet swab under their heads. I remember a certain Lear, captain of the foretop, recognizing the similarity of his position, and in his more than half-drunken state declaring that "he did'nt want no wet swabs; he wasn't a —— turtle!"

I deem it quite possible that the blue-jacket of this date was more drunken on board his ship than was his ancestor of a century earlier. The ancestor was brought up on beer; my blue-jacket was brought up on rum. Every day he had a large wine-glass full of rum to three wine-glasses full of water at his noon-tide dinner, and again at his afternoon tea. Often he did not drink it, but handed his proportion to the messmate, whose turn it was to enjoy the glories of getting thoroughly drunk with a possible flogging to follow. The only directly repressive measure against this sort of thing was taken many years ago, when the evening basin of grog ceased to be served out. The opportunities of get-

ting drunk on board were lessened, but those on shore were immensely increased.

In nothing was the blue-jacket of early days more unreliable than in his return from leave on shore. The thing acted and re-acted. The rarity of his visits to the land made him stay there when he got there, as long as he could. Because he was sure to over-stay, he was seldom allowed the opportunity. But the wisest of legislation cut the gordian knot. Many years ago the dwellers on the lower deck of all ranks, were classed for leave. There are "special," "privileged" and "general," "leave-men," and there are "habitual leave-breakers." The "special" leave man goes ashore almost as the officer does—whenever he wishes, and the duties of the ship admit of it. The "privileged" man goes when time is not likely to press much. The "general" leave-man only goes at stated intervals and when time does not press at all. The "habitual leave-breaker" only goes at long intervals and to test his powers of returning to time experimentally. The result, of course, is immensely increased opportunities of getting drunk on shore, but immense pressure to keep sober so as not to lose a "class" in leave, or to get a step higher in the classification. And in every ship, and always, the good lesson is working and the evolution of the blue-jacket is towards sobriety and reliability.

There are in every ship some total abstainers. Those who look for a new heaven and a new earth as the outcome of total abstention may be inclined to regard them as stars in the firmament. But generally speaking, I think I am right in saying that the executive officers do not know who, amongst the well-behaved and the exemplars on the lower deck are total abstainers, and who are moderate drinkers. Most naval officers reckon more with the ill effect of broken vows, than with the good effect of vows that are kept. They do not favor the teetotal propaganda, and believe more fully in that which they see ; namely, the silent growth of that public opinion on the lower deck which has for so many years been dominant on the quarter-deck.

What shall we say of the courage and loyalty of the present blue jacket ? We may say then there never was greater trial of it than was recently made in the Soudan, and it never had a more magnificant triumph. All the blue-jackets' fighting of late has been on shore, and probably there are no light troops in

the world such as those we land from our ships. Speed of movement, steadiness, reliability, daring of the highest quality, are all there, and evolution in this respect has been towards perfection.

What again of his loyalty and discipline? There is in this respect no difference now between the seaman and the marine. Both are long-service men generally looking forward to their pensions. Both have a great stake in the success and maintenance of the naval service. Discipline for these reasons seldom requires the iron hand. The causes which differentiated the officer from the man have to some extent ceased to operate. The man feels, as the officer has longer felt, that he is the subject of law and not of personal will. He is more ready than he was to fill his place in the general machinery.

But I hope I am wrong in apprehending a possible danger. If personal interest alone had been the guide of the naval officer, England would scarcely be where she is. The sentiment of loyalty, and of the grandeur of self-sacrifice for a cause, have made the British naval officer what self-interest alone could never have made him. There have been some signs that on the lower deck this sentiment does not wax. The discipline and loyalty based upon self-interest and utilitarianism may be perfect in appearance and yet incapable of bearing a strain. If anything of the trades-union spirit should invade our lower decks, there might be danger in it.

P. H. Colomb.

REMINISCENCES OF PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

BY SIR WILLIAM H. FLOWER, K. C. B., F. R. S., DIRECTOR OF THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

THERE is no intention in this paper of giving either a biographical notice of Professor Huxley or an estimate of his position in science, philosophy or literature. Both have been done over and over again in numerous journals and magazines that have appeared since his death. The main facts of his career, and his great contributions to human knowledge, must be perfectly familiar to the readers of this REVIEW. I have, however, in response to an appeal from the Editor, put down a few personal reminiscences, gathered during a friendship of nearly forty years, which may throw some additional light upon the character and private life of one in whom all English speaking people must take a deep interest. In doing this I fear I have been obliged to introduce myself to the notice of the reader more frequently than I should wish, but this seems inevitable in an article of this nature, and I trust will be forgiven for the sake of the main subject.

When Huxley returned to London from his four years' surveying cruise in the "Rattlesnake," under the command of Captain Owen Stanley, one of the first men of kindred pursuits who took him by the hand was George Burk, then surgeon to the Seaman's Hospital, the "Dreadnaught," lying in the Thames off Greenwich. About this time Burk removed from Greenwich to Harley street, and although doing some practice as a surgeon, and even attaining to the position of President of the Royal College of Surgeons, his main occupation and chief pleasure were in purely scientific pursuits, and his great interest in and familiarity with microscopic manipulation, especially as applied to the structure of lowly organized animal forms—then rather in its infancy—was a strong

bond of sympathy with Huxley. In 1852-4 they translated and edited jointly Kölliker's *Manual of Human Histology*, published by the Sydenham Society. This fact shows that Huxley had already made himself proficient in the German language, as he had also, while on board the "Rattlesnake," taught himself Italian, with the main object of being able to read Dante in the original, so wide were his interests and sympathies.

It was through Burk that I first became acquainted with Huxley. This was shortly before his marriage, the incidents connected with which were of a somewhat romantic character. When the "Rattlesnake" was in Sydney Harbor the officers were invited to a ball, and young Huxley among the number. There for the first time he met his future wife, whose parents resided at Sydney. A few days after they were engaged, and the ship sailed for the Tower Straits to complete the survey of the north coast of Australia, all communication being cut off for months at a time, and then she returned direct to England. After that brief acquaintance (not, I believe, longer than a fortnight), it was seven years before the lovers saw one another. At the end of this time, on Huxley's appointment to the School of Mines, he was in a position to claim his bride, and welcome her to their first home in St. John's Wood. He often used to say that to engage the affections of a young girl under these circumstances, knowing that he would have to leave her for an indefinite time, and with only the remotest prospect of ever marrying, was an act most strongly to be reprobated, and he often held it out as a warning to his children never to do anything of the kind, and yet they all married young and all happily. Huxley's love at first sight and constancy during those seven long years of separation were richly rewarded, for it is impossible to imagine a pair more thoroughly suited. I cannot help relating a little incident which clings to my memory, though it happened full thirty years ago. A rather cynical and vulgar-minded acquaintance of mine said to me one day: "I saw Huxley in a box at the Drury Lane Theatre last night. Can you tell me who was the lady with him?" After a few words of description I said: "Oh, that was Mrs. Huxley." "Indeed," he said, "I thought it could not be his wife, he was so very attentive to her all the evening." As intimate friends knew, they had at first many household troubles and cares to contend with, a large family of young children,

much ill health, and not very abundant means, but through it all Huxley's patience and sweetness were admirable. The fierce and redoubtable antagonist in the battlefield of scientific or theological controversy was all love and gentleness at home.

The fact that he had sailed under Captain Owen Stanley, who died when in command of the "Rattlesnake" in Australia, brought him into very friendly communication with the Captain's brother, the late dean of Westminster, *the* Dean, as many of us always used to, and still do, call him, just as the first Duke of Wellington was always called *the* Duke. Notwithstanding the great differences of their interests and pursuits, they remained intimate until Stanley's death, and to be with them when they met was a rare occasion of hearing much delightful talk and many displays of playful wit. If I had the faculty of a Boswell, I should have much work narrating of many charming little dinner parties at one or the other of our houses, when Huxley and the Dean were the principal talkers. I remember a characteristic *rencontre* between them which took place on one of the ballot nights at the Athenæum. A well-known popular preacher of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, who had made himself famous by predictions of the speedy coming of the end of the world, was up for election. I was standing by Huxley when the Dean, coming straight from the ballot boxes, turned towards us. "Well," said Huxley, "have you been voting for C?" "Yes, indeed, I have," replied the Dean. "Oh, I thought the priests were always opposed to the prophets," said Huxley. "Ah?" replied the Dean, with that well-known twinkle in his eye, and the sweetest of smiles. "But you see, I do not believe in his prophecies, and some people say I am not much of a priest."

Speaking of Dean Stanley, I am reminded of a very interesting meeting which took place at my house, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on November 26, 1878, just after his return from his visit to the United States. He had a great wish to see Darwin, who was one of the few remarkable men of the age with whom he was not personally acquainted. They moved in totally different circles, Darwin having, owing to ill-health, long given up going into general society. He had, however, a great admiration for the Dean's liberality, courage, and character, and was glad of the opportunity of meeting him. So we arranged that they should both come to lunch. They were mutually pleased with

each other, although they had not many subjects in common to talk about. Darwin was no theologian and Stanley did not take the slightest interest in nor had he any knowledge of any branch of natural history, although his father was eminent as an ornithologist and President of the Linnean Society. I once took him over the Geological Gardens. His remarks were, of course, original and amusing, but the sole interest he appeared to find in any of the animals was in tracing some human trait, either in appearance or character. The Dean enjoyed intensely the broader aspects and beauties of nature as shown in scenery, but the details of animal and plant life were entirely outside his sympathies.

Another introduction consequent upon Huxley's voyage in the "Rattlesnake" was to Dr. Vaughan, then Headmaster of Harrow. Mrs. Vaughan was Captain Owen Stanley's sister, and soon after Huxley's return he was asked to dine and pass the night at Harrow. This was a new experience. The young rough sailor surgeon was at first quite out of his element in the refined, scholastic, ecclesiastical society he found himself plunged into. Among those who were present was an Oxford don (the first of the class Huxley had ever met), whose great learning, suave manner and air of superiority during dinner, greatly alarmed and repelled him, as he afterwards confessed. Bed time came, and both stood upon the staircase, lighted candle in hand. They looked straight into each other's faces, and the don addressed a few words directly to Huxley for the first time. He was much interested, and an animated conversation ensued. Instead of bidding each other "good night" they adjourned to a neighboring room, sat down and talked till two o'clock in the morning. This was the beginning of Huxley's life-long friendship with the late Master of Balliol, Dr. Jowett.

It may surprise some people to know, but that he has told it himself in an exceedingly interesting and delightfully written short autobiographical sketch prefixed to his works, that Huxley was not in early life anything of what is commonly called a naturalist. Most men who have distinguished themselves in the field of zoölogy or paleontology have loved the subject from their early boyhood, a love generally shown by the formation of collections of specimens. Huxley never did anything of the kind. His early tastes were for literature and for engineering. He attrib-

uted the awakening of his interest in anatomy to Professor Wharton Jones' lectures at Charing Cross Hospital, where he received his medical education. Wharton Jones was one of the pioneers of microscopic research in this country; a great enthusiast in his work, but a man of modest and exceedingly retiring disposition, and very little known outside a small circle of friends. He published several papers on histology in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and made a specialty of ophthalmic surgery. Perhaps of his various contributions to the advancement of his subject, not the least important was that of making a scientific anatomist of Huxley.

The next man who had a real influence upon Huxley's professional career. was Sir John Richardson, a very keen zoölogist, at that time Principal Medical Officer at Haslar Hospital, near Portsmouth, where the naval assistant surgeons first proceeded on appointment. It was through him, that Huxley was appointed to the surveying ship, the "Rattlesnake." He was not naturalist to the expedition, as has been sometimes said, indeed he would at this time have been hardly qualified for such a post, for although he had published a short paper on the microscopic structure of the human hair, he had as yet done no zoölogical work. Moreover, the ship did carry an accredited naturalist, John Macgillivray, who published a "Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. 'Rattlesnake,' during 1846–'50," in two volumes [1852].

Huxley's official duties were only with the health of the crew, and as he had a surgeon above him, he had plenty of leisure at his command. How this leisure was employed in laying the foundation upon which his future distinction rested has often been told. He had his microscope with him, and he threw himself with the greatest ardour into the investigation of the structure of the lowly organized, but beautiful, forms of animal life which abounded in the seas through which the ship sailed, and which the surveying operations in which she was engaged gave ample opportunities for observing under the most favorable conditions. This was almost a new field of research. He became fascinated with it, and his success in its pursuit was the main cause of his adopting zoölogy as the principal subject to engage his energies during the rest of his life.

As said before, Huxley, unlike many other zoölogists, was never a collector, and had not the slightest tincture of the spirit

of a museum curator. He cared for a specimen according to the facilities it afforded for investigation. He cut it up, got all the knowledge he could out of it, and threw it away. I believe he never made a preparation of any kind, and he cared little for directions sealed down in bottles.

When, in 1862, he was appointed to the Hunterian Professorship at the College of Surgeons, he took for the subject of several yearly courses of lectures, the anatomy of the vertebrata, beginning with the primates, and as the subject was then rather new to him, and as it was a rule with him never to make a statement in a lecture that was not founded upon his own actual observation, he set to work to make a series of original dissections of all the forms he treated of. These were carried on in the workroom at the top of the college, and mostly in the evenings, after his daily occupation at Jermyn Street (The School of Mines, as it was then called) was over, an arrangement which my residence in the college buildings enabled me to make for him. These rooms contained a large store of material, entire or partially dissected animals preserved in spirit, which unlike those mounted in the museum, were available for further investigation in any direction, and these, supplemented occasionally by fresh subjects from the zoölogical gardens, formed the foundation of the lectures, afterwards condensed into the volume on the Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals, published in 1871. On these evenings it was always my privilege to be with him, and to assist in the work in which he was engaged. In dissecting, as in everything else, he was a very rapid worker, going straight to the point he wished to ascertain with a firm and steady hand, never diverted into side issues, nor wasting any time in unnecessary polishing up for the sake of appearances ; the very opposite in fact to what is commonly known as "finikin." His great facility for bold and dashing sketching came in most usefully in this work, the notes he made being largely helped out by illustrations. He might have been a great artist, some of his anatomical sketches reminding me much of Sir Charles Bell's, but he never had time to cultivate his faculties in this direction and I believe never attempted any finished work. His power of drawing on the black board during the lectures was of great assistance to him and to his audience, and his outdoor sketches made during some of his travels, as in Egypt, though slight were full of artistic feeling. His genius was also

conspicuously shown by the clever drawings, often full of playful fancy, which covered the paper that happened to be lying before him when sitting at a council or committee meeting. On such occasions his hand was rarely idle.

It is very singular that, although, as admitted by all who heard him, he was one of the clearest and most eloquent of scientific lecturers of his time, he always disliked lecturing, and the nervousness from which he suffered in his early days was never entirely overcome, however little apparent it might be to his audience. After his first public lecture at the Royal Institution he received an anonymous letter, telling him that he had better not try anything of the kind again, as whatever he was fit for, it was certainly not giving lectures! Instead of being discouraged, he characteristically set to work to mend whatever faults he had of style and manner, with what success is well known. Nevertheless, he often told me of the awful feeling of alarm which always came over him on entering the door of the lecture room of the Royal Institution, or even the College of Surgeons, where the subject was most familiar and the audience entirely sympathetic. He had a feeling that he must break down before the lecture was over, and it was only by recalling to his memory the number of times he had lectured without anything of the kind happening, and then drawing conclusions as to the improbability of its occurring now, that he was able to brace himself up to the effort of beginning his discourse. When once fairly away on his subject all such apprehensions were at an end. Such experiences are, of course, very common, but they were probably aggravated greatly in Huxley's case by the ill health, that miserable, hypochondriacal dyspepsia which, as he says himself, was his constant companion for the last half century of his life. Bearing in mind the serious inroad this made in the amount of time available for active employment, it is marvellous to think of the quantity he was able to accomplish. When the time comes for forming a just estimate of the value of his scientific work, and if quality as well as quantity be fairly taken into account, it will without doubt bear comparison with, if it will not exceed, that of any of his contemporaries.

If, instead of taking up medicine and afterwards science as a profession, he had gone to the bar, he must infallibly have achieved the highest measure of success. As an advocate he

could scarcely have been surpassed. His clear, penetrating insight into the essentials of an intricate question, the rapidity with which he swept aside all that was irrelevant, and the forcible way in which he could state the arguments for his own side of a case, and his brilliant power of repartee, would have been irresistible in a court of justice. He was also free from a quality which paralyzes the effective action of many men of great mental capacity, the faculty of seeing something at least of both sides of a case at the same time. When he took up a cause he took it up in thorough earnest, and it must be admitted that there was then very little chance of his feeling any sympathy for the other side. He had some strong prejudices against doctrines, against institutions, and against individuals, and as his nature was absolutely honest and truthful, he never cared to conceal them. On the other hand, no man was more loyal to the causes he approved of or the people he liked. He could always be relied upon to carry out to the uttermost of his power anything he had undertaken to do. To the younger workers in his own fields of research nothing could exceed his generous assistance, sympathy and encouragement. These qualities were, above all others, the main causes of the devoted attachment he won from everyone who was brought much into personal contact with him.

In one of the recent biographical notices which have appeared of Huxley it is said that "no man of more reverent religious feeling ever trod this earth." This statement has much of truth in it. If the term "religious" be limited to acceptance of the formularies of one of the current creeds of the world, it cannot be applied to Huxley, but no one could be intimate with him without feeling that he possessed a deep reverence for "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," and an abhorrence of all that is the reverse of these, and that, although he found difficulty in expressing it in definite words, he had a pervading sense of adoration of the infinite, very much akin to the highest religion.

W. H. Flower.

THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARKE, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

IT HAS often been remarked that a history of the Society of Christian Endeavor is a story of great religious conventions. This organization seems to have inaugurated a new era in the history of religious conventions the world around, for Christian Endeavor conventions are not indigenous to the American soil alone, or at least if they are exotics in other lands, they flourish quite as well as in their native soil. The Christian Endeavor Society in Australia and in England, and even in China, has been marked by the greatest religious gatherings of this character which these countries have known, and the wonderful scene enacted in Boston in July has been duplicated on a smaller scale in Sydney, and Melbourne, and Adelaide, and Shanghai, and London, and Birmingham, and Glasgow.

Wherever the Endeavor Society has taken root, and there are few lands now in all the world where it has not taken root, one of its first developments is the massing together in vast conventions of earnest young people who desire to find better ways of working for the church, for their country, and for humanity.

Even the early history of the Christian Endeavor movement was marked by some remarkable conventions. Not that these gatherings received very much attention in the daily papers or even in the religious press of the day, but they were none the less remarkable for the spirit and purpose which pervaded them, and for the promise which they gave of larger things as the society should grow in numbers and influence.

When the first society, that of the Williston Church in Portland, Me., was scarcely seventeen months old, the first conven-

tion was held in the parent church. Then there were known to be in existence only six or seven societies in all the world, though doubtless there were a number of others of which we had no record. These societies were invited to send delegates one June day in 1882 to the Williston Church, and a very pleasant and significantly prophetic convention was then held.

Of course the numbers were small, for all the Endeavorers then in the world, probably, would not have filled even a very moderate-sized church, but those who came together found ample reason for the convocation. They found questions of interest to discuss and much joy in their interdenominational fellowship, and one and all voted this first convention a decided success, which ought to be repeated in the future years.

The next year a larger gathering was held in another church of the same city, the historic old Second Parish Church, of which the Rev. Edward Payson was an early pastor. By this time the societies had multiplied, and this meeting was naturally larger and more full of interest and promise than the convention of 1882. From that day to the present, as the societies have rapidly increased in numbers and zeal and *esprit de corps*, the conventions have increased in like proportion.

The meetings held in 1886 and 1887 at Saratoga Springs will long be remembered by all who attended them for their spiritual flavor and the joyous earnestness of those who came together. As in almost every year since, the numbers far exceeded the expectations ; a fact which is true of very few religious gatherings or convocations of any other kind, and it was a great surprise to many an *habituè* of Saratoga, somewhat *blasé*, as it must be confessed he sometimes is by reason of hops and congress water and horse races and Kissingen, to find the sidewalk in the vicinity of the large Methodist Church thronged with Endeavorers at half-past six in the morning, waiting until the church could be unlocked, and to find that the interest of the multitude was centered in an early morning prayer meeting.

The first great convention, so far as numbers were concerned, was the one held in Chicago in the following year, in 1888, in the armory hall of Battery D. Five thousand it is thought attended this meeting, and though not a tenth part of the numbers found at the present conventions, that was then considered a most surprising gathering, and was declared by more than one religious

writer to be the largest religious gathering ever held in the history of the Christian church.

Philadelphia welcomed 7,000 to her ample hospitality the next year, St. Louis 11,000 in 1890, Minneapolis 14,000 in 1891, New York 30,000 in 1892. With each succeeding year as the throngs grew larger the conventions excited more and more attention. Particularly was this true of the convention at New York.

It was with the greatest difficulty that the people of the metropolis could be brought to realize that a concourse of any size was coming within their borders. One hotel keeper, when the committee of assignments sought places of entertainment, offered to take the whole convention within his ample hostelry. When asked if he knew how many were coming, he replied that he did not care how many were coming, that his hotel would accommodate 1,500 guests, that he had provided for many conventions in the past, and, as the summer season was a slack time for him, he could take in the whole convention as well as not. When informed by the committee of arrangements that there would doubtless be ten times 1,500 people present he whistled softly, a low, incredulous note, and bestowed a look of supreme pity, not unmixed slightly with contempt, upon the well-meaning religious enthusiast who confronted him. But not ten times 1,500, but twenty times 1,500 were the final figures which told of the throngs of Christian Endeavorers who poured into New York City for the eleventh International Christian Endeavor convention. The papers found themselves suddenly with a great problem upon their hands, to report worthily so vast a convocation. They rose to the occasion, however, at least some of them did, and gave most generous space to this remarkable gathering.

The Hon. Chauncey Depew, with the pleasant facetiousness which so becomes him, declared, when he addressed the great throng in Madison Square Garden, that "New York never looked so fresh and green as it did on that joyous occasion." But the young people forgave his joke and applauded the somewhat equivocal compliment to the echo, for they knew, as did every one else who looked around on that throng of radiant faces, that the stalwart young men of America and the fair young women from country and city were there with their faces all illumined with the light of a high and noble purpose to win their land, or so much of it as they are responsible for, to the highest and noblest ends.

The *personnel* of these conventions is as remarkable as the numbers brought together. Every one who studies the faces and mingles with the throngs at these yearly gatherings remarks upon this feature. You must needs search far and long for a milksop or a goody-goody youth or maiden, unless their faces strangely belie their characters. Strong young business men, students from our colleges and academies, maidens from all ranks of society, but all intelligent and purposeful, abound everywhere. They are quick to catch the speaker's point, eager to applaud the sentiments which appeal to their hearts and to their common sense; always ready at the open parliaments with modest suggestions and sensible plans for the carrying on of their work; alert, keen, quick witted are the tens of thousands who now annually come to the movable Christian Endeavor feast.

The proportion of young men at these conventions is a very striking feature. A journal devoted to the interests of women has recently declared that of the sixty thousand who attended the convention in Boston, fifty thousand were young women. This is a huge mistake, though if the statement were true I do not mean to intimate that the fact would be derogatory to the convention. But, as a matter of fact, nearly if not quite one-half, certainly of those who came from a distance, are young men, as a glance at almost any of the audiences would prove. The convention of 1893 at Montreal was smaller than the New York gathering, largely because those who come to the convention must all come from a distance. There is but a small local constituency of Christian Endeavorers in Montreal. Still some seventeen or eighteen thousand attended this convention, most of them coming from a long distance, and probably the number of miles travelled by the delegates in the aggregate was far larger than at any preceding gathering, and in spiritual tone and purpose the convention was quite up to its predecessors.

The convention of 1894 was held in the city of Cleveland, and, to all appearances, the most unpropitious week in all the century was chosen for the gathering. The intense commercial depression of the previous twelve months had been followed by the most gigantic strike in the annals of American labor organizations. Almost every railway in the United States was tied up or was in danger of being blockaded by the strikers. An absolute embargo was laid on the delegates from the Pacific Coast,

and, in fact, on many from nearer Western States, who could not, whatever their intention, reach the convention, as no trains were running. Those who came from the East were uncertain about reaching the fair city by the lake, or, if they reached it, whether they would be able to get to their homes again. It was freely predicted, even by those who knew something of the pluck and persistency of Christian Endeavorers, that the convention would necessarily be a small one, and all were amazed when the news was flashed over the wires that this was the largest convention in the history of the movement, and that fully forty thousand people were in attendance at the meeting. Half of these came from outside of the city of Cleveland and immediate vicinity.

Great things were naturally expected of the last convention which has just closed in Boston, and these great expectations were not in any way disappointed. It was thought that there would be fifty thousand people in attendance. As a matter of fact 56,425 registered delegates were recorded, and there were probably thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of others who had some part in the convention, and attended some of the sessions, though they were not registered as Christian Endeavorers. For months in advance preparations were made for this meeting most carefully and elaborately. "The Committee of Thirteen," of which the Hon. S. B. Capen was the chairman, or "the Committee of '95" as it is sometimes called if any one objects to the unlucky number, was simply at the head of a vast committee numbering over four thousand individuals, a committee which the largest church in Boston could not hold when they attempted to have a mass meeting to prepare for the convention. These committees were to welcome the guests when they arrived, to find homes for them and to pilot them thither, to perform the duties of ushers in the churches and the great auditoriums, to raise the necessary money for the use of the convention, to look after the printing and the hall accommodations; in fact, to perform the thousand and one duties incident to the preparation for such a vast gathering and for its proper accommodation after the meeting began.

The convention choir consisted of a chorus of three thousand voices which was divided into three parts, a thousand going to each of the three large auditoriums. To secure places of meeting of sufficient size is naturally one of the great problems of such

a gathering. Long ago it was found that no one hall in America is large enough to accommodate those who come together, and if such a hall could be found there is no voice in America big enough to fill it. Naturally, then, the thing to do is to divide the audience into smaller groups which are yet large enough to give the effect of an immense mass meeting, while yet within the compass of the most powerful voices. For the Boston convention the great Mechanics' Hall with its capacity of ten thousand, and two great tents, built for the occasion, each one of which when crowded would hold as many more, were secured. Besides, many churches were generously offered to the convention, and not less than two hundred of them in all were used.

Thus it will be seen that though all could not get into the auditoriums at any one time, all were accommodated somewhere, and provision was made not only for the fifty-six thousand who came to Boston but for tens of thousands of the people of Boston who desired to get within sight and sound of the convention.

As a matter of fact, all the delegates themselves did not expect to attend all the sessions, nor was it expected that they would. Many of them came from a distance of fifty or sixty miles, going back and forth to their homes every day, attending what sessions they could and content with getting the inspiration and stimulus of the great gathering. So, while there were many who could not get to the particular session which they desired, all could attend the convention, and there was surprisingly little complaint from the young people, whom I have come to regard, after long experience of these annual gatherings, to be the best natured and sunniest company in all the world.

The city of Boston entered heartily into the plans for the convention. It realized in advance what was coming, and everything was done to give the visitors a most royal welcome. The public gardens were decorated with Chistian Endeavor colors, and Christian Endeavor emblems and monograms; the entrance to the parks were through arches which told of Boston's greeting, while many of the merchants covered their stores with red and white bunting, the convention colors, or set them ablaze at night with Christian Endeavor emblems in electric light.

The daily papers vied with each other to give the best account of the meetings. Every day for weeks in advance many columns and a multitude of pictures heralded the advancing host, and

when the convention actually came pages and pages were given each day to a verbatim report of the proceedings.

It can be imagined that to prepare the programme for such a convention is no slight task. More than a thousand speakers had part in the exercises. The convention programme, abbreviated as it was, with many parts only indicated and the speakers' names not given, covered nearly forty pages of closely packed type. Moreover, so far as possible, speakers with iron throats and brazen lungs, who can make themselves heard in the great assemblies, must be chosen, and something like thirty denominations must be represented upon the programme. But almost without a break the programme was carried through, and always on time.

It may be asked, is it not almost impossible to conduct or control such a vast and apparently tumultuous assembly? I would reply that never was there an easier convention to control than this same Boston convention. The gavels which had been presented for use in the different auditoriums were scarcely required at all. A single suggestion from the presiding officer was enough to induce perfect quiet and attention. Not a disagreeable incident from beginning to end occurred to my knowledge, but in all the assemblies every one seemed to strive to do as they would be done by, speakers and hearers alike. The tide of enthusiasm rolled higher and higher to the very end, and the consecration meeting with which the convention closed was the most remarkable of the series.

But it may be asked, what is the *rationale* of these conventions? How can they be accounted for? What roots lie beneath the surface from which this flower draws its life?

I know of no other answer except that which is found in the principles of the Christian Endeavor movement. Like the movement itself, the conventions are very democratic affairs. I have spoken of the "delegates," but in a strict sense of the word there are no delegates. The conventions are mass meetings, to which all Christian Endeavorers are welcomed on the same basis. The conventions have no legislative powers, no binding votes are taken, there is no wrangling over creeds or polity, there are no offices to fill, and no spoils to be divided. More strictly than any other convention of which I know are these mass meetings for inspiration and fellowship, and not for business or politics. This is entirely in accord with the genius of the Christian Endeavor

movement. There is no boss or dictator in Christian Endeavor. Every society accepts the will of its own church as final and supreme. There is no other arbitrator. No United Society, or State, or Provincial Union in all the world seeks to legislate for any local society. The duties of a Christian Endeavor society are fulfilled when it does those things which its church and pastor would like to have it do. As a matter of course, then, these conventions, when they assemble, can give themselves entirely to fellowship and the inspiration of the hour; and the results are seen in the thronging thousands who go back to their homes and their churches to live better lives and do nobler work than ever before.

Again, the success of these conventions can be accounted for by their flexibility and adaptability to circumstances. The convention in Shanghai was in its way as great a success as the convention in Boston, because it adapted itself to the needs of China as the Boston convention did to the needs of the young people of America. The need of America in the present day is evidently a better citizenship, a purer political atmosphere, and this has been the ringing keynote which has been struck at every one of the last three conventions. The applause with which this note has been received when struck, and the enthusiasm with which Christian Endeavorers everywhere have carried out the thought, has shown the adaptability of the movement to every passing phase of American life. A Tammany not only overthrown, but a Tammany forevermore impossible in America, was one great thought of the Boston convention, and five times ten thousand hearts pledged themselves quietly, but none the less sincerely, to a better citizenship and a purer government for our great cities and for our nation.

"If I cannot have a vote," said one young lady, "I can have a voter, and I will do my utmost to see that he votes right on moral questions," and her sentiment was as heartily applauded by the sex that votes as by the one which as yet has no ballot save in Colorado and Wyoming.

In a multitude of places throughout the country these efforts for good citizenship, which are started at these conventions, are multiplied and reduplicated as the convention echoes are heard in every city and hamlet of the nation. Not as a political party, not by allying itself to any politician or to any political measure,

but standing in all political parties for righteousness and purity, the Christian Endeavorers, if not the Christian Endeavor Society of the future, will have a mighty influence and as wholesome, I believe, as mighty over the destiny of our Republic.

Other dominant notes are struck at these conventions, though none more persistently of late years than this note of good citizenship. Missionary interests are always kept to the fore, and the broadest interpretation is given to the word "missionary." Work for the poor; for the "submerged tenth" in our great cities; relief of the sick and destitute; the carrying of sunshine and flowers to those whose lives are dreary and barren, and the transportation to fresh fields and pastures new of those who ordinarily breathe the foul air of the slums, are some of the missionary efforts of Christian Endeavorers.

They remember also that they have a duty, and an especial duty, to their own denominational missionary boards, in their efforts to win the world to Christ. As a result the contributions from the societies during the last year, for distinctively missionary purposes, amounted to nearly half a million of dollars.

Another idea, necessarily prominent during these conventions, is that of interdenominational fellowship. The society is not undenominational, as it is sometimes called, but interdenominational. Each local society is as denominational as the church to which it belongs, but in its wider relation, and especially in its international conventions, it is broadly interdenominational. In this feature lies one of the great and enduring charms of these conventions. They bring together young Christians of all Evangelical names and creeds in a most gracious fellowship. While doctrinaires are discussing Christian union, and proposing various bases for the coming together of the forces of Christendom, Christian Endeavorers are enjoying Christian Union, without saying much about it.

Some one has wisely said, that "Christian union is much like silence; it is apt to be broken when you begin to talk about it." The Christian Endeavorers do not say very much about Christian Union. They do not expect organic unity, or the destruction of denominations, for they understand that denominations stand for the emphasis of great ideas, and they know that there is a great difference between denominationalism and sectarianism. Christian Endeavor is an inveterate foe to sectarianism, but is a friend of a

broad-minded, warm-hearted denominationalism. The denominational rallies at the conventions are meetings of great power and interest, and are entirely in harmony with the interdenominational character of the gathering, which draws its chief inspiration from this demonstration of the practical oneness of Christians of every name.

Never were the prospects for the triumph of this interdenominational fellowship so bright as at present. Though strenuously opposed in some quarters, and much misrepresented in others, it is constantly winning its way. The fellowship is enlarging by hundreds of thousands every year. Every month sees four times ten thousand earnest youths joining this fraternity, which stands for loyalty as well as fellowship, for fidelity as well as for fraternity. Never did the young people before so hear the call which summons them to duty for their country, for their community, for their church, for their God. To the genuine spirit of the movement they have responded most surprisingly, and are constantly going forward to larger victories.

In the light of the history of the last fourteen years the hymn written by the author of "America" for the Boston convention is evidently prophetic of the future :

Arouse ye, arouse ye! O servants of God,
His right arm your strength, and your leader His rod,
O, haste from the north, from the south, to His call,
His cause shall prevail, He shall reign over all.
Farewell to your dreaming! No longer delay!
Go tell the glad tidings—God's hand points the way.
Go forward! go forward! to conquer, or die—
God will make sure the victory.

CHORUS.

Haste and bear the banner forth
East and west, and south and north;
Haste to lift the cross on high,
The pledge of victory.

Haste and bear the banner forth,
East and west, and south and north;
Haste to lift the cross on high,
The pledge of victory,
The cross and victory.

FRANCIS E. CLARKE.

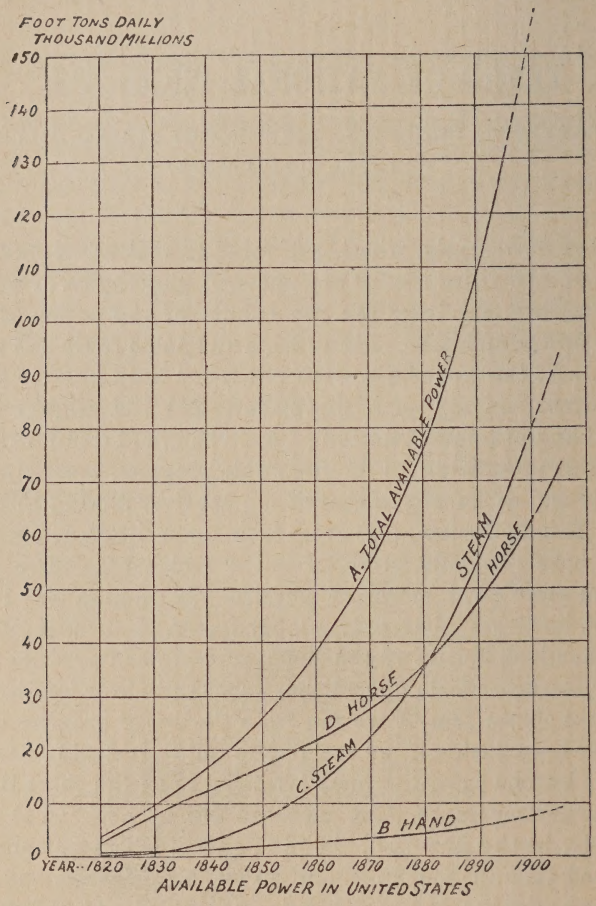
TREND OF NATIONAL PROGRESS.

BY ROBERT H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

GREAT movements, whether of mind or matter, of nations or of planets, of civilizations or of comets, of philosophy, of religion, or of wealth-production, are the results of the action of great natural forces, and have, in all cases, a definable route and rate of motion. As the writer has often put it: "Nature never turns a sharp corner" in any such movement, and the mighty flux of material and of intellectual forces, and the grand resultant flow of the current of material, or of intangible progress, must always be as steady and as smooth as that of a great river flowing through a plain. It may deviate, and even turn upon itself at times, but it must have a smooth curve, if not a rectilinear course. Now and then some great moral or physical obstruction may impede or divert its stream, but only mighty forces, commensurate with the tremendous inertia of the mass affected, can produce immediate or marked effects upon either its magnitude or its direction.

It thus comes that, if we can trace the line of progress during the immediate past,—if we are able to follow it during past centuries or bygone ages,—we may lay down upon the chart the line of its earlier course, to date, and can see at once what must, inevitably, be the direction, the rate, and the distance gained, in any stated time in the immediate future, *provided* new and catastrophic phenomena do not, by their unexpected and unforseeable action, invalidate all prophecy. Given the curve of human progress, in any field, as representing the immediate past, the immediate future becomes knowable with a degree of accuracy and certainty, which is the greater as the forces and the masses affected by them are the greater. The terminal portion of our curve exhibits the tendency, and the direction of movement, at the

moment; and if no great physical or moral force threatens to introduce a new deviating power, or to cause some catastrophe, the progress of to-day will be, inevitably, the outcome of the progress of yesterday and the introduction to the progress of to-



(FIGURE 1.)

morrow, with unchanged, or little changed, rectilinear or curvilinear advance. The rate of progress of education, or of wealth-accumulation, in 1895, must be substantially correct as a gauge of that of 1896, or with, perhaps, a little less exactness, of that of 1900. A great war, or a world-wide commercial depression,

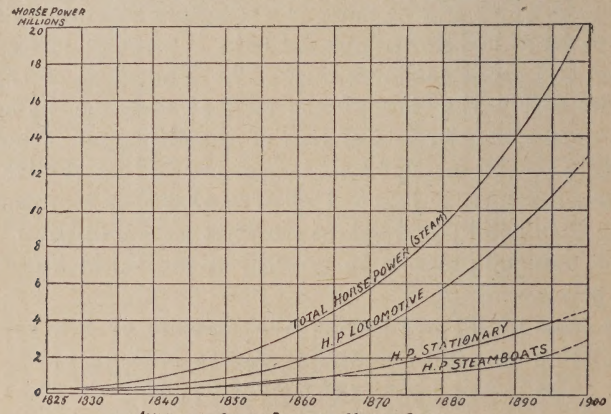
or a "reformation," may now and then, in the course of the centuries, affect these great social currents of progress; but, if nothing at the moment looms up, threatening the immediate future, the trend of human or of national progress may be considered as fully established.

The distinguished statistician, Mr. Mulhall, in a recent issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has given the data which permit the establishment of the curves of progress of the nation, from early in the century to date, and thus their approximate establishment in location, form, and direction, for the immediate future. No great war occurring, and no serious catastrophe of other kind taking place, we may obtain an idea of the probable future movement, in its extent and direction, and in results; the accuracy of which will be more or less certain accordingly as the curve, so far as laid down from our data, is more or less smooth and even and persistent in its line. The tendencies of the moment are within the view of the student, and the immediate future comes into the field of view of the clairvoyant scholar.

Taking up this mass of most interesting and instructive data, let us construct our curves and observe what they represent and to what they point; and let us see what we can discover of the trend of national progress in growth, in wealth, in knowledge, and in power.

The basis of all wealth and the measure of the power of accumulation of wealth is the aggregate working power of a people. The working power of a civilized people has come to be measured by the total of its steam power. The growth in its total "horse power" *in steam engines* of all kinds is the measure of its growth in all the material foundation of civilization and progress, and thus material progress underlies progress in all the arts and sciences, and every intellectual as well as material advance. The first of our diagrams (Figure 1, *A*) exhibits the trend of our progress in developing power of national advancement. Its smooth, steady curvature shows not only advance and constant gain, but a steady and continuous *gain in rate of gain.* A straight line would simulate gain by simple interest; our curves, *A* to *D*, simulate gain by compound interest with frequently recurring periods of payment. The century has seen great gain in power of doing work, of accumulating wealth, and great *gain in rapidity of gain* of power and wealth. All our

subsequent deductions confirm this primary and essential, this fundamental, conclusion. The United States of North America constitutes not only the most powerful of nations, in the most literal and meaning sense, but it is all the time increasing its speed in the race and as constantly more and more rapidly distancing its competitors. As we shall see presently, its greater and growing intelligence, its great inventive power, fostered by our exceptionally effective patent system; its industry, its education; its conscientious acceptance of the correct principles of morals and of economics, as they are brought forward and generally discussed—all these, and other and concomitant qualities, give good reason for Mulhall's closing and enthusiastic prediction, as well as for all the eloquence and pride and confidence of Carnegie.

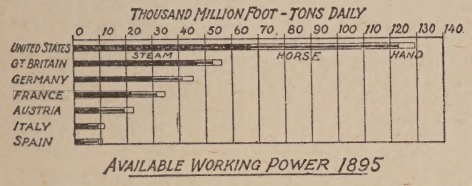


AVAILABLE STEAM POWER IN UNITED STATES

(FIGURE 2.)

In Figure 1, the line *A* is the expression of the fact and the law of our progress from 1820 to 1895; and the dotted portion shows clearly what is to be anticipated in the immediate future, if no catastrophic and unanticipated change in the conditions determining the fact and the law occurs. The smoothness of the curve and its regularity of curvature prove that natural causes have operated very steadily and continuously, in spite of occasional "crises," and that we may fairly assume the continuation of the curve in the same geometric relations to give us a prophecy of the coming years. Our total physical power for use in driving machinery, for wealth production, has risen from about 4,300,000,000 foot-tons, daily, in 1820—the equivalent of lifting a ton

800,000 miles—to nearly ten times that figure in 1860, and to thirty times that power in 1895. It is seen that it must become something like forty times as much, about 150,000,000,000, in 1900. Human power is seen to be growing slowly, *i. e.*, in proportion to population, simply; while steam-power, coming in with Watt's perfection of the engine, at the beginning of the century, will amount to one-half the total this year, and aggregate 80,000,000 in 1900, and 110,000,000,000 in 1910. Horse-power, steadily growing at a moderate rate, though much faster than population, in the earlier half-century, and greater by far than steam-power, finally is eclipsed about 1880 by the latter, and, though still rapidly and steadily growing, falls far behind at the end of the century. Steam-power measures most accurately, probably, the ability to accumulate all those comforts and luxuries which constitute modern civilization, and it is seen that the trend of the line is there most rapidly upward. A glance at the



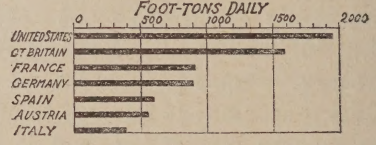
(FIGURE 3.)

succeeding diagrams will show the details of this progress and confirm our first and fundamental deduction.

Figure 2 simply classifies the forms of steam power into marine, stationary, locomotive, and gives their aggregate. The mightiest gain is seen to be in locomotive engines on our railroads. These curves show not only what are the figures for the past and the present, and for the next few years; but their uniformly steady curvature proves that we may fairly anticipate their continuation, with the same steady smooth sweep, for a quarter or a half century to come, should no catastrophe or revolutionizing invention break up our industrial methods and radically change social conditions. The horse-power of all steam engines to date has come to be about 17,000,000, will be nearly 25,000,000 in 1900, and double that figure in another quarter-century. The striking fact, here, is the proportion in which transportation demands power, as shown by the sum of the

figures for railroads and steamboats. The curve for stationary engines exhibits the proportion devoted to manufacturing the articles transported. In every case the trend of progress is onward and upward, and with an accelerating velocity.

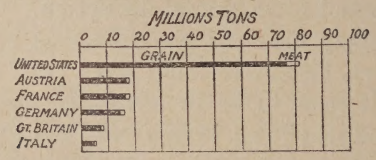
The next cluster of diagrams illustrates present momentary relations, as to numerical and comparative quantity, of the principal nations, as obtained by laying down Mulhall's data. Figure 3 places side by side the figures for available power of wealth-production, and we find the United States leading all nations



TOTAL AVAILABLE WORKING POWER, PER INHABITANT. 1895

(FIGURE 4.)

and doubling the amount assigned even to the leader among European countries, Great Britain. Germany is third, France fourth, and the other nations fall far behind. Reducing these figures to the measure of the working power per inhabitant, as in Figure 4, however, we get a more correct basis of comparison, as a gauge of the character of the nation and its civilization. Here we find that the United States is still in the van; but Great Britain is a close second and the inhabitant of France or Ger-

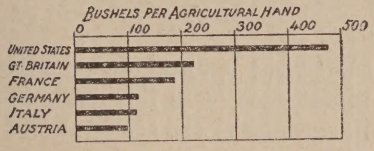


AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. 1890.

(FIGURE 5.)

many has but about one-half as much power of wealth-production as the inhabitant of the United States. Figures 5 and 6 throw some light upon the national habits, policies, and capacities. They show the agricultural production of these nations. The United States not only produces enormously more grain, and other products, than either of the other great nations, but, what is vastly more important, interesting, and instructive, twice as much

per worker as even Great Britain. This is at once proof of the ingenuity of our people, in making the natural powers and all machinery do their work, of the value and marvellous helpfulness of our patent system, and of the ability of our people to make their work tell most effectively in the application of wealth-producing powers to the production of the *permanent* forms of wealth, where other nations are compelled to devote their energies more largely to the production of the perishable articles—food, for example. That nation which can turn its power, mainly, into the

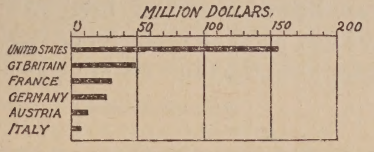


PRODUCTION OF GRAIN PER HAND 1890
ASSUMING 10 LBS. OF MEAT OR 2 GALLS OF WINE
EQUIVALENT TO ONE BUSHEL OF GRAIN.

(FIGURE 6.)

production of the former kinds of wealth obviously will, other things equal, accumulate wealth and promote the comfort and content of its citizens most rapidly.

Figures 7 and 8 are even more interesting to the economist and to the statesman. The appropriation of public funds to educational purposes is seen to be about three times as much in

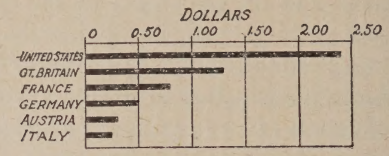


EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE PER ANNUM

(FIGURE 7.)

the United States as even in Great Britain, and five times as much as in France and Germany, ten times as much as in Austria. The expenditure *per capita* is nearly double that of Great Britain, three and five times that, respectively, of France and Germany, and ten times that of Italy. These figures may perhaps be taken as the natural resultant of the preceding or, rather, these figures, representative of the intelligence of the country, in close degree, together with the freedom of the nation, and its inventiveness, stimulated by both freedom and a good system of patent law, are

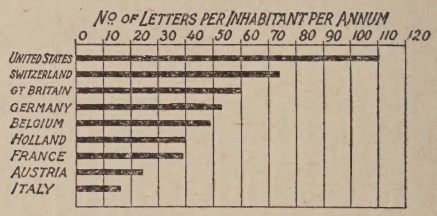
the basis of the wonderful gains already illustrated. Figure 9 shows the number of letters sent, per inhabitant, in each country, and measures the intelligence of its people. Figure 10 exhibits



EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE PER INHABITANT PER ANNUM

(FIGURE 8.)

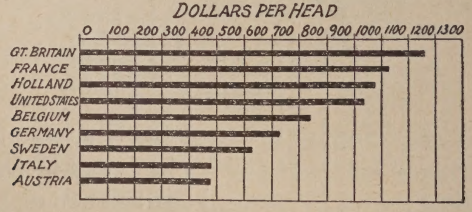
the wealth *per capita*, the natural and inevitable consequence of that ratio of intelligence with this marked qualification—the wealth of the United States is the accumulation of a single cen-



POST OFFICE RETURNS

(FIGURE 9.)

tury; that of Great Britain comes of intelligently directed energies, in commerce and manufactures, for centuries, and the other European countries have the same advantage—in respect to time,



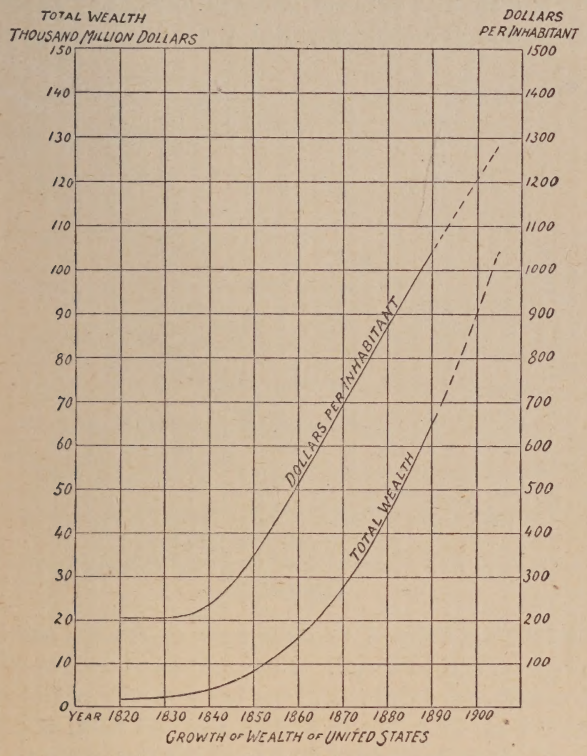
AVERAGE OF WEALTH TO POPULATION

(FIGURE 10.)

only. Accumulations of centuries place three European nations ahead of the United States in this aggregate; but the gains are most rapid with our own country, and we shall soon take the lead.

Our public school system and the coming universality of the pol-

icy, on the part of the States, of taking charge of and liberally supporting higher education, as in the State universities and the possibly soon-to-be-founded National University, gives this country much of this extraordinary advantage and goes far toward making it the leader of the world in growth, in wealth, both material and intellectual. The trend of our progress is constantly onward and continually at such a rate of movement and of acceleration

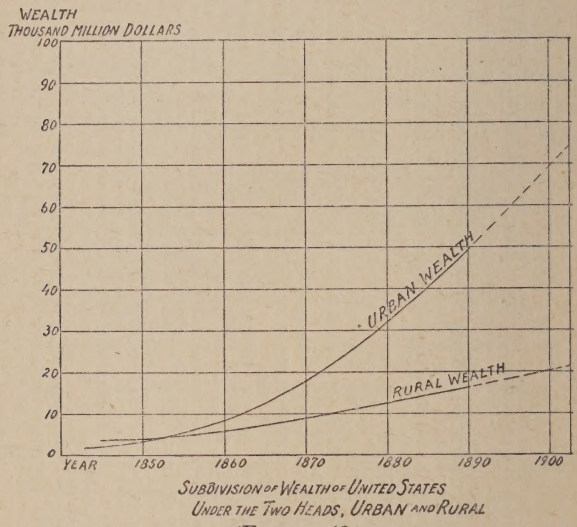


(FIGURE 11.)

as well, as must steadily increase our relative and our actual altitude.

Figure 11 exhibits this growth of wealth, in the United States, as the product of the inconceivable physical power applied by our people to its production. The lower curve, and the lower and left-hand scales, illustrate the total wealth of the nation, and its growth from the beginning of the century, while the dotted lines,

as before, indicate the future probable growth. From 1820 or 1830, wealth has been rapidly increasing with an accelerated ratio. That is to say, from the date of the perfection of Watt's steam engine and its application to mills and factories, and to steamboats and railroads, wealth has accumulated with a continually increasing *rate* of accumulation. From 2,000,000,000 in 1820, it has come to be 65,000,000,000 in 1890, and may be expected to become fifty per cent. more in 1900, and to double in the next quarter of a century. But the upper curve, of which



SUBDIVISION OF WEALTH OF UNITED STATES UNDER THE TWO HEADS, URBAN AND RURAL

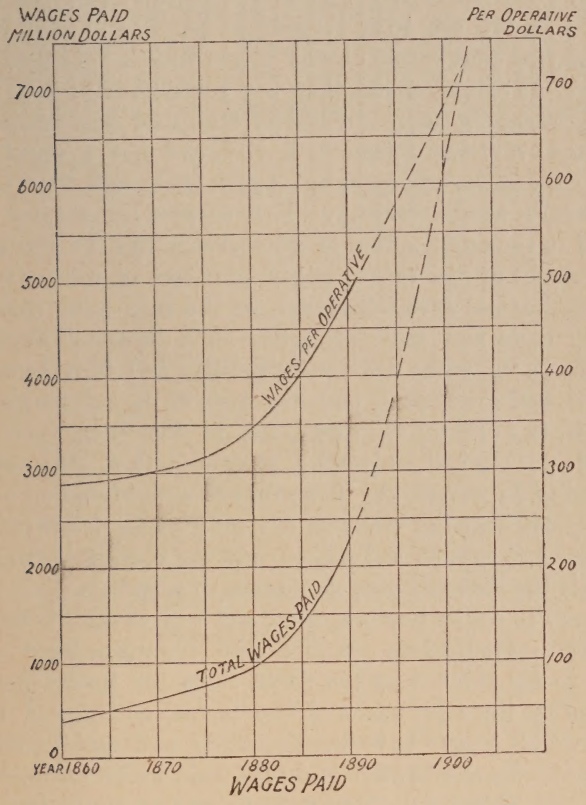
(FIGURE 12.)

the quantities are reduced to dollars *per capita*, is a better index of our progress and its trend. The right-hand scale applies here.

The wealth, per inhabitant, was but $200 *per capita* in 1820; it was $1,000 in 1890, is now $1,120, and will be $1,200 in 1900.

The smooth and steady curvature of the line indicates that we may expect this gain to continue, indefinitely, into the coming decades at least, and that, with wise administration of the government, with repression of economic heresies and follies, and with continued industry and growing intelligence as the outcome of more and more general and complete education, our people may anticipate a total wealth of $2,000 for every man, woman and child in the community, within the first quarter of the new century. When it is remembered that this people to-day enjoys

all the comforts, and many of the luxuries, of our fathers' generation, and that nearly all the coming gains of working power and in production will be applied to the securing of still greater comfort and of still more general distribution of luxuries, it can be seen very clearly that only their own follies can probably prevent this people from enjoying such a life as only poets have hitherto dreamed of, and that within the next one or two generations



(FIGURE 13.)

at latest. Our grandchildren will see this coming of a millennial period—lacking, perhaps, only the moral element so far as our people choose to forego that most essential of all its elements. In material comfort and prosperity the addition of a thousand dollars' worth of comfort and of luxury to every household, *for*

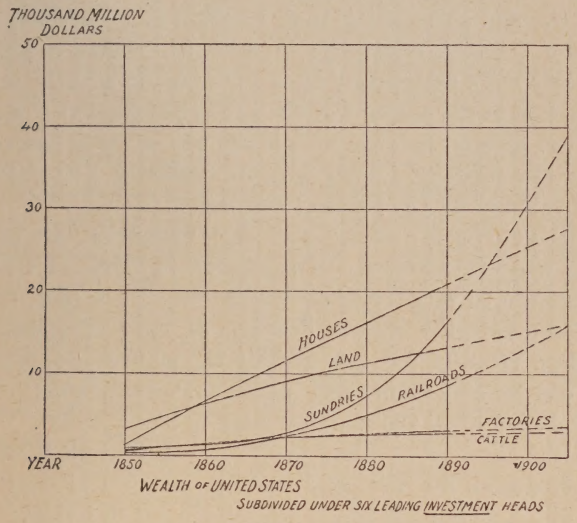
each one of its members, should give marvellous improvement in an even now marvellously fortunate country.

Figure 12 shows how this wealth is, and is to be, distributed. It was mainly rural in the early days of the century; it was equally divided between city and country in 1855, and it is to-day three-fourths urban. This means that both people and property are accumulating in the cities, a fact long since recognized by every statistician. It means further, that the country is supplying the city with its surplus population, and that the city is paying that surplus better wages than can be paid in the country. It means, again, that the attractions of city life are steadily becoming more seductive, and that the coming ideal life of the every-day citizen is a city, and not a country, life. In 1900 the cities will contain between three and four times as much wealth as the country. This surplus of wealth will be devoted to the construction of attractive homes, to the sanitary improvement of the towns, to the provision of educational and other intellectual advantages that, in the aggregate, must make the city more and more attractive, in a thousand ways. The tendency is, in many ways, unfortunate; but it is certain and we must make the most and the best of it. A distinguished engineer, in a lecture recently given to the young men of his profession at Cornell University, suggested that, after all, with the coming improvements in sanitation and education in cities, it may prove that the vision of the prophet, of a heavenly city, may not be altogether unjustified, and the coming earthly paradise, like the heavenly one, may prove to be urban.

Figure 13 shows how wages are and will be distributed out of this wealth production. Before 1860 the wages were what we should to-day think very low; but, since the institution of the embargo by the civil war, and the partial embargo of the late war-tariff, all wages have been steadily and rapidly climbing, with that same acceleration of rate of gain which has been every where else observed. Almost five times as much is paid out as wages, each year, as is measured off as the total capital of the country at the time.

But the striking and encouraging fact is exhibited in the lower of these two curves. The wages paid each operative, less than $300 in 1860, is nearly $600 to-day, and will be above $600 per annum in 1900, if nothing occurs to disturb our present pros-

perity and the conditions of progress. In a few years more, the wages paid, on the average, per individual worker, will be as great as to-day supports the average well-to-do family. Of all our curves, this is one of the most rapid in its rise, and this means that the distribution of wealth is continually coming to be more and more equalized, and that the average day laborer, and the workman of every grade, will continually profit more and more, and will gain constantly a larger and a larger share of this distribution. Wealth will be more and more equally distributed, just as long as present social and economic conditions are maintained in a wholesome and uncrippled state. The



(FIGURE 14.)

working people of the United States are rapidly taking possession of its wealth, as they always have held possession of its policy and of its legislation. In fact, while we may boast many millionaires, as we boast of an occasional giant stalk of corn or tall wheat-straw, it is the people as a whole, and the average working citizens, of whom we must think as the makers of the nation and the creators of its wealth. It is the average citizen, no less, who possesses that wealth and who directs the progress of the nation.

The point made at the beginning of this article—that future

gains of power and wealth will take the direction of improving the condition of the people directly, by giving more universal distribution of comfort and of luxuries, is well illustrated in the next diagram. Figure 14 shows the divisions of wealth, as classified by Mulhall, into a half dozen principal forms of investment. Wealth in cattle and herds grows slowly, as our facilities for transportation bring into the market a widening area of meat-producing country, and the markets of the world are supplied from Texas, from South America and Australia, prices are thus held down, and the people are able to buy their meat at low relative cost. Factories represent the next largest investment. But here improvements in the arts are continually making each more productive, and also making their erection and operation cheaper and more fruitful, relatively; so that while we are producing enormously more extensively than formerly, it is with relatively slow increase in the amount of our funds so invested. Railroads follow the general course of the curves already presented as those of steam power. They will, in 1900 or a little later, have the full value of all the lands of the nation.

But the curves for houses and for "sundries" are the most striking, when interpreted. The growth in value of real property is seen to be very steady and uniform. This fact, taken in conjunction with the known decrease of costs of construction, shows how steadily and how rapidly the people are coming to possess comfortable homes and permanent residences. This is the foundation of all the material good in life.

It is the curve of "Sundries" that most of all interests us. This includes all the thousand and one articles of comfort and luxury which make the life of the people worth living. It is in the production of a higher and steeper curve that our growing power is largely applied. It is this curve which best shows the trend of our modern progress in all material civilization. Our mills, our factories, our workshops of every kind are mainly engaged in supplying our people with the comforts and the luxuries of modern life, and in converting crudeness and barbarism into cultured civilization. Measured by this gauge, we are fifty per cent. more comfortable than in 1880, sixteen times as comfortable as were our parents in 1850, and our children, in 1900 to 1910, will have twice as many luxuries and live twice as easy and comfortable lives, if they choose so to do, as do we to-day.

Some important conclusions are easily and very positively deducible from the study of these curves and diagrams. Thus:

(1). It is evident that great social and economic laws are in steady, unintermitted operation, covering with broad sweep, industrially as well as chronologically, the trend of modern progress, and controlling the development, in wealth, education, and all material and intellectual lines, of every civilized nation.

(2). These laws insure steady progress, for decades, probably for centuries, and with steady acceleration, as well, and without much regard to "crises," or to what are called good and bad times.

(3). The trend of progress during past decades, and its direction and acceleration at the moment, constitute the best guide in predicting a probable future for our industrial and social system.

(4). This guide indicates a constant gain in rate of progress, as well as in actual accumulation of wealth, in all industrial products, in intellectual capital, and in general improvement.

(5). A point has been reached at which the already enormous, and now rapidly growing, physical power of the world is being mainly directed, in civilized countries, and especially in the United States of North America, to the supply of comforts and luxuries to a people already, on the average, well cared for and insured against suffering and hardship.

(6). Very soon, and probably within another generation, the average citizen will possess comforts and luxuries, and enjoy the advantages of leisure for thought and study and intellectual growth, which are, to day, the sole possession of those who are distinctively denominated rich. The nation may be expected to become a country of large and well-distributed wealth, and of, on the whole, well-to-do and contented people.

(7). The direct means and methods of progress are through the continual improvement of the arts and sciences, and the steady reduction of the proportion of working power applied to the manufacture of the more perishable forms of wealth, and through the steady gain in the productiveness of that power as a result of improvements in modern machinery and of the introduction of new inventions.

(8). Culture, and all that makes life worth living, will come to the nation, in constantly and rapidly increasing proportion, as

the progress indicated by our diagrams, and by the smooth sweep of our curves, continues.

(9). Our own nation, through its free institutions, its wise encouragement of the arts and sciences and of invention, already leads, and will lead in still greater and greater degree as time goes on, through the immediate future, and until economic laws—or the follies of social leaders—break the curve which exhibits "The Trend of Modern Progress." Science thus reads us an oracle.

The scientific principle which this article further illustrates is that of a truly logical and scientific form of prophecy. Science, and science only, often can, and frequently does, by a perfectly accurate and correct method, give us clairvoyant views of the immediate, if not often of the remote, future. Of the Trend of Modern Progress, in direction and rate of movement, there is no reasonable doubt.

R. H. THURSTON.

CROP CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS.

BY HENRY FARQUHAR, ASSISTANT STATISTICIAN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AT WASHINGTON.

THE year 1895 will be agriculturally remarkable in more than one way; but the leading characteristic now indicated for it is a restricted area and wide-spread failure of cotton and winter wheat, joined with a largely increased extent and exceptionally fair promise of Indian corn and potatoes.

It is only a coincidence that this temporary replacement of our leading export staples by these native American products should have come when the season was exceptionally favorable for the change, but the coincidence was singularly fortunate. Several causes had for years been working together to bring down the prices of commodities, and their effect had culminated in 1894; wheat in leading markets had reached a figure never before known, and cotton, a figure equalled only in one or two years, about 1845; the corn price, owing to the shortness of last year's crop, had risen to nearly the wheat level; so that it was altogether natural that the attention of farmers should be turned this year from wheat and cotton to corn. This was shown by a decline in cotton acreage, from which only Texas and Oklahoma were excepted, along with a general contraction of the winter and spring wheat area, reported early in the year to the Department of Agriculture, and followed by high percentages, distributed almost uniformly over the country, of acreage in corn and potatoes. The incalculable and inscrutable visitations of Jack Frost and Jupiter Pluvius, also, were very partial in their treatment of the different crops. A brief history of the progress of the season with a few of our leading farm products will have some degree of general interest.

Winter Wheat.—Acreage sown, as compared with 1893–4, estimated at 103 per cent.; acreage finally harvested, at 96 per cent.

There was no material falling off in the Pacific Slope region, but the great growing States of the interior—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas—suffered a great reduction in area. Dry weather at seed-time delayed sowing, prevented germination and stunted the plant's growth; severe cold in the winter, followed by abrupt visitations of thaw and frost in the spring, and concluded by a general drought and prevalence of insect pests throughout the principal producing States, did the rest. Many acres beyond the Mississippi were plowed up for corn. The figure for "condition," by which is meant the proportion, expressed as a percentage of the expected crop to a "full" crop—not the crop of the preceding year or of any particular year, or even the average of a series of years, but an ideal crop, the crop accepted as satisfactory to the producer—this "condition" sank for the United States as a whole, from 83 the first of May to 71 the first of June and 66 the first of July. It thus appeared that our farmers generally, just before setting about the harvest of this grain, expected less than two-thirds of a crop. Yet the yield was good in the northern States of the Pacific Slope, and better than usual in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. If the country had to depend for the great bulk of its wheat on these States, the year would be counted among the fat and not the lean ones. The condition at harvest time, both for winter and spring grain, will be reported in September.

Spring Wheat.—The area sown in this grain is reported as within 1 per cent. of 1894, and the condition as very good—98 at the beginning of June, 102 in July, and, notwithstanding great reported, and some actual, falling off, still as high as 96 in August. In the chief spring wheat States, Minnesota and the Dakotas, the season proved much more favorable to this grain than in the great food reservoirs to the south of them.

Hay.—The causes which reduced the area and condition of winter wheat were equally detrimental to clover and timothy. The June report showed that the clover acreage was one-thirteenth less, on the average, than that of the previous year, while the condition was 83 per cent. only. Here, as in the case of wheat, the Atlantic and Pacific slopes showed fairly well, while the great interior region was scourged by dry weather, a severe winter, late frosts, and insects. By July the North Atlantic region had suffered further damage, and the Central States no improvement;

the only parts of the country that came up to a fair average were the Pacific slope and the South Atlantic and Gulf strip, where little hay is usually raised. Condition had fallen to 74 for clover and 71 for timothy; by the first of August these figures were 67 and 70, with clover estimated at 87 per cent. of standard quality, and an aggregate hay acreage but 91½ per cent. of 1894.

Oats.—Acreage increased by 3 per cent., as reported June 1; average condition at that date, 84; by July, 83, and by August 84 again. Some damage by dry weather and insects in the Central States, but a good crop in the North Atlantic and the Northwest.

Cotton.—Area everywhere reduced this year, in consequence of the low price. Only Florida, Oklahoma and the Indian Territory returned as much as 90 per cent. of last year's acreage; Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina showed barely 80 per cent., while the Cotton States proper were intermediate; general average 85. Nor was this reduced extent at all compensated by improved condition, the figure expressing this being 81 in June, 82 in July and 78 in August. Taking area and condition together, and comparing with last year's August condition of 92, we may infer a total product amounting to but 72½ per cent. of last year's. But this great reduction would still give us some 6,900,000 bales, a larger crop than the country produced in 1892, or in any other year before 1887, with a single exception. The reasons assigned for this year's poor condition are the backward season, by which planting was notably postponed in every State but Florida, and the encouragement given by copious rains to the growth of grass and weeds.

Potatoes.—Area 8 per cent. greater than in 1894; increase generally distributed, including the nine States of largest product, and only seven States showing a decrease. Condition fair; 91 in July and 88 in August. Last year 92 and 74 at same dates, and total crop 170 million bushels. The prospect of a two hundred million bushel crop this year is by no means slender, and an excess over the 1889 figure—our highest hitherto—of 218,000,000 bushels, is altogether possible.

Corn.—The corn acreage shows an all but universal increase, but two States reporting a falling off from last year. General average advance 8 per cent. Condition exceptionally high; 99 in July and 102 in August. The corn record is now held by the

1889 crop of 2,122,000,000 bushels, although that of 1891, amounting to 2,060,000,000 bushels, had a total value 40 per cent. higher, because that year's failure of cereals in Europe sharpened the demand for breadstuffs. There will be grave disappointment if the 1895 corn crop fails to surpass all previous experience, and a product of 2,460,000,000 bushels may be quite reasonably expected. Last year's crop, cut down by drought to the piteous tale of 1,212,770,000, will in this case be more than doubled. Timely rains have advanced the corn crop in almost every section, particularly in the Cotton States; the same agency that proved adverse to their leading staple has favored the one they substituted for it.

The numbers called for brevity "condition" express in brief compass all that can be predicted for the growing crop. As reported by the correspondents of the Agricultural Department they express so many judgments of what the product is to be, in their several counties, by comparison with what their experience and study of the agriculture of those counties lead them to expect in fairly favorable seasons. A great deal has been thought and said about this subject of the standard for comparison in agricultural estimates. The most convenient mode of reference for the statistician would probably be the average crop, taking the mean yield of a series of seasons, bad and good as they come; this would give us about as many conditions in excess of 100 as short of that figure. Accordingly, in the statistical service of some countries, and some of our States, the reporter is asked to compare his expected yield with an "average yield." In a great number of cases, there can be no question, this comparison is quite accurately and scrupulously made. A record of several years being kept, the mean of all, successes, half-successes and failures, is adopted as 100, and each estimate of a prospective crop-yield is noted according to its proportion to this average. But in a greater number of cases, those who are expected to follow this plan really follow another plan. Having no exact record of a series of years to guide them in striking their average, their standard is derived from their impressions as to what ought to be, more than their knowledge of what has been; it is set by their successes and takes no account of their failures, which it regards as accidental and not normal; so that when they tell you of a "full crop," or an 80 per cent. crop, or a two-thirds crop, they mean that propor-

tion of a good and not merely a mean crop. The mixture of estimates on this basis with those relating to a regularly determined mean, which must always occur when "average crops" are named, is sufficiently suggestive of confusion to raise very natural doubts of the value of statistical returns in which they occur; and the total effect of such mixture is to give a value to the condition 100 quite different from that contemplated.

This is conclusively proved by examination of the figures themselves. If 100 denotes an average, as pointed out above, there will be about as many returns above 100 as below, in a succession of years. Since, in practice, estimates in this form are sure to show a preponderance of returns below 100, it is evident that 100 really indicates something higher than an average. The records of the United States Department of Agriculture come to the aid of foreign records on this point. Clear as was the understanding of the first statistician, Mr. J. R. Dodge, on this point, and careful as he generally was to insist that his standard was a full yield and not an average yield, the questions as to his peaches and to one or two other fruits, in a few of his circulars, were made for an extended succession of years to relate to condition "compared with an average crop." As a result, the returns are almost solidly below 100, showing that the correspondents interpreted their par of reference as something higher than a mere mean, even when explicitly instructed otherwise. That this habit of fixing a standard higher than the level as often as not attained may be taken as a fixed fact in human nature, is acknowledged in an interesting manner by British testimony. While the agricultural papers of that country have long made a practice of asking for comparisons with an average crop, the *Times*, in its valuable series of crop reports, has adopted the standard of "perfect healthfulness, exemption from injury (due to insect or fungus pests, drought or wet, cold or frost), with average growth and development"; which amounts virtually to the same that has been recognized for many years in agricultural reports on this side of the Atlantic.

Since the choice of a standard condition is determined by the character of the reporters and their habitual manner of thinking, it is not remarkable that some difficulty should be found in converting it to an exact quantity in bushels per acre. As already admitted, the mean of a series of years, if it were possible for

a great army of untrained reporters practically to apply it, would be more definite and better suited to the purpose of immediate statement in figures. But it is quite possible to make the "full crop" or "normal yield" as exact a measure of quantity as a regularly determined average, by the process of comparing the condition estimate made when the crop is secured with the yield as finally ascertained. For example, if wheat is judged to be 80 per cent. of a full crop when harvested, and the product was afterward found to average 12 bushels per acre over the same territory, it follows that the normal yield answering to the condition 100 must be accepted as 15 bushels per acre.

Mr. Dodge made, in 1892, a calculation of the kind just indicated, from which he found the normal yield of corn, the country over, to have been for a dozen years almost constant at 28.6 bushels per acre. The highest figure was 30.4 and the lowest 27.5, the years 1882–83 being above the average and 1884–87 below, this slight loss being recovered after 1888. Mr. H. A. Robinson, the present statistician of the Agricultural Department, decided a few months ago to make a special inquiry into this question. Every correspondent of the department was accordingly invited to set down in figures the normal yield of wheat, corn, etc., in his county, so that this numerical basis of reckoning might be more directly calculated. Full returns from all parts of the country, received in July and August, gave 29.4 bushels, showing a substantial concordance with Mr. Dodge's estimate, and a general fixity in our standard of corn cultivation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the corn yield of the year 1889 was shown by the eleventh census to be decidedly higher than the value used in Mr. Dodge's calculation (a practically identical total crop having been produced on an area 8 per cent. less than the Agricultural Department's estimate), and that the yields for the years preceding 1889 were doubtless affected similarly, in gradually increasing measure. Allowing for this, and amending the calculation accordingly, the mean normal yield for the fourteen years ending 1894 becomes 29.9 bushels. But in view of the uncertainty of the correction applied, it will be safest to use the number 29.4, directly determined, as expressing what is meant by a corn condition of 100.

A similar computation for wheat shows no such uniformity, but a marked increase, Mr. Dodge's reduction giving 13.7 bushels for

the years 1881-84, 14.5 for 1885-90, and after those years more than 15. But the census reduced, as in the case of corn, the area estimate of 1889; for the wheat acreage of the Agricultural Department that year, though determined with the usual care and judgment, was no less than 13½ per cent. in excess of that returned by the census. Allowing for this difference, an addition of 1.08 bushels per acre must be made to the actual yield, and 1.23 bushels to the normal yield; so that if we suppose, as appears most reasonable, that this correction was a gradual accumulation, one-tenth of it being applied to the yield from the Department's figures for 1880, two-tenths for 1881 and so on, we find an average of 14.1 bushels per acre for 1881-84, 15.4 for 1885-90 and 15.7 for 1891-94. Mr. Robinson's inquiry of county correspondents, as to the local normal yield in each county, brought results in fairly close agreement with the last of these figures, the average of winter and spring wheat for the whole country coming out 15.6 in July and a little over 15.7 in August. We may follow Mr. Dodge in ascribing the increased wheat yield (equally undeniable whether we are or are not governed by the census returns of acreage) to two causes: movement of cultivation to better lands, particularly in California, and improvement in agriculture generally. Until a further increase is noted the general normal yield or the par of condition for wheat may be accepted as 15.7 bushels per acre; the condition 66 for winter wheat therefore, indicates 10⅓ bushels per acre, or 234,000,000 bushels in the aggregate, while the spring wheat condition 96 indicates a very little over 15 per acre or a total product of 169,000,000 bushels. These figures are preliminary only; correspondents will furnish more precise returns after the crop is everywhere housed, and be yet more precise about the end of the year, after threshing has fairly indicated the quantity and quality of the grain.

The weak point in all the crop statistics of the Agricultural Department is the evaluation of the area sown, or what is known as the acreage of the crop. The yield per acre can be fairly estimated by well-informed and experienced reporters, and the estimate of "condition" is one whose definiteness in practice is even surprising to those who only know how difficult the expression is to define in straight plain English; but for the number of acres, a factor whose ascertainment is vital to a knowledge of the total crop, there is no standard and no mark to guide the explorer back

to the truth whence he has been led away. The best standard that can be used in practice is the acreage of the census year; but since it is impossible for the estimator to bear that in mind all through the decade, he necessarily has to compare each year with the year before, so that every return of area has in it all the uncertainty of the census determination, added to that of one or more—perhaps ten—independent comparisons, all highly fallible, of this year with the one just preceding. That such a chain of comparisons is capable of leading far astray, is a necessity, and it has been illustrated in more than one place above. But when we have shown a divergence between Department estimates and census returns we have shown by no means the worst feature of the case. In a candid statement of fact, it is necessary to confess that the census acreage figures, in both corn and wheat, have been distrusted. Justly or unjustly, there is a widely prevalent suspicion that the areas in the eleventh census were too low. This suspicion is based to some extent on theories as to wheat consumption per head of population, and it is the office of crop returns to test such theories rather than be tested by them; but a way ought to be found to set these returns above suspicion.

The true way to attain this desirable end is to secure frequent and accurate determinations of the area under all the principal crops, which can only be done by an annual, or at least biennial or triennial, farm-to-farm census. To inquiries as to area others could easily be added without considerable additional labor or expense, but the question of acreage should always be kept foremost, and its precise report be regarded as the main object of the undertaking. It is almost needless to repeat the arguments for frequent agricultural censuses, since they must be clear, cogent and irrefutable in the most hasty consideration of the subject. If such a census were taken every other year, say, not only would all agricultural statisticians and students be furnished with firm ground to stand on, but each and every census would, by the development of greater skill and capacity among those in charge, be better than any of our decennial censuses can now be. If there is a shred of truth in the maxim that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well, the filling of this lamentable gap in the practice of crop reporting is a thing worth doing. The end of the century ought not to see the gap unfilled.

HENRY FARQUHAR.

THE PETTY TYRANTS OF AMERICA.

BY MAX O'RELL.

It may be asserted that national pride causes every people on the face of the earth to labor under a delusion. The Frenchman honestly believes himself to be the only truly civilized inhabitant of the globe; the Englishman thinks he is the only moral one; and I have no doubt that the American flatters himself that he is the freest. Possibly the Sandwich Islander uses, in reference to himself, some adjective in the superlative, followed by *in the world*, according to American fashion.

Now, as a true-born Frenchman, I am ready to admit that my countrymen express a very fair estimation of themselves; but I hold that the pharisaism of the English is obvious; and as for the Americans being a free nation, why, I maintain that never was a greater mistake made in the world.

I will leave politics alone, although I might tell Jonathan that the governments of England and France, especially of England, are far less autocratic than his. I will leave aside the trusts, the rings, the combinations, the leaders, the bosses, but only name them to take the opportunity of reminding Jonathan that, if the greatest objection to a monarchy is that a nation may thus run the risk of being ruled by a fool or a scoundrel, the greatest objection to certain forms of democracy should be that a nation may thus run the risk of being governed by 500 of such. A great English lord was one day confidentially informed that his steward robbed him. "I know it," he replied; "but my steward sees that nobody else robs me." That English lord was a wise man. And, as for costs, I believe that enough money is spent and enough business is stopped during a presidential campaign in America to keep all the crowned heads of Europe during the four years of the President's time of office.

But enough, I repeat, about politics.

I say that Jonathan is not a freeman because he is not the master in his own house. Whether he travels or stays at home, he is ruled and bullied and snubbed from morning till he goes to sleep. His disposition is that of an angel, and, whenever I am asked what struck me most in the course of my visits to the United States, I always answer: "I never once saw an American lose his temper."

The American is not a man of leisure. His mind is always on the alert. New schemes are forever trotting about his brains. He is full of business, and trifles do not concern him. Besides, he may happen to dwell at No. 3479 West 178th Street, and he must try to remember where he lives. So he pockets snubs and kicks, and forgets. To lodge a complaint against a rude conductor or an uncivil porter would mean a letter to write or a visit to pay; too much waste of time. "Bother it!" he exclaims, "let him be hanged by somebody else!" He is also a prince of good fellows, and a complaint may mean the discharge of a man with a wife and children.

But this is not the principal reason. The Americans, like the French, have no initiative and lack public spirit. The English are the only people who are served by their servants, let the servants be the ministers of the crown, the directors of public companies, or mere railway porters. To every one to whom John Bull pays a salary he says: "Please to remember that you are the servant of the public." When the English appoint a new official, high or low, it is a new servant that they add to their household. When the French and the Americans appoint a new official, it is a new master that they give to themselves to snub them and to bully them. For example, when the English railway companies started running sleeping cars, the public said to them: "We do not wish to be herded up together like hop-pickers, you will please have the cars divided at night into two parts by a curtain, so that our ladies may be spared the annoyance of having to share a section with a man." I do not know a single American lady who has not told me of that grievance, and how on that account she dreaded travelling alone. Yet I am not aware that the American public has ever told the officials of any railway company in this country: "We pay you, and you shall, please, give such accommodation as will secure the comfort of our women." On one occasion, in a crowded sleeping car from

Syracuse to New York, I occupied an upper berth, and a lady occupied the lower one. If she only felt half as uncomfortable as I did, I pity the poor woman.

Coming from Washington to New York, a short time ago, every seat in the drawing-room car was occupied. The temperature of that car was about 80. The perspiration was trickling down the cheeks of the passengers, the women were fanning themselves with newspapers, all were stifled, puffing and blowing, hardly able to breathe ; but not one dared go and open the ventilators, not one said to the conductor: "Now, this is perfectly unendurable, please to open the ventilators at once." I took upon myself to go and address him ; "Don't you think," I timidly ventured, "that this car is much too hot ?" "I do not," he said, and he walked away. As I meant to arrive in New York alive, I opened, not the ventilator, but my window. That was a reckless, fool-hardy resolution. The passengers threw at me a glance of gratitude, but there was in that glance an expression of wonder at my wild temerity, and they looked sideways, forward and backwards, to see if the potentate of the train had seen me. I was fairly roused, I was sick, my head was burning, almost split, and I was ready for that conductor if he had come to close my window—and that at the risk of passing for some uncontrollable rebel. The railways of this country are ruled by the nigger and for the nigger.

Then there is the man who, every five minutes, bangs the door of the car with all his might to let you know he has arrived. He will wake you up from a refreshing nap by a tap on your shoulder to inform you that he has laid a magazine on your lap. Then he will return with chewing-gum, then with papers, then with bananas, apples and oranges, then with skull caps, then with books, then with ten-cent pieces of jewelry, from his inexhaustible stores. An Englishman, on whom this kind of unceasing boredom from the time the train starts till the time when it reaches its destination would be tried, would pitch the boy out of the window.

Then there is the refreshment room. You ask for refreshment and you name what you would like to have, and you receive the refreshing answer, invariably accompanied by a frown : "What's that ?" You apologize for the poor English you have at your disposal, especially if you have acquired it in England, and you prepare to enjoy a piece of custard pie or apple pie, or

may be, doughnuts. On leaving the place you pay, and the man at the desk would feel dishonored if he said "Thanks" to you; but I will say this for him that he so little expects thanks for what he brings to you or does for you that if you say, "*Thank you,*" he will cry, "You're welcome," in the tone of, "*What's the matter with you?*" Life is short, time is money, and all these little amenities of European life are dispensed with.

You leave the train and arrive in the hotel. From the tender mercies of the railway conductor you are handed over to the hotel clerk, and, in small towns, to the lady waitress. Not a smile on that clerk's face. He is placid, solemn and monosyllabic. Your name entered on the registry, your sentence is pronounced. You are no longer Mr. So-and-So, you are No. 219. The colored gentleman is close by to carry out the sentence. He bids you follow him. Yours is not to ask questions; yours is to follow and obey. The rules of the penitentiary are printed in your bedroom. You shall be hungry from 8 to 10 A. M., from 1 to 3 P. M., and from 6 to 8 P. M. The slightest infringement of the rules would be followed by the declaration that you are a crank. At the entrance of the dining-room, the head waiter, or the lady head waitress, holds up the hand and bids you follow him or her. Perhaps you recognize a friendly face at one of the tables. Yours is not to indulge in feelings of that sort; yours is again to follow, obey, and take the seat that is assigned to you. During the whole time that altogether I have spent in America I never once saw an American man or woman who dared sit on any other chair than the one that he or she was ordered to occupy. Nay, I have seen the guests timidly wait at the door, when nobody was there to take them in charge, until some one came to order them about. In small hotels you cannot hope to have the courses brought one after the other so that each one may be served hot to you. Your plate is placed in front of you, and the lady waitress disposes symmetrically ten to fifteen little oval dishes around it. When I first made the acquaintance of this lady, and she had dealt the dishes, I exclaimed, looking at her: "Hallo! what's trump?" But there was no trifling with that lady; she threw at me a glance that made me feel the abomination of my conduct.

Complaints are so rare that I once witnessed, in a hotel, a perfect commotion started by an Englishman who had dared

express his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated. He was in the hall. "This is the worst managed hotel I have ever been in," he exclaimed to the clerk. "Where is the proprietor? I should like to speak to him." The proprietor was in the hall, thoroughly enjoying the scene. He was pointed out to the guest by the clerk. The Englishman, excited and angry, went up to the proprietor.

"Is it you who are running this house?" he said.

"Well," said the proprietor, with his cigar in his mouth and his hands in his pockets, "I thought I was—till you came."

The Englishman looked at him, turned back, paid his bill, and departed.

I am bound to admit that the incivility you meet with in many hotels, offices, shops, etc., is only apparent. They are busy, mad busy, those clerks and shopmen, and do not see why they should indulge in the thousands of petty acts of courtesy that customers expect in Europe, where, for example, shopkeepers have time to write long notices to "respectfully beg the public not to touch the articles exposed for sale." In America, "Hands off" answers the purpose, and the visitors do not feel insulted.

But among the lower class servants of the public, I am persuaded that incivility is simply a form of misunderstood democracy. "I am as good as you" is their motto, and by being polite they would fear to appear servile. They are not as good as you, however, because you are polite to them, and they are not polite to you · but they do not see that. It is not equality, it is tyranny, the worst of tyranny, tyranny from below.

The patience of the American public is simply angelical, nothing short of that. I have seen American audiences kept waiting by theatrical companies more than half an hour. Something was wrong behind the scenes. They manifested no sign of impatience. When the curtain rose, nobody came forward to apologize to them for this obvious want of respect. Once in a New England town, through a train's being late, I arrived at the Opera House three-quarters of an hour after the time my lecture was advertised to begin. "I suppose I had better apologize to the audience," I said to the local manager, "and explain to them why I am late." "Just as you please," he replied, "but I would not. I guess they would have waited another half an hour

without showing any sign of impatience." The American public expect no courtesy from the people they pay, and they get none.

The people of culture and refinement in America are paying dearly for keeping aloof from politics, and refusing to have anything to do with the government of their country. They are beginning to realize that fact. In everyday life their apathy, their lack of initiative alone can explain their endurance of the petty tyrannies I have only just indicated in these remarks.

If every official were educated up to the fact that he is paid by the state, that is to say, by the people, and that his duty is to administer, to the best of his abilities, to the welfare of the people; if every conductor of every railway company were made to understand that his first function is to attend to the comfort and wishes of passengers; if waiters, waitresses, porters, servants of all sorts, were told that a polite public has a right to expect from them politeness, courtesy and good service, life in America would be a great deal happier.

Americans may say that all this is beneath their notice, but they suffer from it. I do not think that I am one of those Europeans who believe that nothing is done well unless it is done in European fashion. I cannot help thinking that a good deal of happiness is attained in life by amiable intercourse with the people of all the different stations with whom we have to come in contact.

MAX O'RELL.

THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.

BY EDWARD W. BLYDEN, LIBERIAN MINISTER TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

THE African problem in Africa, which has puzzled a hundred generations of Europeans, is now engaging the earnest attention and taxing the energies of all the powers of Europe. The decision of the Berlin Conference, ten years ago, has placed Europe in relations to Africa such as never before existed between these continents. Every power of Europe, including Russia, has established or is seeking to establish interests in Africa.

The African problem in America, which has existed since the day the first negro landed in Virginia three hundred years ago, instead of losing its interest as the years go by, is deepening in importance and demanding more and more the serious consideration of the people of the United States.

Gratefully availing myself of the opportunity which the courtesy of the Editor of this REVIEW has placed at my disposal, I venture to present to the American public the view of these problems at which the study and travel of years both here and in Africa have enabled me to arrive.

Fifty years ago there was no part of the world of which less was known than the interior of Africa, and in which less interest was taken. When the Landers had achieved their great exploit of proving by actual observation that the Niger had an outlet to the sea and that its banks on both sides were occupied by vast and active populations, their discoveries were not received with half the interest which is now aroused by excavations in the valley of the Euphrates or on the banks of the Nile. The *Edinburgh Review* of that day (July, 1832), rebuked the "very rigid parsimony" of a government which rewarded the labors of the enterprising travellers by a gratuity of *one hundred pounds;* but

those labors were the prelude of all the modern activity in African exploration and exploitation. The English, as the first of commercial nations, could not rest without ascertaining the natural capacities of a country known to be populous, and without endeavoring to open new and easier routes of communication with it. For the series of explorations which has, within the last thirty or forty years, filled up the larger part of what used to be blank spaces in our maps of Africa, we are indebted almost altogether to the intelligence and enterprise of British travellers—from Livingstone in 1849, to Captain Lugard in 1895. But the conferences of the great powers at Berlin in 1884-5, and at Brussels in 1890, assumed for Europe the continent of Africa as its special field of operation. The "scramble" is over, and now the question is how to utilize the plunder in the interests of civilization and progress.

France has taken the lead by military operations. England has begun her work through chartered companies destined to end in protectorates. Germany has blended the military with the commercial *régime*. But each is proceeding cautiously and learning the best methods by daily experience. They are gradually repairing the waste places and teaching the natives to make the best possible use of their own country, by fitting it up for their own prosperity and preparing it for the exiles in distant lands who may desire to return to the ancestral home.

The task which Europe has imposed upon itself is a vast one—surpassing the labors of Hercules. But intelligence, energy and science will cleanse the Augean stables—the swamps and morasses which disfigure and poison the coast regions. They will destroy the Lernean hydra of African fever. They will bring the golden apples from the hidden gardens of the wealthy interior.

France, in the conquest of Dahomey, has performed a task which civilization has long needed. She has freed a great country from the cruel savagery of ages and thrown it open to the regenerating influence of enlightened nations. The king, who was bound hand and foot by the sanguinary superstitions of his fathers, was relieved by the military energy of the French from his blood-thirsty responsibility, and is now ending his days in bloodless luxury and quiet in the French colony of Martinique, supported like a king at the expense of his captors and de-

porters. Abomey, his capital, closed for hundreds of years against civilizing agencies, is now the centre of stable rule, of educational and industrial impulse. Mohammedan missionaries, formerly refused admission for religious work, are now directing the attention of besotted pagans to the "Lord of the universe."

The French are assiduous in the administration of the affairs of the countries which, by the decision of the Berlin conference, have fallen within their "sphere of influence." When, by conquest or treaty, they have acquired any territory, they spare no pains in its exploitation and development. The sons of powerful chiefs whom they have conquered in what is now called French Soudan are sent to France or North Africa for education to fit them on their return to take charge of their respective countries and govern them under French supervision in the interest of order and progress. Several Mohammedan youth, the sons of chiefs, were sent last year from Senegal to the Moslem College at Kairawan for education. Natives of intelligence and capacity are promoted to high official positions, and have the Legion of Honor conferred upon them.

England is entering upon her part of the work, not as a stranger. For more than a hundred years she has been engaged in direct recuperative work, having provided Sierra Leone, after abolishing the slave trade, as an asylum for recaptured slaves. In this colony, as well as in those of Gambia, the Gold Coast and Lagos, she has expended vast amounts of money and sacrificed numberless English lives. She has very recently increased her political responsibilities in Western Soudan by taking within her jurisdiction the powerful kingdom of Ashantee, with which she has waged such frequent and expensive wars with results by no means discreditable to her native antagonists. Under the name of the Niger Coast Protectorate, England has also taken the whole of the Niger delta through which flow the great Oil Rivers or estuaries of Benin, Brass, Bonny, Opobo, New Calabar and Old Calabar. There is one feature in which the Niger may defy competition from any other river, either of the old or new world. This is the grandeur of its delta, which is probably the most insalubrious region in all of West Africa. Along the whole coast, from Benin to Old Calabar, a distance of about 300 miles, the Niger makes its way to the Atlantic through the various estuaries just enumerated. Had this delta, like that of

the Nile, been subject only to periodical inundations, leaving behind a layer of fertilizing slime, it would have formed the most fruitful region on earth, and might have been almost the granary of a continent. But the Niger rolls down its waters in such excessive abundance as to convert the whole into a dreary swamp. This is covered with dense forests of mangrove and other trees of spreading and luxuriant foliage. The equatorial sun, with its fiercest rays, cannot penetrate these dark recesses; it only draws forth from them pestilential vapors, which render this coast more fatal than any other. There is not, however, the slightest doubt, now that British enterprise under government protection has access to that region, that in the course of time those forests will be leveled, those swamps drained, and the soil covered with luxuriant harvests.

Sir Claude Macdonald, to whom was entrusted four or five years ago the duty of establishing the Niger Coast Protectorate, of organizing regular government and enforcing order in that region, has performed his difficult task with admirable ability. He has in that short time created a revenue which more than suffices for the work of administration. He has abolished barbarous customs and suppressed marauding practices. The natives, he has discovered, have a perfect knowledge and appreciation of the immense industrial resources of their country, and a readiness to take advantage of them, together with an aptitude for imitation and a desire for instruction, which are most hopeful indications of progress. They are encouraged to spontaneous activity, and to a love of achievement from which important results must before long accrue. The progress has been rapid as well as steady; and may be measured from month to month, almost from day to day.

The Royal Niger Company, which has brought within British influence vast and important territories, will now, probably, like the British East Africa Company, pass into the hands of the British Government. As this company has been governed by strictly commercial principles, it is feared, from recent occurrences, that the welfare of the native population may be sacrificed to the interest of the shareholders. Perhaps it may be best for all concerned that the regions in question should come under the strict control of a Protectorate, if not formed into a Crown colony.

Germany, considering her inexperience in colonial matters, is developing astounding ability and resources as a colonizing power.

Her recent decided step, in behalf of native protection, in the punishment of Herr Leist for his abuse of official power in maltreating the natives at Cameroon, has satisfied the people as to her intentions and aims.

Every one has confidence in the philanthropic aims and political and commercial efforts of the King of the Belgians in the arduous and expensive enterprise he has undertaken on the Congo. But none of these powers has any idea of making Africa a home for its citizens. They know that European colonists cannot live in that country. Nature has marked off tropical Africa as the abiding home of the black races. I have met no European agent, either political, commercial or industrial, who thinks that there is any chance for Europeans to occupy intertropical Africa. All that Europe can do is to keep the peace among the tribes, giving them the order and security necessary to progress; while the emissaries of religion, industry and trade teach lessons of spiritual and secular life. The bulk of the continent is still untouched by Western civilization, notwithstanding the fact that Africa has been partitioned among the European powers—on paper.

It is an interesting fact that Liverpool, which, in the days of the slave trade, took so prominent a part in the nefarious traffic, is doing more than any other city to push the enterprises of reconstruction into the continent. Her steamship companies and her Chamber of Commerce are the most potent of the European agencies in the work of African regeneration. And both are doing all in their power to bring the natives forward and assist them to develop and take care of their own country. It is commonly supposed that the liquor traffic is decimating the African tribes. There is no doubt that much mischief is done among some of the coast tribes who are in immediate contact with foreign trade. But, notwithstanding the large quantities of vile spirits introduced, very little finds its way to the interior. In my journeys to the *hinterland* of Liberia and Sierra Leone, I have been astonished to find that all evidences of the malignant traffic disappear after one gets about a hundred miles from the coast. Beyond that distance the people, as a rule, are ignorant of the nature or use of ardent spirits. It would be impossible to explain to those of them who have not visited the seaboard the character and purposes of a public house or a rum shop. On returning to the coast

the unfailing signs of approach to a European settlement or to so-called civilization are empty gin bottles and demijohns. There are three reasons for this exemption of the interior tribes from the blighting traffic.

In the first place, the population of the coast towns and of regions adjacent to the coast are so large, and the love for drink, cultivated for generations, is so strong among them, that all the importations are swallowed up in the maritime districts. Yet each individual seems to have access to so little of this fire-water that it is very rare to see any one "the worse for liquor." Then, the inhabitants of the elevated and healthy regions, robust in body and mind, are satisfied with the natural beverages of the country, and do not crave foreign or abnormal stimulants. Lastly, the people who control the volume of trade in the Soudan are Mohammedans to whom the use of ardent spirits is forbidden by their religion under the severest penalties. But for this fact, the scourge of liquor, whose ravages in the maritime districts Mungo Park deplored a hundred years ago, and the Landers animadverted upon thirty years later, would long since have exterminated or debased millions of that vast multitude who, under the protection of Islam, are increasing in numbers.

Enlightened Christian sentiment in Europe and America is working towards the entire suppression of the demoralizing traffic. The *aborigines* of Africa, then, taking into consideration all the agencies at work, are not likely to share the deplorable fate of the *aborigines* of this country, Australia and New Zealand.

It used to be fashionable some years ago to make disparaging comments upon the home industry of the Africans. Men posing as great commercial authorities informed the world that the trade of Africa was very small and not likely to increase. They assigned as a reason for this opinion that a savage people, living in a climate where clothing is unnecessary and where food can be obtained with little or no labor, would not exert themselves to procure imported articles which they do not absolutely require. But such opinions arose from completely erroneous ideas of the social condition of the African nations generally, and of the degree of civilization in the interior of that continent. Within the last twenty years these views have been completely exploded. Steamers and sailing ships from all the ports of Europe now hug

the coast for more than two thousand miles, and carry away every day to Europe in exchange for cash and European goods large quantities of native products, such as vegetable oils, palm kernels, piassava, camwood, mahogany, cotton, ivory, hides, coffee, timber, gums, wax and gold. Horses and cattle, sheep, goats, etc., are also brought to the coast for sale.

The able and experienced officers now administering the government of the British Colonies in West Africa—notably Col. Frederic Cardew, of Sierra Leone, and Sir Gilbert Carter, of Lagos—are earnestly recommending the construction of railways from the coast to the interior, their travels to the *hinterland* having convinced them that vast resources may soon be developed by increased facilities of intercourse and transportation. A few weeks ago a deputation from the Manchester, Liverpool, and London Chambers of Commerce waited upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the immediate establishment of railways to meet the growing demands of the trade. Of all this valuable and increasing commerce the voluntary industry of the natives is the only basis.

Africa produces in unlimited quantities articles of prime necessity to civilization, which can not be obtained in anything like the same quantities from any other country.

In the interior the natives have reached a degree of civilization not suspected by the outside world. Most of the tribes have fixed habitations and defences round their towns; they cultivate their lands; they wear cotton dresses of their own manufacture, dyed with native dyes; and they work in iron and gold. The native loom is very primitive, but the native cotton is excellent. The native cotton dresses are much thicker and better than any produced in Manchester, whose manufacturers try hard to imitate them. The African dyes are far brighter and more enduring than the foreign. The African indigo is said to resist the action of light and acids better than any other. Still, the interior Africans, who are a great trading people, patronize foreign goods and are multiplying their purchasing power. The beneficial effects of trade are now perceived for hundreds of miles around the settlements, large tracts of land having been brought under cultivation.

The introduction of foreign cloth into the interior instead of diminishing the manufacture of the native article has increased

it, and it more than holds its own side by side with the foreign product, the natives decidedly preferring the African original to the European imitation, and paying much higher prices for it. They sometimes buy English "bafts"—the trade term for the pieces of cotton of which their dresses are made—which are a clever imitation of their own make, but only because they are very much cheaper. As long as the Africans retain their superiority in manufacturing cotton goods, foreign competition will not interfere with the work produced by their primitive appliances.

They also manufacture their own agricultural implements from iron taken from the soil. They make beautiful gold trinkets and their workmanship in that metal is not only curious, but often really beautiful. The gold mines of Bouré, in the interior of Sierra Leone, and others in the interior of Liberia, yield abundantly with the application of very little labor or capital.

There is nothing in Africa resembling the poverty which one sees in Europe. The natives in some regions plant a portion of their land especially for the stranger and wayfarer, so that they can indulge in a hospitality unknown in civilized countries—a genuine and unpremeditated hospitality. Cameron, the English traveller, author of "Across Africa," told me that on one occasion when in the heart of the continent, several weeks' journey from the coast, his supplies gave out and he had nothing to offer the natives in exchange for the necessaries of life; but he experienced no inconvenience, much less suffering. He was the object of abundant and assiduous hospitality from people who had never seen him before and who would never see him again. "In what country of Europe or America," he asked, "would such a thing be possible?"

Great as have been the changes which have taken place during the last ten years in the condition of Africa so far as its relation to Europe is concerned, vaster changes still are impending in connection with the central portion of the continent—a region of incalculable extent which seems still fresh, as it were, from the hands of God and only waiting for the energies of civilized man to bring to perfection the numerous products of its prolific soil.

The feeling for progress and achievement awakened and impelled by enlightened and vigorous government on the coast must lead to important results in the near future, which cannot

but have a decided and salutary influence, not only upon the people at home, but upon the condition of their children in exile in foreign lands. But development and progress in Africa will linger until the United States, both government and people, black and white, take a wider and deeper practical interest in the affairs of that continent. Europe cannot do what America can for Africa.

We have thus far been considering what Europe is doing in and for Africa. We now come to those efforts in that continent which are of more immediate interest to the public of the United States. The Republic of Liberia owes its origin to American benevolence. It is the only spot in Africa where the civilized negro—the American negro—without alien supervision or guidance is holding aloft the torch of civilization and the symbol of Christianity, endeavoring to establish government on principles recognized by the civilized world and in international relations with the leading nations: a country to which thousands of Africa's descendants in the Southern States are looking as the only place where they can obtain relief from their disabilities, and a field for the unhindered cultivation and untrammeled development of their peculiar gifts as a people.

The discussion of this subject will lead to a brief consideration of the African problem in this country. The statesmen who organized the government of the United States were as clear as to the nature of the present race problem, which their sagacity recognized from afar, as are the statesmen of to-day—perhaps clearer. Thomas Jefferson foresaw the emancipation of the slave, and he foresaw also the difficulties—insuperable difficulties—that must attend the residence in one country of two distinct races to whom intermarriage and social equality would be impossible. One race ruling and dominant, the other possessing no birthright of power, there being between them no such sympathy as would make their interests everywhere and always identical. He, therefore, conceived the idea of a separation, and some of his contemporaries or immediate successors, laid the foundation of a society for the deportation of the blacks to the land of their fathers—not, as some of their opponents at that time suggested, to rivet more securely the fetters of the slave, but to provide an asylum and a field of operation for the freed man.

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817 in

the city of Washington, where it is still represented by an office, an executive committee, a secretary and treasurer. The society sent out the first emigrants in 1820, and in 1821 founded the colony which they called Liberia—land of the free. The capital of the colony was called Monrovia after President Monroe, who gave practical aid to the enterprise.

The ship "Elizabeth," the "Mayflower" of Liberian history, sailed from New York, having on board eighty-eight emigrants, on the 6th of February, 1820. She had favoring breezes and made the voyage in about thirty days, arriving at Sierra Leone March 9. The immigrants, after trying several localities in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone, at length obtained a foothold at Cape Mesurado, about 260 miles southeast of Sierra Leone, where they established the settlement of Monrovia.

In 1847 they became an independent republic upon the model of the United States. This responsibility was forced upon the colony by the anomaly of its position. Founded and fostered by a private society, with no official recognition from the United States Government, it was exposed to, and was frequently the victim of, impositions from unscrupulous slave traders and others who would not respect the laws enacted by the colony. Under these circumstances it, of course, looked for official recognition as a nation to the United States, but, owing to the "peculiar institution," such recognition could not be granted. It subsequently sought and obtained acknowledgment from Great Britain and other European powers, under the name and style of the Republic of Liberia.

The natural advantages of the country in the way of soil and climate place it in the front rank of West African countries. Every visitor sees at a glance the immense possibilities of the youthful nation—agricultural, mineral, commercial and political. What it now needs is capital and intelligent negro immigrants from the western hemisphere—farmers, mechanics, preachers and school teachers.

An unfortunate law, which the founders of the State considered necessary to its integrity and protection, excludes the white man from citizenship. The state of the world and the relations of the races when this exclusive enactment was passed, sixty or seventy years ago—made, by the way, *for* the colonists by white American citizens—no doubt furnished a reason and an excuse

for it. But in a few more years it may come within the range of Liberian practical politics to modify, if not altogether abolish, that law as being behind the spirit of the age, and obstructive.

Since the founding of Liberia, seventy-four years ago, not quite twenty thousand negroes all told have gone to that colony. And yet in spite of this limited immigration and in spite of the fact that they have had very little foreign aid, they have brought into operation upon that coast, which they found in a wild and savage state, such agencies, political, commercial and industrial, that they were thought worthy, about fifty years ago, to be received into the family of nations and have ever since been performing, without discredit, the functions of national life. They are in treaty relations with all the great powers of Europe, with the United States and other American nationalities. They have diplomatic and consular officers in Europe and America. Commercially they attract steamships and sailing ships from the principal European ports.

The culture of coffee is extending in Liberia, and several of her citizens, immigrants from the United States, who went out with very small capital or none at all, and devoted themselves to agriculture, are now in affluent circumstances.

In presenting these facts it is not my purpose to urge any to go to Liberia. I believe that the interest and sympathy which have been awakened among the negroes of the South preclude any necessity for such a stimulant. If the United States government would supply the means thousands would rush to that country. No warnings, admonitions or predictions of possible disaster would deter them. They would rush forth in unthinking multitudes and precipitate upon themselves and upon the unfortunate country which admitted them a state of things the horrors of which it would not be possible to exaggerate. No greater evil could befall Africa or the negro race at the present time than an exodus of negroes from the United States.

I do not ignore the sad aspects of the condition of the race here. We hear nearly every day of acts being perpetrated upon negroes in certain sections of the country which drive some to say, "Anywhere but here." These acts are deplorable; perhaps, in many instances, indefensible; but certainly dangerous and pernicious to the last degree, not to blacks only but to whites also. But emigration will not cure these evils. They are symp-

toms of a disease which can be eradicated only by a wider and deeper education of blacks and whites alike.

The present generation of white men and the present generation of black men must pass away. A new generation of each race, strangers to the abnormal facts of slavery and its monstrous offshoots, must arise before any extensive colonization of American blacks in Africa can answer its great purpose. The negro problem must be solved here or it will reappear in Africa in a new form. The negro must learn to respect himself here before he will be able to perform the functions of true manhood there. Should he leave this country now, harrassed and cowed, broken in spirit and depressed, ashamed of his racial peculiarities and deprecating everything intended for his racial preservation, he would be destitute of the tenacity and force, the self-reliance and confidence, the faith in himself and in his destiny, which, as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, would guide him in the policy to be adopted toward the man like himself whom he will find on his ancestral continent.

A handful of people on the margin of the continent is a very different thing from a million with imperfect views of themselves and their work. But will the negro ever attain to full manhood under a dominant race? No; not now. On one hand, all those who held him as a slave and their children, and on the other, all those who felt the iron of slavery penetrate their souls and *their* children, must pass away before things will reach a somewhat normal state.

I consider, therefore, that all agitation for the movement of large masses of negroes to Africa is at the present time unwise and premature. Not so, however, the effort to awaken a missionary spirit among the blacks, and to diffuse information which will stimulate effort on that line, and induce individuals, or small colonies, to go out with some definite object in view for the religious or industrial improvement of the country. Meanwhile, everything should be avoided by the masses who remain which would aggravate the situation, and everything studied and pursued which makes for peace and harmony. What I would inculcate upon the negro in the United States now is a modest temperateness of behavior—an unpretentious and unambitious deportment, which is not only in accordance with the tendencies of his own nature left to itself, but is, I consider, the chief and soundest

blessing to which his destinies in America invite him. Politics at present is not his field. He is as yet but a newcomer in the arena of even personal freedom—not more than a generation from chattelism. The fact is, I do not believe that the masses of the negroes in the South, *when let alone,* trouble themselves about politics; they are very little disposed to take part in a strife which to them is barren, uninteresting and often perilous; and it is to be regretted if any extraneous influence should be brought to bear upon them to turn into partisanship what, under the circumstances, must be considered a salutary indifference. He can bide his time. He will not die out—he is not dying out. According to the Census Bulletin No. 48, it appears that the colored population increased from 1880 to 1890, 856,800; or 85,680 a year, about 243 a day, or 10 an hour. Such agencies as that at Tuskegee, under Mr. Booker T. Washington, which are preparing him for his work in this country and in Africa, if he goes there, should be encouraged. All bitterness and darkness of spirit, all sour unreasonableness, should be laid aside. By his cheerful, musical spirit, and by all that is implied in his inimitable gift of song, the negro may construct for himself here, to be taken with him when he goes to Africa, walls within which will dwell peace and palaces within which will be plenteousness. And when the time comes for the departure of large numbers—for anything like an exodus—the separation of the races will be marked by affectionate regrets on both sides.

EDWARD W. BLYDEN.

OUR REVIVING BUSINESS.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

A DISTINGUISHED English statistician, in a paper recently given to the public, has called attention to the unprecedented wealth of the people of the United States and the products at their command. No clearer demonstration could be had of the accuracy of his estimate of our country's condition than is now being witnessed in every part of the land. All the many evidences of the new prosperity to be everywhere seen bear proof of the recuperative powers of our people and the abundance of their resources. After more than two years of continuous financial depression and business stagnation, the summer months of the present year have been notable for the volume of trade which, as compared with similar seasons in other years, has characterized them. This unusual activity has not been confined to a single line of business or to but one class of manufactures. It has been manifest in all, and almost uniform in degree. The iron and steel industries, which appear to outstrip all others, are enabled to do so only because prosperity is coming to all. The railroad conditions of the country are improving, not alone because of the enormous crop of corn and other agricultural produce to be freighted, but because of the increase in the general carrying trade. The voluntary raising of the wages of more than a million laborers in mill, factory and mine, within a few months, has seldom if ever before been witnessed even in times of acknowledged and uninterrupted prosperity. This advance to the laborers has directly and indirectly benefited so many others who are engaged in trade, individually small but aggregating many millions of capital, that it is impossible to say just who of all our people has not gained from the improved condition of the laboring classes. The gov-

ernment has shared in the advantage, though in a less degree than the individual. Its receipts are now steadily increasing, each month of the present year showing larger returns from customs duties than the corresponding month of the preceding year. If its income is not yet sufficient to meet its expenditures, there is every indication that under the operation of the present tariff law that end will be speedily reached. There certainly will be no gradual falling off in this respect, such as characterized the workings of the last law.

This improvement in the people's affairs is remarkable when it is considered in connection with the shortness of the time in which it has been brought about and the events through which the country has been called to pass. The effects of the panic of 1873 were felt with little lessening of severity until 1879, and even then there was no such revival as is now apparent. Two years after the panic of 1893 was at its height, the country may fairly be said to be out of the throes of it, and well entered upon an era of greater wealth and of extraordinary commercial and industrial activity. So great an advance is all the more wonderful in view of the circumstances which, to a greater or less degree, have contributed to the disturbance of our business world. Within a period of six years more business legislation of importance has taken place than during any equal length of time since the active war period. During this time the McKinley Tariff Act became a law, making the most material changes in tariff rates, the effect of which could not but be to disturb business, since these changes altered conditions as completely as if the rates had been intended to be revenue-producing instead of prohibitory ones. The same Congress placed upon the statue books the Sherman Silver Act, the influence and dangerous tendencies of which in the monetary world worked even greater harm and loss and caused greater doubt and uncertainty than the tariff act. These acts were followed by a Congressional election, giving indications of a coming Presidential election which would reverse the tariff and financial legislation which had been enacted by the Republican Congress and sanctioned by a Republican President. The injurious consequences of the two legislative acts referred to had been felt long before the Presidential election which resulted in the selection of a Democratic President and Congress, and they speedily precipitated a struggle to repeal the financial legislation

of the Congress of 1888; also to repeal its tariff legislation and enact something in its stead. The uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the attempt to repeal the Sherman Silver Act and the delay in accomplishing it affected the entire business of the country. The beneficial effects which would have followed the speedy erasure of the obnoxious measure from the statute book were thus lost. There was not sufficient time for either the commerce or the industries of the country to revive when Congress entered upon a consideration of the repeal of the McKinley Tariff Act. Here, too, was delay and uncertainty. Such a condition in the enactment of legislation could not but cause a paralysis of business widespread and far-reaching. The disastrous effects of the Sherman law, the contributing elements of the McKinley Act, and the consequences of delay in the action of Congress in their repeal of both, so turned the business world upside down that strikes became the order of the day, and disturbances in the ranks of labor, of proportions till then unknown, followed in quick succession. The movement of Coxey and his body of tramps, the riots attendant upon the railroad strikes under the leadership of Debs, and the long dispute between coal-mine owners and miners in the various parts of the country but added to the conditions, already serious, which affected our business world. Fortunately the country has come out of all these experiences, each of which added something to the elements which injuriously affected the country's financial interests. In the light of them all the wonder is not that the country has lost so much, but that it has lost so little. It is the strongest tribute that can be paid to the American citizen to note that to-day, notwithstanding the disasters attendant upon these recent events, he is once more enjoying the fruits of a new prosperity full of hope in the future and more strongly than ever a believer in the strength of his government and the wisdom of those who established it.

It has been suggested by some who are inclined to take a pessimistic view of things that the advance made in so short a time is far too great to be sustained. The facts, however, as we have them through the Clearing House returns and other sources, warrant the assertion that the improvement in the business world is not of an ephemeral character, but, instead, is genuine and substantial. It certainly cannot prove to be otherwise if the fields of corn now maturing in the West yield the number of

bushels which all the indications point to. It is impossible to conceive of the country not being wholly prosperous when the laborer has employment at remunerative wages, and the farmer has an abundance of produce, with markets affording profitable prices. The only danger which can intervene, and thus produce a reaction, would arise through our people's entering extravagantly upon enterprises of a wholly speculative character. It is hardly probable, however, that such recklessness will be speedily shown. The results of such enterprises in the past few years have, in the great majority of instances, fallen so far short of the expectations of their projectors that those who have money to invest will be loath to invest in similar undertakings.

One of the serious causes of conditions similar to those through which we have just passed arises from the utter recklessness with which credit is extended to those who make it a business to promote this or that undertaking. The banks of the country are in a great measure to blame for having in the past few years made credit so cheap as to enable every character of speculation to be carried on. The outcome of all this has been that in many instances in many communities business booms of the most unsubstantial character have been fostered, to the great loss of all concerned. It is, of course, necessary to assume greater or less risk in order to increase the business of a community, but when the point is reached at which a bank or other financial institution bears the whole burden of sustaining every promotive undertaking in such community disaster must necessarily result. The number of communities in all sections of the country where inducements in the form of grants of land and bonuses in the form of money or other special privileges are extended to factories and other enterprises of a similar character will probably greatly lessen, because of the ill success which in so many instances has heretofore followed their so doing. When such is the case, it is safe to say that fewer town lot additions will be platted and made a part of every ambitious town solely for the purpose of enriching some shrewd real estate speculator. At the same time there will be greater care observed in seeing that such artificial means are not wholly relied upon for making such towns important centres of industry and population. The unhealthiness of the business of a community based wholly or in part upon speculation can best be appreciated when it is realized that its character partakes

largely of gambling, with all the consequent evils that come in its train. While it is probable that this character of business undertaking was not as great within the past five years as in some periods of our history, it has been sufficiently large to contribute in no small measure to bring about the loss entailed upon so many within the past two years. It certainly has bred very great extravagance in personal expenditures, and the same things characterizing legislation in Congress have led to great extravagance in public expenditures. The wisdom of the situation is to indulge in a conservatism that, while on the one hand not refusing credit to legitimate enterprises, will on the other not extend it to such as are based largely upon future expectation. All this, it is believed, will be done, even though for a considerable length of time money will lie idle in the vaults of the banks and the trust companies. The loss of interest and dividends thus caused in the end is always much less than the loss which follows the collapse of a boom.

Thus, taking into account the lessons learned through the experience which our people have just had, it is reasonable to believe that such wise conservatism will prevail in our business world as will justify the belief of those who maintain the solidity of the present business conditions. No one at all familiar with its affairs will doubt that the credit of the government will be strictly maintained. There ought no longer to be any doubt on this point. The steps taken since the advent of the present administration have fixed beyond question not only the determination but the ability on its part to meet promptly every proper obligation of the government in gold. Its efforts in this direction have been so fully justified by the results which have flowed from them that there is scarcely left one among the well informed who is willing to criticise the action which thus far has been taken. It is to be regretted that the general government bears such intimate relations to the individual business of its citizens, that the condition of its treasury should ever seriously affect their individual fortunes, but such must be the case on occasions more or less frequent, until there is assembled at Washington a Congress, which has sufficient wisdom, business sagacity, and courage to enact such legislation as will permanently retire the demand obligations of the government, through payment of them in gold, and thus put out of the reach of speculators and

others the means of throwing the country into a panic by making an assault upon the gold reserve in the treasury. It is one of the absurdities of our financial system that the government voluntarily places itself in the position of being a general market of supply for the gold demands of not only our own people but the people of other countries. The whole system as it stands to-day is a source of continuing loss to the people and a menace to their prosperity. It is only because of the strength and determination of the President in devising and in sanctioning methods to prevent evils that otherwise would come upon the citizen in his business relations that the country has been enabled, despite it all, to maintain a position where its financial condition commands complete confidence at home and abroad.

How much it means to possess the confidence of those who are dealing with us in our ability and purpose to maintain unimpeached our monetary integrity is apparent from the change which has come over foreign investors in American governments and other securities since the consummation of the syndicate gold loan. Statistics are not at hand to show just what the amount of purchases by foreign buyers of our securities since that date have been, but the sales of railroad and other stocks have been especially large and at advanced prices. Not less benefit has resulted also from a ceasing to return to us stocks and securities already held. The importance of all this cannot be over-estimated. It is quite as essential to command the confidence of foreign investors as it is to hold that of our own people. This confidence, which leads them to send here money for investment, can be held just so long as there is here maintained a monetary system which accords with that of every other great commercial nation. It will fall away and finally be lost if ever a law is placed upon our statute book making our standard of value, independent of all other countries, either a single silver standard or a standard of both silver and gold.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

A BRUSH WITH THE BANNOCKS.

BY GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

In the summer of 1878 I organized an expedition to move into and explore a wagon route and telegraph line west of Fort Keogh, to reconnoitre the country, and also to visit Yellowstone Park. I selected a command from among the most experienced veterans of the Indian Territory and the Northwest; and then with a strong wagon train, a well-equipped pack train, and all the appliances, camp equipage, and field equipment necessary, we leisurely moved up the Yellowstone. The party consisted of ten officers, four civilians, five ladies, and three children.

We moved up the Yellowstone to the mouth of the Rosebud; thence up that beautiful valley to its head, practically going over the route followed by Custer's command; thence over the high divide to the Little Big Horn, camping near the battle ground where the massacre occurred, and making a second examination of the ground, the topography of the country, and the distance between the different forces. In this second examination we were accompanied by some of the prominent actors in that tragedy on the side of the hostile Indians.

Moving up the Yellowstone was a continuous delight; the country was covered with rich verdure and the trees were in full foliage; game was abundant, and the waters of the upper Yellowstone were filled with delicious trout. The officers rode on horseback, and the ladies and children, occasionally in wagons, were more frequently in the saddle.

After ten or twelve days' march, as we neared the Yellowstone Park, I received information that the Bannocks had gone on the war path in Idaho, were committing depredations, and were coming through Yellowstone Park, threatening to invade our own

territory. Of course, this meant serious business and I at once prepared to check any such invasion on their part.

Sending the non-combatants to the nearest military post, Fort Ellis, just a short distance from where Boseman now stands and immediately adjoining the National Park, I started with seventy-five men to make a forced march and occupy the passes of the mountains through which it was natural to suppose the Bannocks would attempt to go, on their way east. It had been their habit to go through the mountains during the summer season to trade with the Crow Indians or hunt buffalo. There were two passes through which they could travel, one of which was known as the Boulder Pass, a very rough and difficult trail, and the other was Clarke's Fork Pass, which was a distance of approximately one hundred and fifteen miles from our starting point. In order to meet all chances, it became necessary for me to divide my small force. Believing that they would be less likely to go out through the Boulder than through Clarke's Fork Pass, I sent Lieutenaut Bailey with forty men to occupy the former position, while with the balance of the men I proceeded to the other.

I had already sent forward scouts to the Crow agency, urging the Crow Indians to join us in the expedition against the Bannocks. The Crows had always been loyal to the government and friendly to the whites, but as at the same time they had also been friendly with the Bannock Indians, they hesitated about going against them. The importance of arresting any hostile body of Indians liable to commit depredations on other reservations and neighboring settlements was explained to them. They were also offered rations and ammunition and all the stock that they could capture from the Bannocks. In consideration of these inducements, they agreed with the scout that I had sent forward to go on the arrival of the command. When we did arrive, seeing the small body of thirty-five men march past, they inquired how soon the command would get there. They were assured that although this was the only command we had, it was composed entirely of experienced Indian fighters, that every man in it was a medicine man, and that we needed no greater force to go against the Bannocks. But in spite of all we could say, they decided that they would not go with such a squad as that, so we told them to remain where they were.

The command moved on, and in the course of an hour two strong, hardy, brave-looking Crow warriors rode up and joined us, saying that they were not afraid of anything and were going with the command. Their example was followed by others, the bravest first and the most timid last, until we had been joined by seventy-five Crow warriors. It then appeared more like an Indian expedition than anything else.

As rapidly as possible we crossed the country, taking but little rest, and by forced marches reached the vicinity of Clarke's Fork Pass, discovering that up to that time there had been no sign of the Bannock Indians. The command was concealed in a "pocket" in the mountains, a name given by hunters and trappers to a very small park surrounded by high buttes and steep cliffs. The soldiers, Indians, horses, pack mules, all were kept concealed, and a few scouts sent out to occupy the crests of the high buttes and, using their field glasses or telescopes under the cover of some cedar or pine bush, to discover the first sign of the approach of the hostile Indians. Occasionally an officer would be detailed to crawl up the heights and examine the country—especially Clarke's Fork Pass—with his glass ; but he was instructed never to reveal as much as the top of his head over the crest unless it was covered by some bush or tall grass.

On the following morning about eleven o'clock the hostile Bannocks were seen to appear on the top of a mountain, and slowly wind their way down the circuitous rocky trail, a distance of three or four miles, moving along down Clarke's Fork, and going into camp in the valley within six miles of the command. They unsaddled and turned out their horses (quite a large herd), posted their videttes or lookouts on the bluffs immediately adjacent to the camp, built their camp fires, and settled down, apparently confident of their safety, and utterly unconscious of the enemy concealed in their vicinity.

To approach their camp it was necessary to pass over a level plain of two or three miles in extent, and the lookouts or videttes would have discovered the command the moment it debouched from its place of concealment. Having once discovered it, it would be but the work of a moment for the Indians to jump on their ponies and escape over the foot hills and rugged passes of that mountainous region. We therefore decided to remain in our place of concealment, from which we watched the

camp all that day, and then at night moved slowly down to within two miles of it.

At nine o'clock that night I called the two Indians who had first followed us from the Crow agency, and told them that I wanted them to discover the condition of the Bannock camp. An Indian wrapped in his blanket could crawl up under cover of the darkness and walk near a hostile Indian camp without being detected, whereas a white man would be immediately recognized. This was especially so as the night was dark and rainy, and the Bannocks were curled up sheltering themselves from the rain and cold, and if the Crow scouts had been seen, wrapped as they were in their blankets, they would have very likely been mistaken for some men belonging to the Bannock camp, walking about looking out for their horses.

The Crow scouts returned between twelve and one o'clock, and reported that the Bannock camp was in a very strong position, difficult to approach, with the sage brush as high as a horse's back about it, and that if we attempted to take it we would be whipped. The rain had then been pouring down in torrents for several hours, and the conditions were anything but cheerful.

For this dangerous, hazardous, and valuable service, these two men were afterward well rewarded, but they were told at the time that the attack would be made at daybreak, and the Crows were expected to assist—at least they were expected to capture the herd of horses, and they were then directed to guide us to the hostile camp. Slowly and noiselessly, the command moved in the direction in which the camp was supposed to be, stopping to listen in the dark, and occasionally making long waits for some ray of light or other sign to direct them. When we had moved to a distance that we believed would place us very near the camp, we halted and waited until about four o'clock or after, as we were not sure of its exact location or direction. Fortunately a dim light suddenly appeared on our left, about five hundred yards distant, indicating the exact locality of the camp, and that we had almost passed it.

The troops were formed in skirmish line, and the center directed to guide on this light, which was evidently caused by some one just starting a fire for the morning, and as good a line as could be arranged in the dark was made. The Crows were told

to take position on the right of the line. The troops moved slowly and cautiously in the direction of the light, passing through the grazing herd of horses and ponies. A halt was occasionally made in order to wait until the troops could see a short distance, and it was noticed that, as we passed through the herd, the Crow warriors gradually commenced to quietly move off some of the Bannock horses, and instead of remaining on the right of the troops where they had been placed, they gradually worked to the left, and as they did so drove the herd to the rear. As day broke the troops were enabled to see, and they moved forward until they got within a hundred yards of the camp before opening fire.

The Indians were taken completely by surprise; some of them jumped into the river and swam to the other side, about fourteen of the warriors were killed and the balance of the camp surrendered. The fight lasted but a short time and was over by six o'clock in the morning.

Before the affair was over there was scarcely a Crow Indian and not a single Bannock horse to be seen in the valley. While the Crows had been useful on account of their formidable numbers, the principal object of their attention was the herd of captured horses. While some of them did not stop until they had reached the agency, a distance of seventy-five miles, where they arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon, others left their captive stock in the hands of their friends four or five miles back in the foot hills and returned to the assistance of the troops. They did good service especially in calling out to the enemy to surrender and capturing scattered Bannocks; also in capturing a small party that came into the valley later and were evidently following the main band with a lot of stolen horses, one day behind.

I had sent the interpreter on ahead from the Crow Agency, as we marched out to go up to Clarke's Fork, to see what he could find out about the enemy. He could speak both Crow and Bannock. When he had gone over the pass and into the park he met the Bannocks on the other side of Clarke's Fork Pass. They asked him if there were any troops in the neighborhood. He replied "No," and then they said they wanted to go over and trade with the Crows. After leaving them he passed on as if journeying in the same direction from whence they had come, until he had got a safe distance away, and then circled around

and reported to me the night before the attack. He was a good man and was killed in that fight.

The affair was a very disastrous one to the Indians, eleven of their number being killed and a great many wounded, while the entire camp was captured with 250 animals.

Our loss was small in numbers, but among the killed was Captain Andrew S. Bennett, of the Fifth Infantry, a most accomplished, meritorious, and valuable officer. It was a sad sight as his friends gazed upon his dead body, which Surgeon Redd had placed against a tree, with the shoulders bare, in order to examine the wound. The bullet hole was in the centre of his breast, and had evidently caused instant death. His features were as white and perfect as if chiselled from marble, and he looked like an ideal hero. It seemed hard that this true patriot, who had risked his life on many a hard-fought battlefield, both during the war and on the frontier, must meet his death far away in that wild and rugged region, amid the eternal snows of the mountains. His body was tenderly cared for and sent East to his relatives in Wisconsin.

The command remained beside the rapid, clear trout stream that came down from the mountains, during that day, and in the evening witnessed the burial of one of the Crow warriors who had been killed in the fight and had been a very popular man in the tribe. After his body had been arranged for its final resting place, and bedecked with all the valuables that he had possessed, as well as some belonging to his friends, and his grave had been prepared on the butte near the camp, his body was lifted on the shoulders of four of his comrades, who slowly moved up the side of the butte chanting their sorrow in low, mournful tones, while the other Indians bewailed his loss according to the custom of their people.

NELSON A. MILES.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

IX.—INTRIGUE AND CORRUPTION.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

If the *chronique scandaleuse* of the Second Empire were not so inextricably mixed up with its political history, I would fain have kept my pen clean of the former altogether. When one stands confronted with a *régime* which, during its eighteen years' existence waged four formidable wars, not one of which on careful examination seems to have been necessitated by the nation's welfare, the natural impulse is to look for the causes of such wars below the surface.

And a glance below the surface reveals, behind that glittering Court which every one knows, with its ambassadors, chamberlains, generals, ministers, and ladies of honor, a seething mass of intrigue and corruption to find the like of which we must revert to the reigns of Charles II. in England and of Louis XV. in France. True, there is no titular mistress of the Emperor, either in the shape of a Lady Castlemain, a Duchess of Portsmouth or a Marquise de Pompadour, but it is doubtful whether erstwhile Mrs. Palmer, Louise de Kéroualles and Madame d'Étioles were more fatal to the Stuart and the Bourbon than the women who surrounded the nephew of the great Bonaparte. Not one, save Princesse Clotilde inspired the public with that respect which is the first and foremost condition of the prestige of a dynasty whether that dynasty be hereditary, founded by the sword or intrigue as were the dynasties of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon. Of one thing we may be sure, in spite of the cheers that greeted the Empress in public; the French people spoke of the ultra-fashionable throng that surrounded her as the English of the latter

end of the seventeenth century spoke of the court beauties of Charles II., as the French of the middle of the eighteenth century spoke of the *grandes dames* of Louis XV.'s Court. And the gossip, an attractive dish of truth and fiction, especially where the Empress herself was concerned, spread over the borders of the land; and, as in the days of Charles II. and Louis XV., found its way to the Courts of Europe. Smart attachés, if not their chiefs themselves, sent amusing accounts of the *faits et gestes* of the women and men that foregathered at Compiègne, Fontainebleau, and the Tuileries; accounts which vitiated beforehand all the serious documents emanating from the Quai d'Orsay; the recipients of the latter refusing to take *au sérieux* the political aspirations of a sovereign who tolerated around him a society to the full as profligate and corrupt as that which had danced and disported itself in the *salons* and gardens of Versailles under the *ancien régime*.

I have already indicated, at the beginning of the fifth part of these papers, the source of the following notes. There is no indication as to their exact date, nor were they all written at the same time, but several events to which they refer incidentally show them to belong to the first half of the sixties.

"I have just returned from Compiègne, where I had not been for three years, and was irresistibly reminded of a conversation with Vély Pasha at a dinner party at the Tuileries shortly after the Emperor's marriage. The haunted look we noticed then on the faces of the courtiers and even on those of the sovereigns has altogether disappeared. *On s'amuse ferme,** and I am not at all certain whether they are not enjoying themselves a little too much, and in a fashion not altogether calculated to enhance the prestige of the dynasty with the other courts of Europe. I must confess that my previsions, or let me say my expectations, in that respect have been woefully disappointed, although, at the outset, they bade fair to be realized. I did not for a moment imagine that the Tuileries would become dowdy, dull, and respectable the greater part of the year and ridiculously *bourgeois* on so-called grand occasions, as it was in the days of Louis Philippe; but I fancied that the golden mean would be observed; I fancied that the society there would become a cross

* A paraphrase of a French commercial term "acheter ferme," that is, buying outright without any restrictions.

between that of Versailles in the most brilliant days of Louis XIV. and that of the First Empire at its most prosperous period; in other words, I fancied that part of the Faubourg St. Germain would gradually rally to the Second Empire, and neutralize by its grand air and unimpeachable manners the too obviously *soldatesque sans-façon*, from which even the best of Napoleon III.'s marshals and generals—with the exception of Macmahon—are not wholly free, the somewhat too conquering attitude of the male civilian element toward the women, and the rather challenging tactics of the latter in response. This blending of two sections of society no doubt commended itself to the Emperor, especially when, after his accession to the throne, he cast a look around him and found himself deserted by the *bonne compagnie*, and notably by the female part of it, that had graced the Salon of the Elysée during the presidency. With this end in view he would have willingly made many sacrifices to concentrate the old *noblesse*, and even gone a step further than his uncle under similar circumstances. Napoleon III. would have put the old *noblesse* into places short of the very highest, by which I mean that he would have entrusted the men with diplomatic missions, as he eventually did with few that came to him, although at that time he would not have conferred a ministry on a known partisan of Legitimacy. 'Those people understand nothing of politics, and I did not want them for that. I only required them for decorative purposes, for they are eminently fit to wear gold lace. I would have willingly gilded them on all their edges,' he said afterward.

"And some of them consented to be gilt in that fashion, but, unlike their predecessors under the First Empire, they consider that the obligation is entirely on the side of the dispenser of the favors, and the nephew has not the strength of character of the uncle to tell them to leave the Court, if not France, unless their presence confers credit and not discredit on the dynasty. In fact, I doubt whether any except the most drastic measures in that respect would be of the least avail now; the thing has gone on too long, and instead of a Versailles of Louis XIV., blended with some of the virtues of the military and civil *parvenus* of the Napoleonic era, we have a glittering but utterly dissolute and ethically worthless society, which is simply a startling reproduction of the Pompadour era, *plus* the swagger

and barrack-language of the *beau sabreur* at his worst, when, in spite of that swagger and his late successes in the field I suspect him to be lacking in the sterling soldierly qualities and unquestionable warlike talents of his *dévanciers*. The Court, as I saw it at Compiègne a day or two ago, presents the most heterogeneous gathering of humanity it has ever been my lot to behold away from the gaming rooms at Baden-Baden, with which it has also one trait in common besides its outward elegance, namely, its absolute egoism, the unscrupulous hostility of each of its members towards his neighbor, like himself in pursuit of a favor, a possibly profitable transaction, or an intrigue. Like the gathering at Baden-Baden, it is, as I have said, composed of utterly dissimilar elements, of a semi-ruined old *noblesse* side by side with a prosperous Jewish financial fraternity; of a *bourgeoisie* with all the greed of the French *bourgeoisie* of olden as well as modern times thick upon it, and sorely perplexed at its inability to keep its hoard; of Harpagons emulating with wry faces the lavishness of the Gramont-Caderousses and the Demidoffs; of rapacious would-be Massenas and spendthrift would-be Lasalles, but without the military genius that distinguished the Duc de Rivoli and the hero of Prentzlau.

"Do what one will, it is impossible to close one's eyes to these facts forced upon one's notice the moment one sets foot within the court circle, and the mental cataract which evidently prevents the Emperor from seeing them will, I am afraid, have to be removed one day, remote or near, with danger to himself and to his dynasty. The gambling stories alone are sufficient to make one's hair stand on end, and the culprits, whether they figure as hawks or pigeons, invariably belong to the army. Those convicted of cheating, albeit not publicly—not merely suspected—are not only allowed to retain their commissions, but are received at court as if nothing had happened. The Comte ——— was caught red-handed at Chantilly a twelvemonth or so before the revolution that cost Louis Philippe his throne. He was compelled to lie low during the remainder of the Citizen Monarchy, and during the whole of the Second Republic, but at present he holds his head as high as ever. A lieutenant in the Guards, a victim that one, lost 20,000 francs at one sitting. He had not a red cent towards the money, but he did not worry himself in the least, and in the morning

he simply applied to the Emperor. The move was a masterly one, apart from the young fellow's knowledge that the Emperor never refused an appeal for money as long as he had any to give. He wound up his request by saying that there were only three courses open to him, viz., the appeal he ventured on, dishonor, or suicide. Of course under the circumstances the Emperor could not very well refuse if he had felt inclined to do so, which, truth to tell, he did not. He could not very well have had it said of him that he had driven a promising young officer to suicide for the sake of a few thousand francs. I know well enough, though, what would have happened if a similar request had been preferred to Wilhelm of Prussia or Francis-Joseph of Austria who, I have not the least doubt, are as tenacious of the honor of their officers as is the Emperor of the French. The honor of the officer would have remained safe, but he would have had to pay for it with the loss of his commission.*

"The Emperor scarcely reprimanded the young fellow. Opening a packet of money, he handed him the money. 'The life of one of my soldiers is worth more than the sum of which you stand in need,' he said, with that peculiar smile which constitutes his greatest charm. 'But I am not at all rich and I

* The laws on gambling in the army were and are very strict both in Austria and Germany proper. I do not know enough of Austria to be able to say what would have happened there under similar circumstances, but I fancy the author of the note is correct in his surmise that King Wilhelm would not have been quite as lenient as was Napoleon III. At any rate I knew two Prussian officers who lost their commissions for having gambled away more than they could pay. In the one case the gambling debt was paid; the gambler was, however, cashiered. During my stay in Paris I used to meet him frequently; he had become a correspondent for several German papers. In the other case the debt was not paid; the dishonored gambler was obliged to leave the country. He took service in the French foreign legion. The last time I saw him, about three years ago, he was doing well as a military coach in London, for by that time he was close upon sixty. The late Emperor Wilhelm, though, did not always punish so severely, especially when the offender happened to be the gainer instead of the loser. For sometime after the revolution of 1849 the Duchy of Baden was occupied by the Prussian troops that had helped to quell the insurrection. The officers quartered at Rastadt had been especially cautioned againt playing at Baden-Baden. One summer evening King (then Prince) Wilhelm strolled into the gaming rooms and noticed an officer in mufti at play. The officer was winning, not much, but a good deal for a Prussian lieutenant, for there were four *Friedrichs d'or* on the red. He had begun with one and the color had turned up twice. Just as he was about to pick up the money he caught sight of the Prince watching him. Terror-stricken, he stood as if rooted at the spot. The red turned up a third, then a fourth time, still the officer did not move. At last the maximum is reached, and the croupier asks —"*Combien a la masse?*" No answer. "*Combien a la masse?*" shouts the croupier once more. Thereupon the Prince walks round to the officer's side, taps him on the shoulder and says gently—"Take up your money and go lest one of your chiefs should catch you here." As a matter of course, the lieutenant did not want telling twice. A couple of days later there happened to be a review at Rastadt. Prince Wilhelm caught sight of the lieutenant and sent for him. "Lieutenant * * *," he said, "after you went away, the red turned out four times more. I prevented you from winning four times the maximum which you would have been sensible enough to stake. You can draw upon me for that amount. But take my advice; do not gamble again. M. Benazet is not the enemy to attack twice under similar conditions."

might not be able at all times to redeem it at such a price. Go and sin no more.'

"Of Napoleon III.'s goodness of heart there cannot be the smallest doubt, but I am afraid it is being taken advantage of on all sides; and, what is worse, he knows it, and half of his sadness is due to his knowledge. The sentence, 'The life of one of my soldiers is worth more than the sum of which you stand in need,' is very pretty, but utterly untrue. I doubt whether Napoleon III. uttered it for effect. I do not think so. But take his army from whatever point of view you will—from the military, the moral, or the social—there are not many officers in it the redemption of whose life is worth 20,000 francs.

"This does not mean that there are no competent and honorable men in that army to the efficiency of which France will eventually have to trust for her political supremacy in Europe; but those men are systematically snubbed, discouraged, and thrust into the shade by the military Court party, which is distinctly a creation of the Empress, to whom the barrack-room manners of a Pélissier, for instance, are naturally distasteful. She seems to be entirely ignorant of the fact that between the fall of the First Empire and the rise of the Second there has sprung up a race of soldiers as far removed from the very wonderful but nevertheless very ignorant and rough-hewn generals of the great Napoleon as the latter were from the highly-educated and highly-polished but nevertheless the reverse of wonderful generals of the *ancien régime*, who, like the Duc de Saint-Simon, grumbled and threw up their commissions because at the age of twenty-seven they had got no farther than their colonelcy, which, like that of the immortal author of the *Memoirs*, their parents had bought for them when they were beardless lads. That military court *coterie* dare not ignore the claims of a Pélissier, but it pooh-poohs the claims of a Stoffel, a Trochu, and a score of others who are their superiors in every way, except in the art of bowing and scraping, leading the cotillion, and coining smart epigrams. These men, the Stoffels and Trochus, are of opinion that if promotion cannot always be gained on the battlefield face to face with the enemy, it should at any rate not be sought for in the drawing-room, but be won in the barracks schoolroom, the drill-ground, and the camp. They are gentlemen in the best acceptation of the term, some-

what Puritanical as far as their profession is concerned, and consequently as averse to the introduction of the barrack-room into the boudoir—which is the Pélissier way—as they are to the introduction of the boudoir element and influence into the army—which is the way of the court *coterie*. The Stoffels and Trochus are the lives which are worth more than 20,000 francs apiece, or would be if their owners did not allow their tempers to be soured by the others, and did not keep sulking in their tents.

"But if the court *coterie* objects to barrack-yard manners *à la* Pélissier in the drawing-room, they do not appear to entertain a similar objection to introducing *boudoir* influence into the army. Of course the *coterie* would fain preserve a monopoly in that respect, but the courtesan claims in this, as in all other things, equality with the aristocratic *intrigante*. Here is a story to that effect which was running the round of Paris only the other day, and a story running the round of Paris soon spreads to the provinces and across the frontier provided it be scandalous enough.

"Anna Deslions, whose real name is Deschiens and who a few years ago was taken under the wing of the famous Esther Guimont, lost her father. I suppose he was neither worse nor better than a great many French fathers of the lower classes; he was perfectly aware of his daughter's doings, which knowledge did not prevent him from living very comfortably on the allowance she made him. Anna, it appears, was never tired of extolling his virtues, and insisted on his having a magnificent funeral, for the funds of which she applied to her 'protector-in-chief' who happens to be a general of brigade and a curmudgeon of the first water. He simply applied to the Military Governor of Paris for a battalion and the band of the regiment quartered in the Faubourg Poissonnière *for the obsequies of a veteran of the First Empire*, which request was granted most graciously. The funeral service was held at St. Laurent, and the female friends of the bereaved daughter mustered in great force. The papers gave a minute account of the affair, but somehow the story of the deception leaked out. The general was reprimanded, but the Emperor, always anxious to avoid scandals, ordered the thing to be hushed up. He, however, stopped the general from inviting private tenders for the celebration of the yearly mass for the repose of old Deschien's soul, which that delectable warrior wanted to do in imitation of his fellow-soldier, General Fabvier, who died in '55."

Thus far the note, the absolute accuracy of which I could prove by others in my possession and from entirely different sources. A careful study of these leads me to one conclusion, which I will endeavor to state as briefly as possible. Of all those who "had the ear" of Napoleon III., there were not more than four—certainly not more than a half-dozen counsellors—who were loyally devoted to him and to his dynasty. The others merely looked upon the dynasty as a stepping-stone to the acquisition of enormous wealth, as an instrument for the gratification of their vanity, and the realization of ambitious schemes more guilty still. If the latter were unfolded here in their naked truth, the revelation would raise a storm of invective such as a man endowed with far greater courage than mine might well wish to avoid. This much I will say, come what may: with the exception of Persigny, Fleury, Rouher, Mocquard, Princesse Mathilde, Princesse Anna Murat (Duchesse de Mouchy), and, to a certain extent, Walewski, every man and woman at the Tuileries worked for his or her own hand, and by their matchless selfishness, utter absence of scruple, and overweening conceit, incurred the withering contempt and scathing, but nevertheless deserved, criticism of a section of society, the existence of which is tacitly ignored in every well-ordered community, in spite of its presence being as plain as the sun on a bright summer's day.

The male counterpart of that section, consisting of *chevaliers d'industrie*, company promoters of a kind, shady financiers, and the like, were more practical. They neither indulged in profitless sneers and recriminations against the *manieurs d' argent* at court, nor instituted comparisons between the latter and themselves. They knew that such comparisons would have been simply ridiculous. From the time that Mouvillon de Glimes had started his "limited company" entitled Société Anonyme de Produits Chemiques, and without as much as showing a printed share or prospectus, had swooped in a million and a half of francs, with which he decamped across the Pyrenées, from that time the swindlers not affiliated to the court knew the futility of competing with those who were. The former might be just as clever as the others—in many instances they were as clever and cleverer—but the law, when it overtook them, had to show itself doubly severe to dispel the suspicion attached to it of having been utterly apathetic on former occasions. No one was ever deceived

by this except Napoleon III. himself, who fondly imagined that the nation could be hoodwinked by the system of making the less guilty pay for the more guilty, for it finally became a system. And thus it came to pass that the sovereign, who during the whole of his reign had been constantly engaged in shielding the most unscrupulous, and at the same time most cowardly, freebooter of his time, lent himself to the persecution—for prosecution is too mild a term—of a comparatively innocent man. I am alluding to Mirès, who was to Morny as John Law to the fraudulent son of a banker. The latter goes on using his father's name and influence to make dupes, knowing full well that when the crash comes the father will step in and hush the matter up at the risk of being reduced to beggary himself.

That the Emperor had to do this frequently the papers found at the Tuileries after the fall of the Empire leave not the smallest doubt; that he finally got tired of this incessant and enormous strain on his purse there is equally no doubt. One instance among many will suffice. One morning there came—by appointment, of course—to the Emperor's private room an individual, a mere glance at whom revealed the prosperous, irrepressible loud-voiced and loud-mannered *brasseur d'affaires*.* His fingers and shirt front blazing with diamonds, formidable gold chain across his chest, the ample cut of his brand new clothes, everything, in short, proclaimed the prosperity to be of recent standing. He came to submit to His Majesty the project of some new works to be constructed in the heart of the capital. The Emperor, though rarely surprised at anything, was surprised this time, and could not help showing his surprise. The scheme, though a vast one, had nothing to recommend itself or to distinguish it from a hundred others; it was on the face of it a gigantic building speculation, and nothing more. The Emperor as good as said so, and added that in any case it was a matter for his Minister of Public Works and not for himself to decide, at which remark the applicant opened his eyes very wide. "That would be true, sire, under ordinary circumstances," he began somewhat timidly; "but in this instance your Majesty has been informed of the whole affair beforehand." This time it is the Emperor who opens his eyes very wide. "I have been informed of nothing, mon-

* Literally "brewer of business": the French equivalent for the still more modern and more euphemistic English term "promoter."

sieur," he says. "I beg your Majesty's pardon," stammered the applicant, "but——" "I beg your pardon, monsieur," replied the Emperor, "but——" "M. de —— has told your Majesty nothing?" "M. de —— has told me nothing."

Thereupon the applicant, unable to contain himself any longer, burst out, "The cheat, the cheat! And I who gave him a hundred thousand francs but two days ago, because he told me that your Majesty had promised him to support my project! The Emperor calmly dismissed his visitor, but a few hours later he enacted a stormy scene with the official in question as a spectator. The latter remained perfectly unmoved and simply smiled. "For two twos he would have applauded as one applauds a mummer at whom one laughs inwardly for overdoing the thing," said the Emperor bitterly, when he told the affair to Fleury. "Instead of which, when I left off abusing him for sheer want of breath, he quietly remarked: 'Your Majesty is really too kind to worry yourself about such an idiot as that.'"

This is the synopsis of one of the innumerable one-act pieces that preceded the big tragedy entitled "The Campaign in Mexico," the inception of which must have been due to some such scene as the one I described just now. Jecker, the Swiss money-monger, who had lent Miramon 7,425,000 francs—or at any rate nearly half that sum in bare money—was a somewhat more important personage than the Frenchman whom the Emperor had been obliged to dismiss so unceremoniously; especially after he, Jecker, had done France the honor to become naturalized, and had begun to press his claim of 75,000,000 francs against Mexico. Morny himself, though daring enough, would not have dared to wash his hands of him, and instead of the play ending with the exit of Jecker from the private room of Napoleon III., the play had only reached the end of its prologue. I do not state this to be an absolute fact; I merely surmise, for everything connected with the initial business of the War in Mexico is so enwrapped in mystery that one must not speak with certainty. An attempt to let in light on that subject as well as on the subsequent events consequently becomes impossible at the end of a chapter, but I will endeavor to do so in the next.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

THE SITUATION IN CUBA.

BY SENOR DON SEGUNDO ALVAREZ, EX-MAYOR OF HAVANA.

REGARDING the situation of affairs in Cuba, upon which I have been invited to write for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the most recent information in my possession shows that the insurrectionary movement makes no progress and that as soon as the rainy season is over the government will increase its efforts to bring it to a speedy termination. The country at large is fully resolved to withhold support from a movement which must lead to ruin. Whatever strength the insurrection has shown has been derived more than anything else from external aid, assisted by the involved financial situation of the country at present. But for these causes the movement would have ended almost as soon as it began.

Many make a mistake in believing that this insurrection is similar in character to the last outbreak in Cuba. According to the judgment of intelligent men there were causes which justified the previous conflict, and many of the principal citizens took an active part in it, believing themselves so powerful that they refused the concessions offered to them by the then provisional government of Spain. That war was more humane. Entire towns took the field with the insurrectionists, but to no avail. The disappointment experienced by its principal leaders proved to them the uselessness of such an undertaking, unless, indeed, they wished to convert the island into a scene of discord and racial war. From the result of that struggle thinking men and lovers of the country learned that the only hope for the well-being of Cuba was to remain under the Spanish flag, and so to obtain all the liberties enjoyed by countries organized under modern laws. Their efforts were being surely, although slowly, crowned with success, for under the sway of political order they were acquiring all the

rights which belonged to them, and further attempts were being made, with all prospect of favorable result, for the establishment of administrative and economical reforms, the people of the island having direct control of these affairs. For these reasons men who reflect, and men who have families and material interests to think of, excepting, perhaps, some visionary schemers, do not approve of the present uprising, which is more anarchic than political in its character, as shown both by the means which it employs and by the greater number of the leaders who have thrown themselves into it, who have come from different quarters, and who, as a rule, have absolutely nothing to lose.

At the conclusion of the previous rebellion, two political groups were created, one styling itself *Union Constitucional o Conservadora*, which comprises the greater portion of those who had come from Spain. This party had for its chief aim the defence of the flag without regard to class distinctions, but it sought in a cautious and moderate way to effect improvements in the political situation. The other party, *Autonomista*, very largely composed of native Cubans and directed by the most illustrious of them, presented an autonomic plan similar to that in operation in Canada. This party was working with much constancy and great faith to bring about reform and by means of peaceful procedure to arrive at the goal of their aspirations. Having modified in the mean time, some institutions which experience had shown to require alteration, the conservative party did not develop according to the growing necessities of the times, the majority of the party being unwilling to accept the proposals of its more advanced wing. With the object of harmonizing conflicting interests and bringing together the antagonistic elements of the country, an economic league was formed, and men of both parties assembled to discuss in a fraternal spirit such economical questions as were of supreme interest to the island. This movement was suspended; but, as soon as Minister Maura presented his plan of reforms, it gave origin to a third party of an intermediary character, which is called *Reformista*. This party, embracing within it both Spaniards and Cubans, has been the bulwark by which the cause of true reform has been saved from ship-wreck. Such is the actual situation of the different parties.

The idea of independence, which, without a doubt, has been very grateful to the majority of the native-born, experience in the

previous outbreak proved to be futile. Little encouragement can be derived by those who cherish this hope from the examples of the republics of South and Central America, which have already become emancipated. None of them has been able, owing to the diverse elements of their populations, to organize a nation under the form they originally pictured to themselves.

Annexation to the United States, about which many dream—more so out of the country than within it—is an absolute impossibility. The greater majority of the Cubans do not wish it, because they realize that, should it be put into effect, their individuality would disappear in a short time. The most thoughtful men of the island, to whom I have already referred, see no other solution than to continue belonging to Spain, to live tranquilly under the national flag, and to endeavor to bring about all the reforms which may be necessary for the well-being of the country.

The United States have, in my opinion, great interest in whatever situation the affairs of Cuba may find themselves in. It is to their interest that the island should be prosperous, because in that way the commercial relations between them will become wider and more fruitful. The number of American importations will increase more than those of any other country, owing to the proximity of the United States and Cuba to each other, and the cordial relations which have existed between them so long. This admits of no doubt, for if the mercantile balance is compared to that of all the countries with which the United States have relations, none, considering the number of inhabitants, is of such importance as the commerce with the island of Cuba, and the greater the prosperity of that island the greater the produce it will be able to purchase. Were Cuba independent its relations with the United States would be practically the same as those of Santo Domingo and similar countries, so that the American nation, being a calculating one, cannot help seeing, apart from the treaties which it has already made with the Spanish nation for the maintenance of peace, that the insurrection will be injurious to them. I am aware that some States—like Florida, for example, which has grown through Cuban immigration and developed flourishing towns with regular industries—view these questions in a different light. Persons from the State just named, inspired by the desire for gain, are apt to commit infractions of international law, which may lead, to-morrow or the day after,

to disagreeable complications between the United States and Spain, but the interest of the United States is not in having war within, much less outside. What is to their benefit is the constant and admirable development of their vast resources, which they are achieving to the admiration of the entire world.

I have been recently misrepresented as saying that the American flag covered all crimes. But the remarks made above show how impossible it would be for me to make such a statement. What I have said is that certain things have been done to cover criminal acts against Cuba by the *Separatistas* or their sympathizers, and by speculators who generally cover themselves with their American naturalization papers. And this is true.

SEGUNDO ALVAREZ.

THE OUTLOOK FOR IRELAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CREWE (LORD HOUGHTON), LATE LORD LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

THE political revolution of July, and the utter rout, for the time being, of the Liberal party, have engaged public attention, to the exclusion of other topics during the last six weeks. The ingenuity of publicists and partisans exhausts itself in an endeavor to apportion aright blame for the Liberal defeat, and to forecast its results for the next few years to come. The purpose of the present article is simply to discuss its effect upon Irish parties, and upon the government of Ireland, in the light of some recent experience gained in the country itself.

In the first place it must be noted that amid the crash of parties, Ireland stands where she did; the changes in her representation are microscopic, and the constitutional demand for Home Rule is presented by a slightly reinforced host of Nationalist members. The very obviousness of this fact, and the certainty with which it was foreseen, may cause its significance to be forgotten; but let it be remarked, once for all, that of the different proposals, applying to distinct portions of the British Islands, which formed and still form part of the Liberal programme, Home Rule is preëminently the one the position of which the general election of 1895, has done least to affect, as regards the district specially concerned. Fence with the matter as you will, the return of 83 Irish Home Rulers against 20 adherents of legislative union, forbids the most light-hearted Conservative to boast that there is no Irish constitutional question left unsolved.

It is, however, the commonplace of the moment—the easy resort of official optimism—to assert that the eyes of Irishmen are fixed on the passing of a Land Bill, and not on political de-

velopments towards self-government. There is enough truth in the statement to make it worth while to expose its essential one-sidedness. In the first place it leaves out of account the townsfolk, whose interest in a Land Bill is extremely remote, but who yet maintain the Nationalist faith unimpaired, and often in the more extreme forms. Again, it lays undue stress upon the force, great though it be, with which appeal can to-day be made to the pocket of a class. It is, indeed, assumed by many politicians of the baser sort, and half credited by some who ought to know better, that not only in Ireland, but in England, Scotland, and Wales as well, the jingling of the guinea is the only music for your voters' ear. Lowered rates, grants in aid, old age pensions—these are the only wares for the shop window, according as landowner, or farmer, or artisan is to be tempted in to buy. "Freedom leaning on her spear" must have a cheque book in her pocket or she will attract little notice. Perhaps there are a few people left who will decline to believe that enthusiasm for a political idea is now an impossibility, or that the spirit is dead which destroyed slavery (though nobody was a penny the richer), and which set the whole country ablaze when the story of Bulgaria's wrongs was told.

There are, no doubt, in Ireland as elsewhere, some minds who recognize no higher appeal than the gain of the instant. There were a few Venetians, perhaps, and a few Hungarians, who would cheerfully have accepted Austrian domination in consideration for a rise of wages. To compare any English government of to-day with the Imperial government of '48 would of course be unfair; but on the other hand, the administration of Hungary to-day, far more popular and sympathetic than that of Ireland, has not abated a jot of Magyar pretension to self-government.

It is, in fact, on the divisions in the Irish Nationalist Party, and upon them alone, that Unionists, who know Ireland, rely for the weakening of the popular demand. Some examination of these disputes, their causes, and their effect on public opinion in England and Ireland may not be altogether out of place. It is possible to extract three main elements of difference from the mass of mutual recrimination which crowds the Irish press: (1) resentment of the treatment of Mr. Parnell in 1886; (2) personal disputes, sometimes founded on incompatibility of political temper, sometimes, but seldom, on actual divergence of opinion and ac-

tion on current questions; and (3) the clash of clerical and anti-clerical sentiment.

The essence of the whole matter is to determine whether any or all of these grounds of quarrel are in their nature permanent, for it may be taken as absolutely certain that, so long as they exist, the passing of a Home Rule measure will be impossible.

(1). It seems scarcely conceivable that the fight should forever sway round the memory of the dead Irish leader. An unprejudiced looker-on may be allowed to admit that Mr. Parnell received in some respects hard measure from his colleagues and followers, not so much in the fact of his dismissal as in the manner of it. Such an observer may also be permitted an expression of sincere regret over the disappearance from public life of a supremely interesting and in many ways admirable figure. The might-have-beens of politics are sometimes curiously fascinating and it is difficult to decide what would have happened could the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland have tacitly admitted the somewhat dangerous doctrine that high public services may act as a set-off against private irregularities. How far a direct national defiance of Mr. Gladstone and of English public opinion might have aided or retarded the passage of Home Rule, is a matter on which everybody must form an independent judgment for himself.

It is perhaps easier to maintain that had Mr. Parnell bowed to the gale, and at once retired from the leadership, even the straitest critics would sooner or later have consented to regard his offence in the light of an "erratum," as Franklin professionally entitled a moral lapse of his own early days.

Ireland has been the victim of many cruel ironies, but it would surely be the cruellest of all, if the personality of Mr. Parnell were to offer a permanent obstacle to the success of the cause which he championed.

(2). It is not the purpose of this article to indulge in comments on the conduct or the language of individual public men in Ireland. Such criticisms would fall with an ill grace from one who has held the position of the writer. It is well, therefore, lightly to pass over the personal element which unluckily plays so prominent a part in the present controversy. No feature in the situation is more disheartening to an English friend of Ireland, but it is easy to overrate its significance. Mr. John

Morley has lately reminded us, with much force, that nothing is more likely to lead to the overstatement of a case or to intemperance in argument than lack of early training in the exercise of public functions, and he added that if many Irishmen are still thus unpractised it is England that should take the principal blame. This truth may well be borne in mind by those who sometimes miss from Irish polemics what Gibbon calls "the well-guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment."

Passing to strictly political subjects of dispute, by far the most important has been the difference of opinion between the followers of Mr. Redmond and those of Mr. McCarthy as to the proper attitude of Ireland towards the Liberal party. Within the ranks of the Federationists themselves opinions upon this point have not always been unanimous.

As time went on it became evident that the perfect independence of English parties originally maintained by Mr. Parnell, which Mr. Redmond favored during the sitting of the late Parliament, would be rendered difficult by the continued adhesion of the Liberals to the principle of Home Rule. Government by casually associated groups is alien to English parliamentary tradition. Mr. Parnell had not much experience of this particular difficulty, but even he more than once found it necessary to quit his attitude of frigid isolation. It was not, however, until the rejection of the Irish government bill by the House of Lords in 1893 that the severe test began. The question was then asked: Ought the Irish to support the government in carrying their British measures, or ought they, while admitting the loyalty of Mr. Gladstone to his declared policy, to exhibit once more their independence and their power by withdrawing aid from an administration unable to carry out its good intentions towards Ireland? The present writer, while gratefully recognizing the value of the support so honorably extended to the late government by the Irish party, frankly admits that from a Nationalist point of view there was at first sight much to be said for the alternative policy.

It may further be conceded that the result of the general election seems to uphold the soundness of this view. An earlier appeal to the country could scarcely have ended more disastrously for the cause of Home Rule.

But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the dis-

missal of a Liberal government by the act of the Irish members would probably have thrown a breaking strain upon the Liberal party. Even though the Liberal leaders recognized that Mr. McCarthy and his followers were acting within their strict rights, and had again set Home Rule in the forefront of their proposals, the rank and file of the party might have so resented enforced reconsideration of the question, and the apparent abandonment of English measures, as altogether to endanger the existing alliance. True, the real blame ought to have been cast on the House of Lords, but it would have been the Irish hand which dealt the visible blow. It is, of course, open for Mr. Redmond to retort, as he probably would, that he for one does not want the Liberal alliance; but in that case one is entitled to ask in reply whether Mr. Redmond wants Home Rule, and how he proposes constitutionally to obtain it without the co-operation of one of the great English parties? As the matter now stands, the Liberal party, defeated and diminished as it is, is essentially a Home Rule party; and when its turn again comes to succeed to power, it must again face the question of Irish self-government.

There remains, it is true, still one alternative for Mr. Redmond in the hope of enlisting the sympathy of the Conservative party with his views and aims. We shall consider presently the possible outcome of the great Unionist triumph as affecting Ireland, but meanwhile it is not without amusement that onlookers have followed the phases of the flirtation between the Parnellite and Unionist parties.

It remains to consider how far the reunion of the Irish party is likely to be deferred by reason of actual and legitimate difference of opinion on policy and procedure. If anything will close the existing breaches, it will be the coming period of struggle with the serried forces of reaction. The main subject in dispute, which has been discussed above, disappears with the Liberal government. Between the Liberal opposition and the Irish party, relations of friendly concord will probably exist, but of a less intimate character than were suggested to both sides by the smallness of the government's majority in the late Parliament. On the whole, it seems likely that causes of offence between members of the Nationalist brigade will tend to become fewer, save under one head, with which we must next deal.

Mr. Lecky reminds us (vol. viii., p. 429) that "in the

strange irony of Irish history few things are more curious than the fact that it was the English government which persuaded the Catholic priests to take an active part in Irish politics, and to take part in them for the purpose of carrying the legislative union." It is something of an irony, too, which has "united English Liberalism with the Roman Catholic Church for the purpose of modifying that union"; but in the matter of mutual loyalty neither party has had cause to complain of the other. Still, that the Conservative party should never have succeeded in winning over to its side this isolated branch of the greatest conservative organization in Europe is a singular and instructive fact. So long as old Tory traditions held the field it might have been difficult to form an alliance, but the capture of the Roman Catholic Church would not have been unworthy of Mr. Disraeli's adroitness and enterprise. In some respects the task would have been easier in his day than now, before the north, then so Radical, was pledged to support the Unionist party; but signs are not now wanting, as we shall presently remark, that the Conservative chiefs of to-day may make some attempt of the kind. In that case the steadfast adherence of the hierarchy and priesthood to the popular party may be more severely tested than ever yet in the past; but the Church as a whole is little likely to forget its national character.

At this moment feeling is naturally running high between the League and Federation, on the ground of priestly interference with the recent elections. That such interference has been considerable, and in some cases excessive, at any rate to English Liberal eyes, may be at once granted. But it is important to remember the peculiar relation—half paternal, half fraternal—in which the country priest stands to his peasant parishioner. It would be strange if an intimacy so confidential, involving knowledge of the most private affairs, did not color the public dealings of a person subject to the influence of another.

During the late elections much ill-feeling has been awakened on this account, and it seems probable that as time goes on, the Parnellite section of the Nationalists will more and more be stamped with the character of an anti-clerical party. The existence of such a wing may be a misfortune, so far as it tends to present disunion; but in an Irish parliament where, as we are always being reminded, Rome Rule is dreaded under the name of

Home Rule, it would play an important part by representing the element of Continental Liberalism in social and domestic politics.

The conclusion appears then to be this : That so far as the internal differences of the Nationalist Party depend on devotion to the memory of Mr. Parnell, or on the attitude of Ireland toward English parties, they will tend to diminish. Whereas, as between clerical and anti-clerical opinion the line of demarcation is likely to become sharper.

As between Nationalist and Unionist, no very marked change seems likely to take place at present; there will be plenty of wild talk on both sides, but there is far less personal difference than is sometimes imagined. Of course, feeling runs high in Belfast, and higher still in some of the northern towns in which the number of Catholics and Protestants is almost equal. Here and there one hears of an event which comes as an agreeable surprise, as when in a North-Midland county, one recent 12th of July, the local Nationalists lent to a gathering of two thousand Orangemen their big drum, the prime requisite on such an occasion, and sent cars for conveyance of those attending the meeting. But such Arcadian amity is rare, though outside Ulster, in the districts where Protestants are in a small minority, good humored relations are the rule, except where well-meaning but ill-balanced persons have embarked on the futile campaign of religious proselytism. If, then—as surely is the case—the failure of the Liberal Party to carry Home Rule has in no way reconciled the Irish majority to the existing methods of government, and if the fissures in that majority are, on the whole, more likely to close than to widen as time goes on, what prospect has the new ministry of a continued period of order and of comparative contentment ?

The answer is humiliating enough, seeing that the great British Empire has to make it. In the immediate future the apathy of Ireland, and therefore to some extent a quietude of the House of Commons, will mainly depend on two conditions, one positive and one negative, over neither of which the government will have a shadow of control. There must be fine weather, and no popular leader must arise to unite the Nationalist forces.

During the past three years of liberal administration, the remarkable peace of the country was in part due, it may be hoped, to a sympathetic method of government which made no terms

with crime but which tried to enlist the best popular forces on the side of order. Nevertheless it would be absurd to deny that the task was made infinitely easier than it might have been by the material prosperity which prevailed till the spring of this year, and was then disturbed in isolated localities only.

Again, Unionist England, as she values her repose, must remain fettered by the undignified necessity of beseeching Providence not to raise up a new O'Connell or Parnell. At this moment the various sections of the Nationalist party include men of high character, men of brilliant eloquence, men of striking business capacity; it is an instance of the ill-luck which haunts Ireland that no one of them combines all the qualities needed for an Irish leader. England, in her secure and settled condition, does not ask for leaders. She requires public servants. These she uses to the utmost of their strength, gives them honor while they are alive, with money if they desire it, and buries them in Westminster Abbey when they are dead. But she reserves the right to criticise with utter frankness her most eminent sons, and if they displease her she is not above breaking their drawing-room windows. Ireland, on the other hand, as a nation who has suffered much, calls for a leader—the Liberator, the Chief. He must be a man to appeal to the imagination, either by the burning eloquence and masculine bonhomie of an O'Connell, or with the magnetic influence and mysterious aloofness of a Parnell. Such a leader—who knows?—is perhaps approaching manhood to-day and is dreaming dreams of an Ireland made prosperous and contented by his guidance, or, perhaps, unconscious of his destiny, he is now being wheeled in a perambulator along the pavements of Dublin or of Cork. At any rate, appear he will—by the ordinary law of averages, which allots a hero to every nation now and again—and, when he comes, the problem of how to govern Ireland, unless solved already, will once more thrust itself before the eyes of the weary predominant partner.

It remains to consider the possible attitude of each section of the Irish party towards the new government, and the policy which that government may thus be tempted or compelled to pursue.

It would be a fruitless task to prophesy concerning the Nationalist attitude in the House of Commons, towards an administration which up to the time of writing has made no coherent declaration of policy in Irish affairs.

Let us pass on to conjecture what direction Unionist tactics may probably take. It has long been believed in Ireland that if opportunity should offer, the Conservatives would attempt an experiment of their own and reorganize the details of Castle government, while maintaining the body of the present system. It was also imagined that if a Unionist government should assume office, Mr. Chamberlain would not consider the task beneath his great abilities, and that he would make his first appearance in the unaccustomed character of conciliator. The experiment is not likely to be made. The phrase "Clear out the Castle" has merits as an alliterative cry, but the task is one from which statesmen of wider experience than the present rulers of Ireland might well shrink. For that task is the substitution, for a non-popular but distinctly effective system, of some unknown scheme which by the hypothesis must be non-popular also, and for the smooth working of which there is no guarantee. Popular it cannot be, because the leaders of the popular party will have none of it. As it is, central control is the mainspring of Irish government. At one time it may be the Lord Lieutenant, at another the Chief Secretary or the Under Secretary, who undertakes the real work; but it always happens that one performer, or two, or three, play on the instrument while the rest of the official world blows the bellows. The system, like most centralized systems, possesses a certain attractiveness. That it works as well as it does is due in part to the fact that Dukes of Alva and Generals Hagnan are not found among English politicians of any shade of opinion; in part to the publicity, even though it be inaccurate, which attends the doings, great and small, of those in power, and in part to the real merits of the permanent officials in Ireland. It would be impossible for the writer not to bear testimony to the high services and admirable common sense of many of these gentlemen, upon whom the sins and shortcomings of their political chiefs have sometimes been unfairly visited. The real vices of the system are its rigidity, its failure to encourage self-reliance in subordinates, and its undue demand upon those who are called upon to control it. It is an undue demand because it predicates a perpetual succession of public men, endowed in the very finest degree with the qualities of impartiality, patience, and industry. More especially are remarkable governing qualities necessary for

the members of a Conservative administration of to-day, because the country has admittedly to be governed without the concurrence and in opposition to the wishes of its constitutional representatives. On the actions of such a government there is, in fact, no real parliamentary or other check.

It is not only in the domain of law and order, but in almost every department of an Irish citizen's life, that the central government has its eye on him. The government of Ireland is a government by boards, and the system, by diminishing personal responsibility, tends to throw control even more than might be into the hands of the political chiefs and their immediate entourage. The Local Government Board has three members, besides those who sit on it *ex-officio*. The Prisons Board has three, and among boards of a different class eight to nine members sit on the Congested Districts Board, and seventeen on the Board of National Education. The Board of Works, representing the Treasury in Ireland—as well as the Woods and Forests and the Board of Works proper—maintains towards the Irish government something of the attitude which an Indian resident might assume towards a powerful and well meaning, but occasionally indiscreet Maharajah; although friction has usually been avoided by the excellent personal terms which have existed between its head and the ministers of the day.

Such is the machine—not the machine which some of us might prefer, though by no means a bad machine in its way. Whether it would stand much tinkering is another question.

We have concluded, then, that it is doubtful if any advantageous attempt can be made to reorganize Irish government on the present lines. Possibly the present Ministers, declared opponents of political change though they be, may attempt to provide the country with a scheme of local government. Such a scheme, counting so many points to the good in the struggle for Home Rule, if freed from the grotesque features which distinguished its predecessor, ought to receive, and probably would receive, serious consideration from the Irish members. To begin at the wrong end is sometimes better than not beginning at all. But the problem of how to give any local control at all, without alarming the favored landowning class, to whose support the government is attracted, if not actually pledged, is a desperately difficult one to solve.

There are two other questions, each near boiling point, which await the declarations of the Tory government—the questions of Denominational Education and of the Land, to each of which the late Ministers directed anxious attention. This is not the place in which to discuss the technical and exceedingly complicated points which have arisen since, in 1892, the Chief Secretary was called upon to consider the question of certain elementary Roman Catholic schools. After an infinity of discussion between the Castle and the National Board of Education, those questions, relating mainly to the use of religious emblems, and of school books in which controversial matters are touched from the clerical standpoint, still remain undecided. Possibly a Conservative government, unfettered by a general belief in the impropriety of supporting centres of denominational education from public funds, may be able to terminate the tangle by cutting the knot. It may thus, as was stated above, win the gratitude, if not the support of the Roman communion, without alienating the Protestant Church of Ireland, whose peculiar interests may be specially safeguarded. In so doing it is certain to arouse the animosities, and alarm the prejudices, of the Nonconformist bodies of the North ; but secure in its great majority, it can perhaps afford to do so.

These bodies, too, as forming a large part of the Ulster tenant class, are above all other men concerned with the settlement of questions left open, or as they believe unfairly decided, by the Land Act of 1881, and by the subsequent construction of its provisions by the courts of law. It is assumed, and may be announced before these lines are in print, that action will be deferred until next year, by means of a short bill postponing the date at which applications for fixing a new rent may be lodged. Such procedure will afford longer time for speculation upon the character of a measure for which Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Macartney, both members of the new government, and hitherto hopelessly apart on land questions, will each be more or less responsible.

There may be some Irish landlords who look with little enthusiasm upon this transfer from Liberal to Conservative hands of the matter which chiefly concerns them. They may remark that possible concessions to the Roman Catholic Church on education may render it advisable to conciliate Northern Protestant opinion by free amendment of the land acts ; they may remember the un-

palatable measures of 1887 and 1891, the work of Lord Salisbury's former administration; and they may be fully assured that, protest as they will, English Conservative noble lords, so prompt to rush to their aid when a Liberal government is in office, will look on with apathy or a shrug while they are immolated upon the altar of party necessity, and a similar or perhaps stronger measure is genially introduced by Lord Ashbourne from the bench on the right of the throne.

Time alone can show how far the pressure of circumstances may force the hand of the government. Their principal aim, as we are told, is to preserve a dead calm over Ireland, and to give no single interest a handle for agitation. It stands to reason that the most "loyal," and therefore least assertive, classes are most likely to be driven to the wall, as being least able to resent or retaliate for severe treatment.

For the rest, a policy of conciliation may be based on a profuse expenditure from public funds. So long as the British taxpayer is willing to provide it, no friend of Ireland can object to the distribution of drafts on the Exchequer, if only they can be allotted without waste and without blighting the growth of the delicate plant self-help. In the past some public money has been wisely and profitably laid out, and a considerable amount has been entirely wasted. There are districts in Ireland in which the failure of a single crop means short commons to all and starvation to some. Here the ordinary operation of the poor law must be supplemented by grants from the general fund. On the other hand, the names of two places rise to the mind of the writer. Both have been largely assisted from public and private sources, and in each the result has been a marked lowering of the character of the inhabitants and a relaxation of their efforts to earn an independent living. It may be a strong temptation to earn some easy cheers from a smiling western crowd, and to see one's self belauded in the newspapers by some worthy priest for whom one has transformed the world by providing access to his parish. But these joys may be too dearly bought at the cost of weakening that spirit of self-reliance which it should be the object of all governments to develop.

Nobody can pass some years in Ireland, especially in an official capacity, without becoming alive to the folly of dogmatizing upon the future course of events in the country. Much uncer-

tainty must necessarily surround the immediate outcome of Irish politics. Neither English party is in a position to say that it can govern the country according to its desire. The Conservatives may at any moment be obliged to return to the exasperating methods of coercion, and to the weary see-saw of repression and reprisals. The Liberals, meanwhile, now frankly admit that Ireland cannot be permanently ruled by Englishmen of any party according to Irish ideas. Irish Nationalist ideas are by no means the same as English Liberal ideas, although a Liberal government, we hope, carries out its administrative duties in a more sympathetic and less alien spirit than do its opponents.

The Irish on their part will have need for the exercise of much patience and self-control. It is not easy to see what advantage is anticipated from a rather childish demonstration such as the return of the convict Daly for Limerick city. It is only right to mention that the cause of the dynamite prisoners generally, and of Daly in particular, is supported by many Irishmen and Irishwomen, who hold in abhorrence the dynamite creed, but believe the convict to be innocent; others again, while admitting at any rate the partial guilt of the prisoners, maintain they have been sufficiently punished by a considerable term of penal servitude. This is a point that may fairly be argued, but the election, said to be the reward of services to the Irish cause, seems to impale upon a dilemma those responsible for it. What were those services? Surely not the employment of dynamite? If, on the other hand, Daly be innocent, he is an exceedingly ill-used man, and should receive every possible apology and compensation that the law can offer. But it is not clear how even this supposition, in the absence of substantial and known political claims, is to qualify him for the representation of an important constituency.

We believe that the great Unionist triumph neither involves any abatement of Ireland's claims, nor an abandonment of her constitutional position. "Unfinished questions," it has been said, "have no pity for the repose of nations." Not very long ago it seemed likely that the Home Rule ship might make the harbor for which she was steering, but she was swept by the gale far out into the open sea. To retrace her course she must beat painfully against the wind; but she will reach home at last.

CREWE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"ST. ANTHONY'S BREAD."

LESS than three years ago there was founded, in the back room of a small store on a side street in Toulon, a charitable project which bids fair to do more towards bringing about the solution of the social problem in France than all the congresses and conferences that have been held, and all the books and articles that have been written with that end in view. It is rapidly assuming the proportions of an international economic movement of the first magnitude.

This charity, which has become an object at once of the astonishment and admiration of all Europe, is named "St. Anthony's Bread," after St. Anthony of Padua, and it is by the voluntary contributions of his clients that it is maintained.

"St. Anthony's Bread" comprises not only food, but also clothing and medical attendance—everything, in fact, necessary for the relief of the poor in general, and of the sick and afflicted poor in particular; for its directors wisely hold that with this class one should always "make the good God visible." They ascertain the names of the laborers in the various parishes who are out of employment and help them to procure work, quite irrespective of their religious belief, or want of religious belief. Orphans are sent to school, the aged, the blind, the deaf and dumb are all placed in special establishments; letters are written for those who are themselves unable to write, and advice procured from either doctor or lawyer when needed. While the deserving poor are thus sought out and all their wants supplied, professional beggars are tracked and exposed.

The promoters of this charity, however, do not labor merely to solve the Social Problem, important though that work undoubtedly is. The corporeal necessities of the poor are relieved through the medium of "St. Anthony's Bread" only on the understanding that their spiritual duties are not neglected. The conditions imposed upon the workmen in this regard are of the lightest possible character. For example, one of the publications issued under the auspices of "St. Anthony's Bread" consists wholly of light literature, except for one brief paragraph of religious matter at the end of the last page. "We must give them the *feuilleton* or they would not read the instruction," it is explained. In friendly conferences, held at stated intervals, the same *clientèle* is taught the lesson of mutual help and sympathy.

The writer recently had an opportunity of witnessing the practical working of this charitable project in the "toughest" quarters of Paris, and has also discussed its various phases with Frenchmen of every shade of belief, all

of whom with one accord acclaim its promoters as the nation's benefactors. Indeed, it will be surprising if "St. Anthony's Bread" does not result in the complete regeneration of the French working classes—and if of these, why not of the working classes of all Europe and beyond? For the scope of "St. Anthony's Bread" is no longer confined to France. As, at the start, it spread from town to town throughout France, so is it now spreading from country to country throughout the world. It is interesting to learn that this great work is to be introduced into the United States during the coming winter. The result will be watched with interest.

As is well known, the literature of the social question is immense, and is growing rapidly every day. Herr Stamhammer, in his *Bibliographie des Socialismus*, enumerates some five thousand works more or less immediately dealing with it, and the catalogue is by no means complete. Words! There were storms of words on this same subject long before the French Revolution. Theories are very well; we may combat Mr. George and quote passages from Albertus Magnus down to Leo Taxil, but in this century, mere theorizing never brought about any reform. Action is the true policy, and no steps that could be taken in this direction are more thoroughly practical than those adopted by the founders of "St. Anthony's Bread."

"St. Anthony's Bread" is based upon the divine principle of charity. And such Christian charities as this, which has for its aim the care of the poor *without distinction as to race or creed*, not only provide a sovereign balm for all the carking cares of the unfortunate, but have also the happy effect of eliminating acrimony from the minds of men.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

THEN AND NOW.

NO DOUBT there were splendid specimens of humanity, both physically and intellectually, among the ancients. The Venus of Milo, the Apollo Belvidere, the Farnese Hercules were not evolved from the unassisted imagination. Even if they were so evolved, they who conceived such glorious ideals would themselves have represented a high type of mankind. The *Iliad* and the *Œdipus Tyrannus* are incontrovertible facts. Even among the earliest prehistoric races there must have been men of wonderful genius and energy. The man who kindled the first fire and broiled the first steak was the peer of any modern discoverer, and he who first smelted iron ore was the intellectual equal of Edison himself. The prehistoric discoverer of the Ecliptic was not surpassed in astronomical achievement even by him who ages afterwards formulated the Nebular Hypothesis, or by him who chemically analyzed the the stars. Some of us moderns are disposed to magnify unduly the triumphs of our day in comparison with those of former ages, forgetting that they who built the lower stories of the vast temple of human achievement are as worthy of praise as they who raised it to loftier heights. It is still far below its destined entablature; but even those whose privilege it shall be to place upon it its architectural crown in the sunlight of the upper air, will deserve no better of their race than those who laid its foundations in the darkness of the past.

Others are equally disposed to glorify unduly the past in comparison with the present. To them there have been no poets since Homer and Virgil, no orators since Demosthenes and Cicero, no philosophers since Socrates and Plato, no commanders since Alexander and Hannibal, no artists since Phidias and Apelles. To them only the dead languages are the fitting vehicles of

beautiful and sublime thought. The modern tongues, in spite of Browning, Goëthe, Hugo, Tolstoï, Whitman, are, as Blackie called them, "but barbarous jargon."

Now I attach very little importance to the probable fact that, if the Iliad had been done for the first time in English, with all its picturesque power (with all deference to those who would insist upon the impossibility of such a feat), it would stand no chance whatever of acceptance by the great American publishers. Its rejection would, no doubt, be accompanied by the consoling statement, made in perfect good faith, that it was not on account of lack of literary merit, but simply because it was not suited to present needs. Possibly some slight hope of acceptance might be encouraged if the twenty-four books were condensed to twelve. And this, by the way, might not have been so absurd a suggestion as it might appear to the school of antiquity-worshippers, who regard every line of the immortal poem as sacred, to whom even the interminable "catalogue of ships" would not bear abbreviating, notwithstanding the manifest fact that the chief concern of the compiler was, lest he might inadvertently slight the skipper of one of the insignificant little boats. Imagine the whole Lilliputian fleet participating in the international naval review of two years ago! What would Agamemnon and Achilles have thought of those mighty dragons of modern warfare, breathing forth clouds and shaking the earth with their roar? Would not their trumpery Zeus and Ares have sunk into insignificance by comparison? But then, on the other hand, suppose the glowing imagination of the childhood of our race had been brought to bear upon the mechanical achievements of its manhood; suppose, for example, that Homer could have witnessed that grandest of all naval spectacles in the history of the world—should we not have had something more adequate in its commemoration than long-winded, gossipy newspaper reports and a few feeble rhymes in the magazines? Suppose, again, that the Blind Bard of Seven Cities could have visited the White City in 1893, would any magazine have rejected the epic he would have been constrained to write in favor of any little lyric or ode that it actually inspired?

But then we may have the epic yet, for poetry is not dead, even if the world has outgrown its glowing childhood.

Manifestly the world is aging far more rapidly than formerly, but it has not reached its decrepitude, as many seem to think. The time has not come for it to ignore the present and the future, and dwell only on the remote past, like the old dotard who sits by the fire and thinks only of the wonderful things he did when he was a boy.

Whether the individual man of to-day is, on the whole, naturally a finer, stronger, nobler being than his ancient progenitor, is a difficult question. Pessimists say he is a degenerate being in spite of his schoolhouses, his universities, and his oceanic literature; his telephones, his electric cars, and his world's fairs. As a superabundance of food does not necessarily produce highly developed bodies, so, they say, a superabundance of mental pabulum does not create intellectual giants. A man may travel over the whole civilized world, and return to his home with only a jaded interest in human achievements, with sensibilities only the more calloused to the novel, the ingenious, the beautiful, and the sublime. On the other hand, the optimist holds that each succeeding century has lifted the race to a higher plane of being; that, where a man is subject to more new impressions in a day than his remote ancestor received in a year, perhaps, his powers must necessarily

develop more rapidly. This would, of course, be true if he retained his impressibility. An impression upon wax, however, and an impression upon marble are two very different things, as we learned in our First Reader in the primary school.

But whether the individual man has increased in stature or not, there is no denying that the race as a whole has grown from feeble infancy to vigorous manhood, and that every living member of it would vastly prefer his share in existence to that of one of Homer's contemporaries, classical enthusiasts to the contrary notwithstanding.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

COUNTRY ROADS AND TROLLEYS.

FROM the Colonial era till now the country roads in America have been a reproach to our civilization. Before the War of the Revolution plans were now and again discussed for bringing the various colonies into closer communion by means of well-located and well-constructed highways. In some of the colonies short stretches of good road uniting towns and settlements were built, but there was nothing like a comprehensive system of roads uniting the fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast, which then constituted the populated part of the continent. The idea in England at that time was that road-making was a matter of purely local concern, and the application of this idea resulted so disastrously that people in one district would suffer for necessaries of life, when twenty miles away these very things in unneeded abundance would be perishing from decay. English ideas prevailed in the American colonies, and the roads remained unimproved.

After the War of the Revolution the men who had a genius for administration and the building up of commonwealths appeared to see with entire clearness that the States ought to be connected by a system of good roads, and that branches of these principal roads should unite the various parts of each State. Alexander Hamilton advocated road construction and improvement by the Federal and State governments, and Washington with his practical common sense, recommended that the opening, the making and the maintenance of roads be taken absolutely away from the local authorities. But less wise men could not see how the people of a city were interested in the roads in the country, and why those of one neighborhood should concern themselves about the roads twenty or fifty miles away, which they rarely if ever used. And so, as before the Revolution, the country highways continued, for something like half a century, to be controlled by the purely local authorities.

Meantime Napoleon had given to France a wonderful network of roads; and her agriculture and manufactures flourished notwithstanding unparalleled drains upon her for men and money. In England too the old parish and neighborhood idea of road construction had been in a great measure abandoned and roads after the plans of McAdam and Telford had been constructed nearly all over the kingdom. There was activity too in America and at last the principle was recognized by Congress and by several State legislatures that road-making was a matter for both Federal and State assistance. Several ambitious projects were discussed and the Federal government agreed to lend its aid to the construction of the National Road from tide water in Maryland to the navigable waters of the Ohio River.

This work was started, but the plan was never carried out; and to this day the United States government is a defaulter in its obligations as to the building of this great road.

This abandonment of plans and abrogation of interest would not have been suffered, had it not been that the attention of the people was now directed towards another kind of highway—the steam railroad. The nervous and sanguine Americans of half a century ago were so sure that they would not need wagon roads any longer, as the railroads would serve their every purpose, that they permitted their long cherished plans for road improvement to be abandoned and these highways lapsed into the care of the local authorities who wreaked upon them an ignorant revenge. In the older time the local authorities merely neglected the roads. Now they "worked" them. Several times a year the road inspectors summoned the valetudinarians and other incapables to their assistance and at great expense they piled the dirt from the ditches and the sod from the banks into the middle of the roads, where these materials served to impede and almost entirely stop travel, till the kindly rains washed them back where they rightly belonged.

Less than ten years ago, however, a systematic agitation for the betterment of our country roads was begun, and the influence of this has been felt in every part of the country, while here and there in several of the States the roads of whole counties have been regraded, drained and paved according to the most modern ideas of highway engineers. The record would be most incomplete were it not noted that this agitation was begun, and in a great measure has been kept up by the bicycle riders of the country. For some years road improvement has been one of the most vital of the public questions, and has been discussed with ever increasing interest by State legislatures and county boards. In the aggregate, very little actual building has been done, but in fourteen or fifteen States more liberal road laws have been enacted, laws under which the improvement and maintenance of the roads are less difficult than hitherto. In several of the States laws have been passed under which, under certain conditions, State aid can be given for better roads, and under which also when taxpayers require it the county authorities are compelled to make the needed improvements. But always the road improvers have had bitterly to fight the theorists who maintained that this was a matter of purely local concern. But progress has been steady though not rapid, and in some counties of New Jersey and Pennsylvania many miles of excellently smooth McAdam pavement have been laid. And wherever this has been done the people soon became enthusiastic in the praise of these better highways, for before two seasons have passed in any such locality an unaccustomed prosperity has prevailed, and business activity has taken the place of that stolid patience which is generally a sad and discouraging characteristic of the country side.

But the movement is in sad danger, and more in need of friends than ever before. Just as the steam railroad came into being to kill the efforts of the road builders of a former generation, the trolley is with us now, and the extension of these electric railways menaces road improvement in more ways than one. If we abandon our efforts for better common roads with the idea that the trolleys will satisfy all our needs we will in time realize that the extension of trolley railroads makes good common roads all the more important and necessary, for the trolleys will quicken the life and the movement in the country and make any slow and laborious movements over bad roads more irksome than before. Whenever there is an available

water power a trolley railroad can be operated at an expense ridiculously small when compared to that of the ordinary steam railroad. The country people of this and the growing generation do well to look forward to the trolley railroad as likely to do them immeasurable good. But a fatal mistake will be made if they act upon the idea that when the trolley is in every neighborhood the old highway will not be needed. The old fashioned road will be needed more than ever. The accomplishment of speed begets a demand for speed. People will not be content to labor and flounder through bogs and mudholes for half a mile because they can fly the remaining ten miles of their journey.

But the men who are engaged at present in extending trolley lines into the country are attempting a much greater wrong than that of the mere neglect of the improvement of the country roads. They are attempting to seize upon these roads and to convert them to their own uses. They appear to lie in wait to take possession of a country road so soon as it shall be put in excellent order for them. The unimproved roads are not nearly so eligible for trolley tracks, but the improved road with its easy grades, its excellent drainage and its McAdam pavement is a trolley roadbed ready made and waiting for the tracks. And so they beset the County Freeholders or County Commissioners for permission to lay these tracks by which, they say, the country people will get genuine rapid transit. More frequently than not the trolley managers get this permission without difficulty, and when the tracks are laid the improved road is ruined for ever. When trolley builders have failed to get the permission of the authorities they have exercised the right of eminent domain and have seized upon the country roads. But here, as also in the other method, they have evidently gone beyond any privilege warranted by law, for the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, in a recent case, has held that "the laws originally framed to provide transit by street railroads did not anticipate the conversion of suburban and rural roads into long lines of transportation, connecting widely separated cities. The streets of a city or borough are in the control of certain prescribed officials, who grant franchises with the consent of the mayor. The laws, however, very clearly confine the lines of transit within the city or borough limits. Township committees do not enjoy the power invested in city officials; the former have no power to grant the use of roads or subject them to a servitude for the benefit of any corporation."

It is desirable, to be sure, that trolleys should be near common roads, for then they are more easily accessible to those who are to use them; but they should not be over the pavement, nor yet between the pavement and either of the ditches into which the surface water drains. The pavement of a roadway is made for driving on, and the laying of railroad tracks of any kind ends that use quite effectually. Nor should the tracks be put between the pavement and the ditches, for the tracks would interfere with the surface drainage and the pavement and the whole roadbed would be ruined the first time there was a freeze. The side of the road beyond the ditches appears to be the place for trolley roads, for there they would be quite easy of access and not dangerous to life and to rights as sacred as life itself. But permission even for such locations should not be acquiesced in; the trolley builders should be compelled to acquire rights of way by lawful means.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXVII.

OCTOBER, 1895.

THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION.

BY THE HON. W. Y. ATKINSON, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

EACH age has had its distinguishing characteristic by which it has been designated in history, and the latter half of the nineteenth century might aptly be termed the era of expositions. Beginning with the great Crystal Palace of London in 1851, which was the first international exhibition, it will close an exact period of fifty years with the proposed Paris Exposition of 1900, having included besides during that period a dozen magnificent industrial exhibitions at such prominent points as Paris, London, Vienna, Philadelphia and Chicago. While the exposition is but the natural successor of the market fairs of the middle ages—of which an interesting example survives in the great fair that draws for several weeks of every year hundreds of thousands of visitors of every race to Nijni-Novgorod—and the legitimate outgrowth of the state and county fairs of America and other countries, yet it has so far surpassed these latter in interest and importance as nearly to crowd them out of existence with its dwarfing proportions. The exposition has thus become a most important feature of our latest civilization, and one whose vast results can only be cursorily touched upon within the limits of this article.

The first pretentious exhibition of the resources and products

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of the Southern States, which had scarcely recovered sufficiently from the devastation of war and the troubles of the reconstruction period to be represented at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, was held in Atlanta in the fall of 1881, and was successful not only in attracting immigration and capital towards Georgia, but also in encouraging our own citizens by an imposing demonstration of the progress they had made. So great was its influence upon our industrial advancement that the very grounds and buildings in which the exposition was held were turned into cotton mills. This was followed by the Louisville Exposition in 1883, at which there was a fine display of Southern products; and in 1884-85 New Orleans made a still greater exhibit at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centenary Exposition. Now, while the wonders of the Chicago World's Fair are still fresh in the minds of all, while the effects of a great panic, in the very throes of which the project was born, are still being felt all over the country, Atlanta is holding her second exposition, which not only surpasses all former exhibits of Southern products but in many respects even transcends the attractions of the "White City." If this appear an exaggeration, let it be remembered that each of the expositions mentioned had the mistakes as well as the successes of all previous ones to profit by. The exhibit made by the United States government, for example, with all the material of the World's Fair to start with and an additional appropriation of $200,000 to draw upon, is much more complete in every department than upon any previous occasion. In other ways it is claimed, and I believe without undue assumption, that this fair is superior to that of Chicago, quality and not quantity being considered.

The appropriation of $200,000 for its own display is all the aid that has been asked for or received from the Federal Government by the inaugurators of an enterprise that is estimated to cost $2,000,000 from the time it was begun to the time the gates close on the last day of this year, and may easily cost more. The people of Georgia may be misled by their pride in the pluck and enterprise of their capital city, but they do not believe that there is anywhere another city of less than 100,000 inhabitants that would undertake, unaided, an enterprise of such magnitude. There were good reasons why the "Cotton States and International Exposition" should be held at this time. Impoverished by war and

exasperated by the limitless prodigality of reconstruction governments, when the citizens of the Southern States finally regained control of their own affairs they inevitably went to the other extreme and framed their new constitutions with such careful niggardliness that no appropriations could be made by any legislature, however liberal in its views, except for the absolute necessities of administering the government. According to the strict construction of the province of a republican government, this may in reality be a proper public policy ; but in comparison with the broad-gauge modern administration of affairs in sister States, it often places the Southern States in the embarrassing position of poor relations. At any rate, it prevented them from making a proper representation at the Columbian Exposition. After it was too late, after they had seen and realized the magnitude of that great World's Fair, and the benefits which might result from it, the citizens of Georgia regretted that they had not done by private subscription, even at some individual sacrifice, what the State was forbidden to do. So the leading people of Atlanta took hold of the matter and resolved to show the world that it was to no poverty of resources, largely undeveloped though some of these might be, that the failure to exhibit at Chicago was due. The people of the other Cotton States took the same view, and the result is that the world is being edified and delighted with such an exhibit of Southern industries, products, resources and achievements as was never seen at any exposition before, and as few of the citizens of this section ever dreamed to be practicable.

Foreign nations likewise have been impressed by the character of this exposition and have prepared exhibits creditable in every way to the occasion. Thus the world not only has a chance to see what the South is and get a glimpse of its present glorious possibilities and future greatness, but the Southern exhibitor or visitor may compare his achievements with those of others and be the gainer thereby. Especially have the Spanish-American nations manifested a deep interest from the beginning of the enterprise and aided in every way in their power one of the chief ends for which it was inaugurated—the promotion of closer relations with the other countries of this continent whose trade would seem naturally to belong to us. South America furnishes close at hand a vast market for the very grade of cotton goods that the South is now manufacturing in greatest abundance, and one

which has been but little developed by our manufacturers. Jeans and cottonades are the general and typical dress of the South American, along with the different grades of white cotton goods, and there is no reason why England's present supremacy in this trade should not be contested and overcome. These nations are also large consumers of agricultural implements, which the South has every facility for manufacturing—cheap timber, iron, labor and coal, which are fast being taken advantage of in this and all other lines of manufacture and development. The wonderful natural products of our sister republics are in turn spread before our eyes to tempt the desires of the shrewd trader into which the Southerner has developed since he has been taught the folly of being simply a cotton producer for the rest of the world.

He would be no true American who should not go to the utmost limit in his conceptions of the future achievements, not only of his own country, but of modern inventive genius, and the Titanic force of capital. More than anywhere else the true spirit of Americanism exists in full force in the South, and hence we are ready and expecting the ultimate, and in all probability speedy, completion of the Nicaragua Canal; and we believe that with the return of enterprise and investment, so long dormant that they must soon awaken, no adequate field can be found for their energies except in the building of an inter-continental railway along the line of the Andes and their northern continuations. The one would give the whole United States easy access and cheap transportation to the vast trade of the Orient, now so far away except to the few Pacific States; the other would insure rapid communication with our sister continent that could not fail to bind us in the closest commercial union. By the success of either or both of these schemes the Southern States would be the quickest and greatest beneficiaries, by virtue of their geographical position. Hence the desirability of better acquaintance and closer communion with the nations of the South and the East has been held constantly and successfully in view by the promoters of the Cotton States and International Exposition.

But the chief benefit of the present exposition, as it was of the exposition held in the same city fourteen years ago, is the better understanding which it is expected to promote between the Northern and the Southern sections of this great nation of

our own. The Chicago Fair demonstrated that even the greatest exposition ever held in the world was not great enough to attract to this new country any large number of foreigners, the majority of whom seemed to hold that their older civilization and development leave nothing further to be expected or even desired. So those who will make or unmake the success of this exposition, so far as attendance goes, must be the citizens of the United States; and there are many things here to interest the best-informed as well as the most inquiring Northern and Western visitors, not to speak of the genuine Southerner, whose attendance in large numbers is already assured.

The South still remains largely an unknown land to the average Northerner, and its topography, flora and fauna, habits and customs, are almost as unfamiliar to him as to the untravelled inhabitant of another continent. Shut off from any close communication with each other for the first two-thirds of the century by the vital difference in their labor systems, the Northerner first became acquainted with the real aspect of the South as a member of an invading army. That what he saw, even through hostile eyes, was not altogether unpleasing, is evidenced by the number of Sherman's soldiers who afterward settled in Georgia; and while the larger proportion of Union soldiers did not get so far into the South, the number of veterans who have since settled in this section further sustains the good opinion we ourselves hold, that to know our section better is to love it more. The returning soldiers, then, introduced a little leaven that is still felt; but after the war the country was rapidly filled up by a flood of immigration that for over two decades poured in from Europe almost without cessation, and filled up the vacant places of the North, East, and West. Partly in accordance with a great natural law, and partly owing to the circumstances that the controlling influences were all in the victorious section, and New York was the only great port of entry, this tide of immigration flowed only on lines of latitude, and almost none of it seeped into the South. All the great railroads were built at that time to develop the West and fill up its unoccupied lands. Only one straight north and south line, the Cincinnati Southern, was built to connect what was then the metropolis of the West with the gateway of the South; and the purpose of this was not to bring immigation and capital into the South, but to divert Southern trade away from New York to

Cincinnati. All these potential factors have operated to keep the North and South apart, not to rake up political reasons that have so recently been buried that they are better left undisturbed. In view of the labor and socialist disturbances that an element of foreign immigrants has made more violent, as well as the congested condition of society and trade in the older Northern and Western States, it is easy to believe that the South, quietly working out its own destiny, has not really suffered by this apparently unequal distribution of fortune's favors. At any rate, it has left intact an American civilization of the highest order and the purest character, with many broad acres of land, which the experience of the North has taught us to offer only to a select and desirable class of immigrants, that we may escape the very mistakes that we did not have an opportunity to participate in at the time they were committed.

All this is said in no disparagement of the many citizens of foreign birth who have enriched the history of our country, added lustre to its annals both in war and peace, and to-day constitute a portion of our best and most useful citizenship. It refers only to that indiscriminate desire for mere numbers in population which has inundated some States with the ignorant and degraded, whose coming could not be checked after the dangers which followed the coming of such classes became apparent. We do not believe that in this broad land and under our enlightened government there should be any discrimination against a foreigner simply because he is a foreigner—it has not been so very long since our ancestors were all foreigners—but we do believe that the time has come when the privilege of American citizenship should be more highly valued and more securely guarded.

As to the development that has kept pace with the world in manufacturing and other lines, and the resources that could be catalogued only by exhausting the lists of mineralogy, forestry, agriculture, and pomology, these must be left for the visitor to see for himself as he passes through the thirteen large main buildings in which the exhibits of the Cotton States Exposition are barely contained.

Of equal if not greater importance to the prospective settler or investor than the character of the soil and climate, is the character of the society in his new environments. He who has travelled much over this country must long ago have been struck by the fact that the generality of the people

are about the same everywhere. In the so-called wickedest localities, he may be astonished to find much that is good, even if in a crude state; while model communities, much as they lament it, will continue to be sorely afflicted by some sinners. To the true American there is no North, no South, no East and no West—he adapts himself to circumstances and becomes a natural part of his environments. The Southerner, as we have said, is essentially an American; and anyone who has not had a chance to see him on his native heath may know him by studying the essential characteristics, but not the local idiosyncracies, of his American neighbor. The haughty slave owner need no longer exist even in the Northern imagination, for the very good reason that there are no longer slaves; and most of the people now controlling the affairs of the South never knew what it was to own a slave, though their parents may have had many of them. To-day all men here meet on the common plane of worth; if that plane still remains a high one, so much the better for us and for worthy people who would cast their fortunes with us.

The condition of society in the South has been persistently misrepresented by a large class of Northern periodicals and writers. For a long time this was attributed to the malice of ignorance and that prejudice which was natural for awhile between the two estranged sections, as well as to political effect; but now it is more shrewdly surmised to have its origin in baser if not less wicked motives. The object seems to be to maintain at any cost the commercial and manufacturing supremacy of the North and East by keeping capital and immigration from seizing the many superior natural advantages of the South. It must be for this reason that in certain Northern journals every crime that is committed in the South, whether great or trivial, is enlarged upon and invested with a sectional significance. It is useless to appeal to the sense of fairness where the facts cannot all be fully presented, or to make comparisons that might be so odious as to close the ears of the hearer; but it is worth the while of the resident of any other section, who loves his whole common country, to come down and see for himself that the South is neither the home of crime nor the abode of lawlessness, and that the people whom he will meet from every State in the cotton belt are as quiet and peaceful citizens as himself.

Especially has the attitude of the South toward the negro been

misrepresented by the Northern press and misunderstood by its readers; and this is the more grievous and seems the more unreasonable because the one thing which has clearly proved the crowning glory of Southern manhood has been the way in which the former owner has conducted himself toward the man who was his slave but the day before. Returning from a war waged not on behalf of the slave, but on account of him, the whilom master, and the freedman, each put his hand to the plough and worked side by side in the furrows. And ever since the negro has had his opportunity in every calling in life alongside of the white man—and if the latter did not every time provide equally for the children of both it was because sometimes his poor means failed, and the white man always rejoiced when outside philanthropists supplemented his efforts. The Georgia common school fund is divided in fair proportions between the whites and the blacks; there is a white school of technology at Atlanta and a colored school of technology at Savannah, and so in the other States; there are colored farmers and landed proprietors, colored carpenters, colored lawyers, doctors and members of the legislature in all the Southern States. And in nothing will the Cotton States Exposition be found more instructive than in the marvellous progress shown in every line by this emancipated people in their own building, designed by their own architect and contributed to and controlled solely by their own race. The movement was inaugurated by their leaders, and their plans were heartily encouraged by the Exposition management. It was an opportunity they sought at the World's Fair, but sought in vain, just as they have vainly sought other privileges elsewhere that are freely granted them in the land where they were manumitted. Does this bear out the tales of oppression so frequently told on the Northern stump and rostrum during thirty years past? No oppressed race ever made such advance from abjectness and barbarism to such a high state of progress in the arts and inventions as will be evidenced in the ample space of the negro building at this fair. Nor does any emancipated white serf or peasant in the white countries of the world have the same protection for life, liberty and property, nor the same opportunities for the pursuit of happiness, as are afforded the negro in the States where he was once a slave.

Half the value of this lesson is lost if the thoughtful observer does not realize and reflect that with all this the negro is

not an integral part of Southern life and civilization. He was brought here and detained as an alien element, and we fully realize that this makes our duty towards him the more exacting. God never tried to make him the equal of the white man, and the Southern Anglo-Saxon has too much reverence to attempt such an improvement upon the Creator's handiwork. It has been demonstrated to be impossible to put "black heels on white necks"; there has never been any desire on the part of the inevitably dominant race to trample upon the natural or legal rights of the black. But the problem which the nation, unable to solve, helplessly turned over to us, we claim to have in fair process of solution, and we confidently urge all mankind to visit us and witness both the problem and the process.

These are some of the many things which make the Cotton States and International Exposition worth visiting even by those who have reveled in all the marvels of past expositions. The exposition is the epitome of the world's progress and civilization, and each new one marks an advance and sets new lessons to be learned, so that it is not safe to rely upon those already seen. The world moves with such rapidity that even in these days of fast locomotion he who should go around it and immediately set out again on the same journey would find new things to observe all along his route. But it is no longer necessary to travel further than to the exposition to see the world's marvels. The wanderings of Ulysses become useless when all states and their ways can be found on one spot, and the aphorism of Epictetus that this world is one city is transformed into a literal fact. What travel once did for a few, therefore, the exposition now does for all; it not only gives a sight of the strange and marvellous, the useful and beautiful of other nations, but an insight into the character of the peoples and the causes, as well as the effects, of their differing civilizations; it sweeps away prejudices, broadens the judgment, teaches that in all his diverse surroundings man remains practically the same, and impresses upon both the mental and the moral sense his universal brotherhood.

W. Y. Atkinson.

POLITICS AND THE INSANE.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

Two or three centuries ago it was customary to deal with the insane in a way that to us seems simply barbarous. The unfortunate victims of mental disease were then thrust into dungeons, and often chained there. They were scourged at times with whips and clubs, and not infrequently they were burned or otherwise executed for witchcraft.

It is an easy inference from these facts that our ancestors of those days were a very inhuman and barbaric lot. But the validity of this inference is very much weakened by the further fact that the barbarous treatment of the insane just noted was still everywhere in vogue—barring the pyre—a single century ago, and continued to be practised but little modified, in many places, far into the present century, at a period, that is to say, when our own grandparents, and even our parents were on the scene of action. Now we know that these immediate progenitors of ours were not barbarians, and this knowledge may serve to vastly temper our judgment of our remoter ancestors. But why did either the one or the other permit atrocities to be practised which we now shudder to recall ?

The answer is very simple. Our ancestors remote and less remote did not know that in treating the insane like dangerous beasts they were acting inhumanly. Enslaved to custom—as we all are—they dealt with the insane as custom dictated. They thought the scourge a righteous instrument for casting out devils; and it was not bad but misguided hearts that gave the pyre approval. In other words, it was ignorance, not viciousness, that swung the lash and plied the faggot to the destruction of the pitiable victims of mental disease. No doubt indifference and selfishness contributed a full share toward keeping the people in ignorance,

but be that as it may, ignorance itself was the cardinal sin that led to the abuses which now seem so unaccountable;—ignorance as to what insanity really is, ignorance as to the real duties that sane humanity owes to its alien unfortunates.

We of to-day do not scourge the insane or chain them in dungeons. About a century ago three or four wise physicians—Pinel in France, Tuke in Scotland, Rush in America—taught the people that insanity is not a curse but a disease, and when this new idea had had time to make its way against the prevailing misconception—when ignorance was in some measure banished—a new era dawned for the insane. To-day kindness, gentleness, tolerance, pity are the mottoes of those who deal directly with the unfortunate, once called a madman or lunatic, but now more charitably spoken of as an insane patient; and the people, no longer ignorant as to this particular matter, are stirred to indignation at the mere suggestion that this spirit has been violated in any given instance. All of which, according to my contention, does not prove that we are infinitely better than our grandparents, who quite approved the things we now abhor; but does show that we are grown in some ways vastly wiser.

But unfortunately our wisdom is not yet all-inclusive, and in dealing with the insane to-day we are making some mistakes that, I suspect, will seem as anomalous to our descendants as the mistakes of our ancestors seem to us. With one of these mistakes we shall have to do in the present paper. I refer to the custom, widely prevalent, though fortunately not universal, of allowing partisan politics to become influential in the conduct of the asylums in which the dependent insane are cared for. The baleful effects of this custom are as yet fully understood only by those persons who have had opportunity to view the subject as it were from the inside. The public at large is still in ignorance of the real bearings of the matter: hence the continuance of the evil. Ignorance—fostered by indifference and selfishness—is still, as of old, the explanation of the abuses which society tolerates. In the hope of in some degree dispelling this ignorance, the present paper is written.

Let me show by some illustrative examples, the ways in which politics has encroached upon a domain that of all others should be free from its infringements.

The simplest and most readily demonstrable manner in which this encroachment may be made, is by the direct application of the spoils system to asylum appointments. This has been done again and again in various of our States. Perhaps the most recent, and certainly one of the most glaring illustrations is furnished by Kansas. When Populism triumphed at the polls in that State, a mad stampede for the spoils began, and the asylum for the insane at Topeka was among the institutions on which the spoilsmen fixed their greedy eyes. With a woman at their head, more's the pity, they descended joyously on this asylum, and as it were sacked it without quarter. Faithful, earnest, competent officials and employees of the asylum who had given their lives to the service, were ignominiously discharged, without pretense of their being unworthy, simply because their places were wanted to reward the politically faithful. Candor was the only merit of the action. No charges were trumped up, no attempt was made to conceal the real animus of the removals. It was purely a question of partisan political affiliations, and no one was asked to think it anything else. The official body that had direct charge of the disgraceful procedure is called—one really blushes to record it—the State Board of Charities.

And what a band of the faithful came to take the places of the discharged officials! There was real humor in the situation were it not for the pity of it. The halt and the blind, intellectually and physically, trooped from all parts of the State, bringing their political credentials, and were at once installed in the offices of the deposed asylum officials. Did they know aught of the care of the insane, of the methods of asylum management? Nonsense! What did that matter? Were they not of the faithful? Had they not worked and voted for the dominant party? Were they not entitled to their reward?

The sequel follows so naturally that it scarcely needs telling. Managing a large asylum is no child's play, and of course matters were soon chaotic at Topeka. Presently there was internecine war among the faithful, culminating in the arrest of the Superintendent on charges preferred by the Assistant Superintendent —the former of course bringing counter charges. Within a year the situation became so desperate that even partisan eyes could no longer be blinded, and the experienced Superintendent who had been deposed was recalled, to undertake the arduous task of

bringing the asylum back to the high level on which it was before the political onslaught was made.

Let me repeat that such onslaughts as this, and they are recurring constantly in one State or another, are permitted by the people not through viciousness but through ignorance. The people of Kansas are not barbarians, however subject they may be to epidemics of the various phases of political insanity, but they are, like people in general, profoundly ignorant of insanity and all that pertains to its treatment. The State Board of Charities simply failed to realize what they were doing when they let politics threaten the welfare of the indigent insane of Kansas. I trust that they are somewhat wiser now, and that their experience may not be without a wholesome effect elsewhere.

Another chapter of the story of Politics and the Insane is furnished by the experience of those States in which so called double-headed asylums have been established. New Jersey furnishes a typical illustration. Here competent medical officers are installed in the asylums, but these officials are wofully hampered by the appointment of political wardens with powers almost or quite equal to those of the chief physician. The full implications of this system are not manifest to the uninitiated, else it would long ago have been banished. I have not space to detail them here, though the subject is tempting. Suffice it that such a double-headed institution is as much a monstrosity among asylums as is a two-headed human being among men. I am told that there was such a human freak on exhibition in the museums of New York not long ago. If I am correctly informed, the right head of this anomalous being controlled the left leg, and the left head the right leg; and the individual—or was it two individuals?—could not walk, because the two brains could not be taught to act concertedly. Well, a double-headed asylum is crippled in much the same way. The plan of having two heads for one organism is so radically wrong that no compensating circumstances can make it work efficiently.

Do the good people of New Jersey wilfully perpetuate such a grotesque system? Assuredly not. Most of them do not even know that they have such an anomaly among them. The politicians begot the monstrosity, and maintain it for the patronage it brings, and the people complaisantly submit to the imposition simply because they do not know that it is an imposition; just

as in most other affairs we let the boss politicians govern us while in our ignorance we fondly nurse the delusion that we are governing ourselves. But fortunately political affairs have changed recently in New Jersey. Quite a different Board of Control from the old political one now has charge of the affairs of the asylums of that State, and at last there seems some reason to hope that, before long, partisanship may give place to rationality in the conduct of the great charity of caring for the indigent insane.

But perhaps the most telling illustration of the evils that result when the political vampire fixes his hold on supposedly charitable institutions is furnished by existing conditions in regard to the care of the indigent insane in our large cities. It has come to be accepted as quite in the natural order of things that the insane wards of large cities shall be wretchedly cared for. Boston furnishes an honorable exception, sending most of her indigent insane to the excellent State asylums, but New York, and Brooklyn, and Chicago, and Philadelphia—the communities where a large share of the wealth of this country is aggregated—are disgraced in the eyes of right-thinking people by the manner in which they care for their insane dependents. And, in each case, the explanation given by those conversant with the facts is that partisan politics enters into the conduct of asylum affairs.

The exact methods by which the spoilsman operates vary somewhat in the different communities, but the results to the insane are much the same everywhere. Perhaps I can best make the matter plain by citing somewhat in detail the conditions as they exist in New York city.

There are about 6,000 insane patients in the city asylums of the metropolis. The buildings in which these patients are housed have a normal capacity of about 4,000 inhabitants. Some of the buildings are new and reasonably good, but many of them are old and ill-adapted for asylum purposes, and a few are not decently habitable.

As to the character of the food, clothing, and general attendance supplied these patients, a statement of certain financial facts will perhaps be most convincing. The State asylums of New York, which are excellently but not extravagantly conducted, cost the State between four and five dollars per week for each inmate, exclusive of special appropriations for building and repair,

etc. Conservative persons agree that as much as this is necessary to properly conduct the institutions, and in point of fact much more than this—as much as $6 per week in some cases—has in the past been at times expended.

Now the New York city asylums are much less favorably located, as regards economical management, than the country asylums, yet the largest *per capita* expenditure per week for the care of their inmates ever applied for their conduct is $2.80. The difference between $2.80 and $5 therefore represents relatively the difference between the conditions of the city and State asylums of New York, provided they were under equally judicious management. No one need be told that $2.80 has not the purchasing power of $5, and nothing more need be said as to how the insane dependents of New York city are clothed and fed and attended.

But it remains to note the anomalous fact that whereas only $2.80 is applied for the uses of the insane in the city asylums, almost twice that sum is assessed upon the property of the taxpayers of the city for the care of indigent insane. The excess over $2.80—amounting in the aggregate to about $600,000 annually—is turned into the State treasury, to be applied towards the maintenance of the State asylum system, with which the city has nothing whatever to do, beyond thus helping to support it financially. Brooklyn does the same thing, and together these two cities pay to the State half the entire sum required to conduct the State asylum system. Meantime, as they half care for the insane of the State, they also only half care for their own insane, with the difference that in the latter case no one is at hand to supply the other half. All of which seems very anomalous.

The explanation is found in the old story of politics—a story of legislative deals, of machine manipulations, of spoils. It came about in this wise. When the State Care Act, providing that the State of New York should assume control of all dependent insane and provide for them directly, instead of leaving that duty to the several counties, was under discussion in the Assembly, the political machines of New York city and Brooklyn had no mind to give up control of the patronage that came to them through handling the moneys appropriated by their respective cities for the care of the insane. So, after a battle, a compromise was effected by which these cities were to retain control of their own insane, provided

they paid their full *pro rata* shares of the tax for carrying out the State system, exactly as if they were to enter into the system. That is to say, they were to share the financial responsibilities of the system without entering into its benefits.

Now, it is easy to see why the people outside the cities consented to this, since it took a large burden of taxation off their shoulders, but it is not so evident at first glance why the cities consented to be robbed in such a manner. The real reason, as just intimated, was that the machines were determined to retain control of asylum patronage and were willing that the taxpayers should be mulcted indefinitely to accomplish that end, if necessary.

And so the deal was consummated; the State-Care Act—in itself an admirable measure—was passed; New York and Brooklyn retained control of their insane, their taxpayers being mulcted about $750,000 a year for the privilege; the political machines handled the funds and doled out patronage to their friends; and the insane—got along as best they might, housed in buildings constructed and repaired by political contractors, clothed by other political contractors, and fed by still others.

It must in justice be added that there is one mitigating circumstance in connection with the systems under consideration. This is the fact that worthy and competent medical officers are in charge of the New York and Kings County asylums. These men, hampered as the are by lack of funds, and by the political propensities of the Commissioners to whom they are responsible, have labored faithfully for their patients, and it would be doing them great injustice not to recognize the value of their efforts. Carrying such a handicap, their fight has been almost a hopeless one, but they have kept it up bravely. Especially is this true in New York city.

The local asylum systems of Philadelphia and Chicago have not even this one redeeming feature. In both of these cities the condition of the indigent insane is even worse than in New York. There are competent medical officials in each case, it is true, but these men are made subordinate to lay superintendents who, whatever their qualifications, are political appointees. Under such conditions the best results in asylum management are not even to be hoped for. It is conceded the world over that a medical man should be the undisputed head of every asylum for the insane, so

the Philadelphia and Chicago systems are utterly indefensible. The reason they are persisted in is that the office of superintendent of the hospitals of which the asylums are a part, is one of the political perquisites of the party in power; and that physicians are seldom politicians of the spoilsman order.

The practical results of the political methods of caring for the indigent insane of Philadelphia may be told in a few words, which I quote from a personal letter written by one perfectly familiar with the facts: "The present system consigns the insane to wretched, crowded dark buildings, that have been odious and odorous for half a century, with no facilities for suitable out-of-door exercise or occupation. The plans and grounds of the asylum belong to a period long passed, and within the buildings the allowance of fresh air equals but a few square feet per patient. All in all, the condition of the insane here is one of the saddest spectacles to be seen in this country. Yet the politicians have obstinately resisted every effort for improvement." It scarcely needs saying that the reason the politicians resist efforts at improvement, is that the existing system gives them better facilities for patronage than could be hoped for under an improved system,—since in the nature of the case, improvement would imply banishment of the politicians from the field.

As regards the condition of the indigent insane of Chicago—or such of them as are not sent to the State hospitals—the ground may be covered by saying that they are a few degrees worse off than those of Philadelphia. Eight hundred to a thousand patients are crowded into quarters that might with some semblance of decency accommodate half as many. A political lay superintendent is in charge, and the spoils system has full sway in the appointment of all employees, to the lowliest scrubber. The abuses that have been from time to time unearthed in this institution in the past ten years read like the records of a sixteenth century "mad house." They are quite too brutal and disgraceful to be recorded here. The world already knows of them through newspaper reports, which for once could hardly be exaggerated.

The most that can be said for the Chicago system is that it is probably not quite as bad as is was seven or eight years ago. At that time the County Commissioners, who have ultimate authority in the matter—and several of whom are now in prison serving

well-earned sentences—set an example by falsifying bills for coal, clothing and provision; the asylum Warden—who now keeps a gorgeous saloon and gambling house in Chicago—followed close in their wake (supplying himself with sixty suits of silk underwear at county expense, among other accomplishments); and the subordinate employees, many of whom were notorious women and criminals, conducted themselves in all respects as might be expected of such characters. The ultimate victims of each phase of the political chicanery were, of course, the supposed recipients of charity.

This, indeed, must be the obvious result everywhere of political interference with asylum affairs. Did space permit I would show more in detail the channels through which such interference operates disastrously. But everyone who is at all familiar with the meaning of the word "patronage," as applied to political affairs, especially in our cities, can supply the details for himself with sufficient accuracy. By recalling, for example, the number of large contracts—for coal, food, clothing, building, repairing, etc.—that must be given out each year by the persons controlling asylum affairs, and which may be, and under existing conditions are, given to political *confreres* exclusively, it will be understood what a political leverage the money appropriated for the care of the insane may be made to wield, even where there is no direct stealing of public funds. How dearly the politicians prize this patronage is well shown by the fact, already cited, that the authorities of New York city and Brooklyn were willing to pay three-quarters of a million dollars annually to the State rather than relinquish their hold on the local asylums. Had they chosen otherwise, their 9,000 indigent insane might have been cared for properly and even handsomely, as is done in the State hospitals, without a single dollar's additional expense to their taxpayers, instead of being treated wretchedly as they are at present. But little enough cared the politicians for the interests of the 9,000 dependents as against the selfish and unlawful interests of the political friends, whose loyalty, thus purchased, was needed to maintain the integrity of the "machines."

At last, however, the power of the corrupt machines has been broken, for the time being, in both New York and Brooklyn; and, the friends of the insane seizing the opportunity so long waited for, are making strenuous efforts to have the asylums of

these cities transferred to the State system. The existing law authorizes such a transfer, and unless some political trickery at Albany interferes, the transfer will be effected within the next few months. If this is accomplished—as all right-minded persons must hope it will be—the asylums of these great municipalities will be placed on the same high level with the existing State hospitals. It will be a striking and gratifying change from the wretched conditions of the past and present, and it will give to New York city and Brooklyn the enviable distinction of caring for their indigent insane better than the similar dependents of any other large city in the world are cared for. For it is a noteworthy fact that the large cities of the Old World have been as derelict as our own in their provision for the insane. Political interference is not with them as marked as with us, but everywhere there has been a tendency to niggardliness in providing for this most helpless class of dependents in cities, as compared with the provision made for them in rural districts. The asylums of Paris are antiquated and inadequate, and the same was true in London until recently, when modern quarters were provided for at least part of the insane. This London asylum, the new building of the Boston asylum, and a few of the buildings of the New York city asylum, furnish, so far as I am informed, the only exceptions to the rule that the buildings in which the insane dependents of cities are housed are miserably unsuitable. No large city, unless it be Boston (which, as already said, cares for only a few insane directly), has an asylum plant that as a whole is anything like up to date and adequate.

And so it will continue to be while politics controls asylum affairs. And that will be, as long as the residents of our cities are sufficiently ignorant and indifferent to permit existing conditions to continue. As I have said over and over, it is ignorance and not viciousness on the part of the people as a whole that tolerates the abuses that prevail. It was the awakening of the people to true conditions last fall that enables us to hope for reform in the management of the metropolitan asylum through transfer out of the hands of the politicians. A similar arousing of the people of other cities must be secured before reforms can be effected, for the politicians will never willingly relinquish one iota of patronage, and until they are forced aside little can be done.

Fortunately it is possible to point out the initial step which the reform movement must take in all cities alike. This is the separation of the affairs of the insane from those of every other class of dependents. At present the affairs of different classes of dependents and delinquents in all our large cities are merged under control of a single board, known usually as a Board or Commission of Charities and Correction, which in all cases is a political board, and through which the political patronage is controlled. This massing of interests of diverse classes is illogical and cumbersome (the New York Department of Charities and Correction controls about 17,000 individuals), but in all large cities it has been persisted in (having originated naturally enough, perhaps, while the communities were relatively small), partly through inertia, but very largely because the politicians have felt that a division would result in loss of patronage. Whenever the people are wise enough to demand that the interests of the insane be made paramount to the interests of politicians, they will insist on making insane patients a class by themselves, under independent management. A movement is on foot to accomplish this in Philadelphia, and it would be accomplished, of course, in New York and Brooklyn by the proposed transfer to the State. It is to be hoped that both movements will prevail, and that Chicago and other cities may soon also find means to emancipate their insane dependents from their political bondage. It is a burning shame that the most helpless of defectives should be preyed upon by politicians anywhere, and a double shame that the communities in which most of the wealth of the country is aggregated, and where the most advanced ideas are supposed to prevail, should be especially subject to such vandalism.

It is bad enough to see the spoils system applied openly to the asylums of communistic Kansas; it is worse to see it applied insidiously in New York. Only ignorance permits it in one community or the other. But let it not be forgotten that ignorance, when due to selfishness and indifference, may come to be almost a crime.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

BIRDS IN FLIGHT AND THE FLYING MACHINE.

BY HIRAM S. MAXIM.

THE ease with which birds can move from place to place has always excited the envy of mankind, and from the days of Icarus and Daedalus down to the present day, philosophers and mathematicians have tried to solve the secret of a bird's flight.

It has been asserted by many mathematicians, that if a bird should be considered as a machine, it would be quite impossible for it to fly, according to the accepted laws of aëro-dynamics.

When Professor Darwin was in South America many years ago he was unable to account for the flight of the condor. He speaks of seeing condors circling about in a valley, rising higher and higher without any perceptible motion of their wings.

Professor Proctor, the astronomer, while on a visit to Florida, studied the flight of turkey buzzards. He observed that they were able to soar quite independent of any motion of their wings. They seemed to balance themselves on the air and move forward, and sometimes upward, without the expenditure of any force at all. He attempted to account for this on the hypothesis that as they were moving forward at a very high velocity they did not rest on the same air long enough for the air to be set in motion.

Professor Froude, the mathematician, while making a voyage in the South Atlantic, observed the flight of that greatest of all flyers, the albatross, and he admitted that no existing mathematical formula could account for the soaring of these birds without any apparent movement of their wings.

A great many others have written learned treatises on the soaring of birds, but, as far as I know, nothing has yet been published which is altogether satisfactory. Some years ago, while in Spain, I observed the flight of a pair of very large eagles. They came into sight on one side of a large and level plain,

crossed it almost in a straight line and disappeared without a single apparent motion of their outstretched wings.

I also saw eagles soaring in the Pyrenees in the same way.

I have crossed the Atlantic many times, and have studied the flight of sea-gulls. Some of these birds are able to follow the ship for days at a time, and it is no uncommon thing for a gull to maintain a fixed position in the air as relates to the ship without any apparent exertion at all, and to follow the ship exactly as it would do if it were secured to it with a cord.

All these phenomena seem quite inexplicable if we consider them on the basis that the birds are moving in stationary air. Some mathematicians of the lesser order who only partly understand the question, have supposed that a bird is able to maintain itself on a horizontal current of air, that is, a wind blowing in a horizontal direction, but this would in no way account for the phenomenon, because if a bird should hold itself in a stationary position against a wind that was blowing 25 miles an hour, the conditions would be identical with those which would obtain if the bird were moving forward at the same velocity through stationary air, and we should be quite as unable to account for the soaring in one case as in the other.

Some years ago I passed a winter on the shores of the Mediterranean in the south of France, where I had a good opportunity of observing the mistral and also air currents over the bays in the south of France. I have since made two trips through the entire length of the Mediterranean, and have observed that the winds do not blow in a horizontal direction at all, but that even in what we call a dead calm there are always vertical currents. Sometimes with the ship sailing in a very nearly calm sea, ripples appeared on the water, showing that there was a direct though very slight head wind. I observed that these ripples became less and less as the ship moved onward, until they completely disappeared in a glassy streak, 300 or 400 feet wide and which extended on either side of the ship in nearly a straight line as far as the eye could reach. As soon as this glassy streak was passed I observed that the wind was blowing in the opposite direction, that is, with the ship; and then, perhaps a mile or two ahead, we would find another glassy streak towards which the wind was blowing from both sides. Over the first of these streaks the air was of course descending, and over the other, ascending.

At Monte Carlo I obtained photographs of the surface of the Mediterranean from the Tête de Chien, which is 2,000 feet above the sea. These photographs show the whole surface of the sea to be streaked like marble. Each glassy streak represents a neutral zone where the air is either ascending or descending, while the water which appears of a darker color in the photograph is covered with small ripples, and on all occasions I observed that the ripples on one side of the glassy zone were travelling in exactly the opposite direction to those on the other side.

Through the whole of the south of France we hear much of the mistral, or a cold, vertical wind. One may be out driving, the weather may be soft and balmy, when suddenly the carriage enters a chilly zone. The air is travelling downwards, spreading itself out over the surface of the earth, becoming warmed, and ascending at some other point. The cause of these vertical currents is, of course, the same as the cause of all winds. The rays from the sun passing through the highly attenuated upper stratum of the atmosphere do not encounter sufficient resistance to communicate any perceptible heat to the air, but the denser air near the surface of the earth becomes heated by contact with the relatively warm earth. We often have, while the sun is shining, a layer of cold air superposed on a layer of hot air. Now as hot air has a less specific gravity at the same pressure than cold air, it follows that these two layers of air are constantly changing places, the relatively warm air at the surface of the earth ascending, expanding, doing work and becoming cooled, while the cold air from above settles to the earth to take the place of the warm air. The velocity with which these vertical currents move is, say, from one mile to six miles an hour, and their movement is quite independent of any other horizontal current that the air may have as relates to the earth at the same time. These currents may be going on in a valley surrounded by mountains without any other action of the atmosphere. On a plain, however, there is also another action taking place at the same time, but which does not in the least interfere with the vertical action, that is, the whole body of air may be passing along over the surface of the earth at the rate, we will say, of 10 miles an hour, while the vertical action is going on at a velocity of, say, four miles an hour. The soaring of a bird may be compared with a boy sliding downhill on a sled. If a hill is, say, 100 feet high, and the sides

slope off in a horizontal direction 2,000 feet from the summit, and if the snow is smooth, a boy can mount a sled and advance 2,000 feet while he is falling, as relates to the earth, 100 feet; that is, the sled with the boy on it in falling through a distance of one foot develops sufficient power to drive the sled forward twenty feet, but when the boy is at the bottom of the hill and can develop no more power by falling, the sled soon comes to a state of rest. Suppose now that a hill could be made in such a manner that it would constantly rise at such a velocity that the sled would never reach the bottom of the hill, the boy would then be able to slide forever, and this is exactly what occurs with a bird. A bird places its wings in such a position that, as it falls in the air say one foot, it moves forward through the air twenty feet, that is, it slides along on the surface of the air underneath its wings in the same manner that the boy slides down the hill. Suppose now that the velocity of the bird should be about thirty miles an hour, this would account for the whole phenomenon of soaring on an upward current of only one and one-half miles an hour. With an upward current of two miles an hour, the bird would rise, as relates to the earth, one-half a mile an hour while actually falling through the air at the rate of one and one-half miles an hour. There is no doubt that a bird, by some very delicate sense of feeling and touch, is able to ascertain whether it is falling or rising in the air. It is well known that fish have this power. If a surface fish sinks too deeply in the water the compression of its swim bladder produces a sensation or impression upon its brain, which causes the fish to change its course, and relieves the pressure by coming nearer to the surface, and a similar thing is true of the deep sea fish. If they approach the surface their swim bladder becomes enormously distended and no doubt produces a sensation which the fish know is relieved by again sinking into very deep water. If these fish are caught and drawn to the surface, the distension of the swim bladder becomes so great that it displaces all the other organs of the body. In all probability the numerous air cells which are found in the body of a bird are provided with delicate nerves, which operate in a similar manner to those of the swim bladder of a fish, so that as the bird is moving forward through the air it is able to take advantage of a rising column of air. As a whole we may consider that the rising columns of air would be half of the total area of

the earth's surface, so that a soaring bird would always have a rising column of air which would serve as a support.

Referring to the eagles which I saw in the Pyrenees, on one occasion I observed five of these birds about 500 feet above the peak of a mountain and they were balancing themselves in a stationary position on an ascending column of air produced by the wind blowing over the peak, and seemed to be as much at ease as if they were roosting upon a tree. With the albatross and seagull it will be found that they always occupy the same position as relates to the ship. As the ship passes through the air, the air is divided exactly in the same manner as water would be, and as it comes together again at the stern of the ship it produces an upward current, and it is on this ascending column of air that the albatross and the seagull find a resting place and follow the ship for days at a time without any apparent exertion ; but whenever they find themselves in front of the ship or at one side where there is no ascending column of air they have often to work their passage very much as other birds do.

But all birds do not soar. Ducks, geese, partridges and pheasants are types of birds which are provided with comparatively small wings. They only remain on the wing for a short time and while in the air exert an enormous amount of energy and move at a very high velocity. They do not seem to have the power to take advantage of ascending columns of air, but move in a straight line quite independent of air currents, and it is these birds we should seek to imitate in our attempts to navigate the air.

The experiments of Herr Lilienthal are very interesting. He has provided himself with a large pair of wings and a tail. He mounts a high hill and while the wind is blowing up the side of the hill, he throws himself forward with great force against the air and slides down on the ascending column very much as a boy would slide down hill on a sled, his flight being exactly like that of a flying squirrel. The power which drives him onward is of course generated by the act of taking himself and the machine to the top of the hill exactly the same as is the case with the boy and the sled. Lilienthal has certainly proved that it is possible for a man to balance himself in the air, and this at least is a solution of one part of the problem of flight.

Professor Langley has lately made some small flying machines weighing a few pounds which are said to fly a few hundred feet.

Hargraves has also made some small machines weighing a few ounces which are said to fly some two or three hundred feet.

Mr. Phillips, a clever engineer living near London, made a small flying machine some years ago which rested on three wheels and was driven by a steam engine. By bottling up his steam and expending all that he had made in twelve minutes in about half a minute, he was able to drive his machine at a sufficient velocity round a circular track to lift two of the three wheels clear of the track.

My own experiments have been made on a very much larger scale than any heretofore conducted. It appeared to me that all other experimenters had made their apparatus so small as not to be able to get a large amount of power out of a small weight of material. My large machine may be considered as a very large and perfectly made kite, the framework consisting of very light and strong steel tubes and covered top and bottom with balloon cloth, waterproofed, and made very sharp fore and aft. To the sides of this framework wings are attached which are also nothing more nor less than kites. If my large machine should be taken on to a level plain and be anchored to the ground, it would weigh about 8,000 lbs. in a calm, but if the wind were blowing at the rate of forty miles an hour, its weight would be *nil*, while if the wind should be blowing at forty-five miles an hour, it would raise the whole machine and 2,000 lbs. additional weight besides into the air after the manner of a kite. But a wind of forty-five miles an hour does not often occur and cannot of course be depended upon, so I have provided myself with a railway track 600 yards in length. If my machine is run into the air at a velocity of forty-five miles an hour, the result is the same as it would be if the machine were stationary and the wind was blowing at this velocity. Instead of the anchor rope for pulling the machine into the air, I use a pair of very large and well made screw propellers, each driven by a very powerful and light steam engine, and when these engines are running at a steam pressure of 310 lbs. to the square inch, they develop 360 H. P., and produce a thrust on the machine of 2,200 lbs. If the machine were flown like a kite in the air, in a wind blowing at forty-five miles an hour, the strain on the cord which held it against the wind would be 2,200 lbs. Consequently when my screws push the machine forward with a total thrust of 2,000 lbs. in a calm air, the

machine moves forward at forty-five miles an hour and the lifting effect equals the weight of the machine and 2,000 lbs. besides. If I only had an ordinary railway track, some of the wheels of the machine would be sure to leave the track before I had attained a speed of anything like forty miles an hour, so that if I wish to lift all the wheels off the track and not have the machine become unmanageable, it is necessary that I should have something to hold the machine down, and this is accomplished by providing an inverted secondary track just outside and above the ordinary railway track. Outriggers attached to the sides of the machine are provided with four wheels which engage the underneath side of this upper track whenever the machine is lifted clear of the ordinary track. In this way I am able to run my machine to show its lifting effect and still not allow it to get off the track and become unmanageable. In the park where my experiments have been conducted there is barely room for the machine to pass between the large trees, so that manœuvring near the ground is quite out of the question. I have, however, proved that it is possible to make a machine that has sufficient power to lift itself into the air without the agency of a balloon, so it now only remains that I should obtain very much larger premises, unencumbered by trees or buildings, where I can learn to manœuvre my machine. I am only able to devote a small fraction of my time to these experiments, as I am and have been for many years, the managing director of a great English company, but I have put in all the time that I had to spare for the last five years, and the experiments have led me to believe that the flight of man is possible even with a steam engine and boiler. I would, however, advise the young engineers who may read this paper, if they wish to do something to advance the science of aviation, to turn their thoughts in the direction of a petroleum motor. These motors have been greatly improved of late years, and I believe it is the petroleum motor that we must look to in the future as being the engine which will drive our flying machines. Petroleum is cheap and abundant; it may be obtained in any quarter of the globe, and no other substance that we can obtain on a commercial scale contains such an enormous quantity of latent energy.

HIRAM S. MAXIM.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE AGE.

BY THE VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

OUR daily familiarity with the conditions of things around us often hinders our due apprehension of them. Yet it should certainly be our earnest endeavor to amend to the utmost of our power all existent evils, and out of that duty to posterity by which all true men are influenced, to avert, so far as we may, the perils which menace the not distant future. Let us then glance briefly at some of those problems of the close of this nineteenth century, which it is blindness to ignore, and madness not to appreciate in their full significance.

Among those problems and perils are :

I. The enormous growth of stupendous fortunes, without any effectual diminution of those malarious marshes of struggling poverty, and of the waste places fertile in sorrow, which the French describe under the general name of "*La Misère.*" When zones of plethoric riches, of selfish luxury, of materializing egotism, are conterminous with zones of squalid wretchedness and practical heathendom, such juxtaposition, as a wise Bishop has warned us, tends to produce cyclones. In almost all the great capitals of the world you have fashionable churches and millionaire congregations, and, close beside them, masses of torn, lost, ragged, bewildered, neglected sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd. Two nations are placed side by side ; one nation lives in gorgeous palaces, drives in splendid equipages, indulges in an endless round of banquets and every form of material and æsthetic self-indulgence. It breathes perfumed air, is clothed in purple and fine linen, and fares sumptuously every day. There are splendid patches and crimson embroideries on the robe of our civilization, but how seamy and ragged are the edges of that robe! Turn from the priceless superfluities of the rich quarters—from the

fashionable worship and the æsthetic religionism—to streets in which there is not one decent house or one decent woman, the homes of dim pauper generations in which myriads pass their miserable lives. Even physically the air is foul and loaded with pestilence: but morally—who slew all these? Who is responsible for these lounging, loafing, hulking men—brutes more than men? for these dehumanized women?

> "Oh let it not be named for womanhood:
> Think we had mothers!"

And the children? Ah! that is the deepest horror of it all! There are children who, at four years old, have learned to echo the foul language of their parents, and are familiar with their infamies—wretched children, half-sized, half-fed, without health, without home, without hope; children with stunted, shrunken limbs; with the slum-look on their poor, wizened faces, and many of them maimed, or crippled, or full of disease; children who never heard the name of God but to give emphasis to a curse, or to gain credence for a lie. Then look at the girls—coarse, flaunting, slatternly—with the wicked, leering expression on their bold and brazen features, many of them living on the wages of vice! Who is responsible for this blackness of great darkness? Who is responsible for the filthy lanes and reeking pauper-tenements, places horrible to live in, and yet more horrible to die in, foul with oaths, fights, blasphemies, gin, and verminiferous dirt? Two master fiends rage and riot among them—the fiend of drink, enthroned in glaring gin-palaces, whose enormously wealthy owners are exalted to the House of Peers for kindling the ghastly fires in which so many myriads of human moths scorch themselves into shrivelling agony; and the fiend of impurity, filling the souls and bodies of men and women with leprosy, and producing the blighted offspring who in their turn shall be the retributive scourge of the civilization of which they have been the helpless victims.

II. Consider, secondly, the abnormal growth of great cities. It is no mere external phenomenon.

In almost all nations, by a slow and hardly noticed social revolution, the old sweet country life is being merged into the struggling life of towns—a life which has been called "the grave of the physique of our race," which is also, too often, the grave of its morality.

We might take, by way of example, New York, or Paris, or Berlin, or Vienna, or Rome; but take London as one colossal specimen. When clergymen talk or preach about the evils of cities, men of the world shrug their shoulders with cynical apathy, and set it down as professional declamation. Let me then quote the testimony of wise and eminent laymen, to whom the callousness of familiarity has not made London cease to be an apalling phenomenon.

Here is the impression which the world's capital made on the poet-critic of genius, Heinrich Heine:

"This stern reality of things, this colossal uniformity, this machine-like movement, this sour visage worn by joy itself, this high pressure of life, weighs down the fancy, and rends the heart asunder."

"What a wild, wondrous, chaotic den of discord it is!" said Thomas Carlyle, when first he came to London. "I am often wae and awestruck to wander along its crowded streets, and hear the roaring torrent of animals, and carriages, and horses, and men, all rushing they know not whence, they know not whither."

"One thing about London impresses me," said J. Russell Lowell, "above any other sound I have ever heard. It is the low, unceasing hum one hears in the air. When I hear it, I almost feel as if I were listening to the roaring loom of time."

I will quote but one or two more striking testimonies out of many. Consider this overwhelming condemnation of the phenomena of city life by the late Professor Huxley. Describing an East End parish, in which he had lived for some years, he said:

"Over and above the physical misery, the impression has never died out of my mind of the supernatural and entirely astonishing deadness and dulness of these poor people. Over that parish Dante's inscription, '*Leave hope behind, all those who enter here,*' might have been written. There was no amusement to diversify the dull round of life, except the public house; there was nothing to remind the people of anything in the whole universe, beyond their miserable toil, rewarded by slow starvation. In my experience of all kinds of savages all over the world I found nothing worse, nothing more degraded, nothing more helpless, nothing so intolerably dull and miserable, as the life I had left behind me in the East End of London. Nothing would please me more than to contribute to the bettering of that state of things, *which, unless wise and benevolent men take it in hand, will tend to become worse and worse, and to create something worse than savagery—a great Serbonian bog, which in the long run will swallow up the surface crust of civilization.*"

Here again is the impression left by London on two such emi-

nent living observers as Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chauncey Depew:

"I am always haunted," says Lord Rosebery, "by the awfulness of London; of the great appalling effect of these millions, cast down, as it would appear, by hazard, on the banks of this noble stream, working each in their own groove, and their own cell, without heeding each other, without having the slightest idea how the other lives—the heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men. Cobbett called London 'a wen.' If it was a wen *then*, what is it now but a tumor, sucking into its great system half the life and the blood of the rural districts?"

"One Sunday," said Mr. Chauncey Depew, "I traversed the Whitechapel district, and saw a sight it is impossible to see anywhere else in the world. Such poverty, such misery, such wretchedness, such a seething furnace of ignorance, and all the attendants upon it, I never saw before, and never expect to see again. I felt that that great city, with its magnificent palaces, with every evidence, in part of it, of the greatest wealth and the largest luxury, *rests upon a volcano, which only needs the force of civilization to loosen upon it, to produce a catastrophe which would shock the world.*"

Once more consider the terrible, but perfectly accurate, lines of Lord Tennyson:

"Is it well that, while we range with Science, glorying in the time,
City children soak and blacken, soul and sense, in city slime?
There among the glooming alleys Progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands on the street.
There the master scrimps the haggard seamstress of her daily bread,
There a single crowded attic holds the living and the dead;
There the smouldering fire of fever creeps along the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor."

III. Thirdly, is there nothing to cause anxiety in the huge unparalleled *growth of population?* It has so greatly alarmed France that there a large family is a rare exception, and there in consequence the population is diminishing. In India, the rapid increase of population has already caused the depression of vast masses of the people into almost chronic starvation. In England, densely overcrowded England, the births exceed the deaths by hundreds a day, and what shall we do in the end thereof? Even now there is severe and almost overwhelming competition. Advertise that you want a clerk on £100 a year, who will have to work any number of hours a day, and you will get many scores of eager and anxious applicants. Already in England the depression has reached whole classes—the *tenant farmers,* of whom many are on the verge of bankruptcy; the smaller *shopkeepers* who suffer from over-competition, and the inevitably changing conditions of trade; the *clerks,* whose little-skilled employment

is rendered less valuable by the thousands who crowd their ranks in the belief that clerkship is more respectable than mechanical labor; the *clergy*, of whom large numbers, suffering from the agricultural depression, are entangled in painful difficulties; the *working-classes*—who are indeed hardly a class, but are the backbone of the nation—whose employment not only becomes more and more irregular and uncertain, but many of whom are dispossessed by foreigners, who can work longer, are better trained, and can live on less. Meanwhile the increase of population which is going on is mainly the increase of the unfit; it is 10 per cent. more rapid in the slums than in the squares, and its fermenting and irrepressible rapidity—which has multiplied the inhabitants of England more in this fragment of a century than it had been multiplied in eight centuries after the Norman conquest—is largely due to the curse of disgracefully early marriages between half-developed boys and girls who enter on the estate of matrimony "within half a crown of destitution." Add to all our other difficulties the fact that our whole industrial system may, at no distant date, be endangered by tremendous hurricanes of disturbance, and if, at any time, the diminished profits of the capitalist should end in glutted markets, in paralyzing strikes, in commercial stagnation, in the alienation to foreign and especially to Eastern lands of many of our most important trades—if, instead of tens of thousands, we should soon have hundreds of thousands of the unemployed upon our hands, must it not be admitted that very dark days may be within measurable distance of our present conditions of society ?

IV. The dangerous elements to which I have alluded tend ever to increase and multiply. It might have been thought that national misgiving is inconsistent with the growth—or rather with the advance by leaps and bounds—of natural resources. The increase of our income has, indeed, been enormous—greater, as Mr. Gladstone has said, from 1800 to 1850 than from the days of Julius Cæsar to 1800, and from 1850 to 1880 than from 1800 to 1850—so that now our annual income is asserted to be quite £1,300,000,000 a year, and our national investments are calculated at £200,000,000 a year. Yet though the actual laborers are ever being multiplied, "the fund available for them becomes a constantly decreasing factor of the national wealth"; and while the rich are growing richer great masses of the poor are growing

relatively poorer, so that in large parts of England a considerable fraction of the population is living continually on the dim borderland of pauperism.

In ancient Rome such contrasts of

> "Wealth a monster gorged
> Mid starving populations"

were deemed ominous. In ancient cities there were the dark shadows always flung by a brilliant civilization—there were the gladiators, and the slaves—but in modern cities too there is "a certain mass of crushed and unreclaimed humanity, the canker that feeds on the exuberance of its luxury, and perforates it with misery and decadence." "There is," said Mr. J. Russell Lowell, "a poison in the sores of Lazarus, against which Dives has no antidote."

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

VI. And it must, I fear, be sorrowfully admitted that one bad omen of these days is the *deficiency of adequate charity*. In London the hospitals are the most popular of all the charities; and yet in that wealthiest city in the world there is scarcely one of the hospitals which is not burdened with deficits, and compelled to issue despairing appeals. The sum expended in our charities is loudly vaunted and sounds large, but the reality of charity is tested not by the *quantum* but by the *ex quanto*. On what is called "Hospital Sunday," in every church of every religious denomination, London is appealed to in hundreds of earnest and even impassioned sermons. What is the result? Only from £40,000 to £50,000! and the next day you read that £76,000 or £100,000 has been emulously poured out by a handful of rich people at Christie's, to purchase buhl, or bric-à-brac, or Queen Anne plate, or Louis Quatorze furniture, and that more has been bidden for a piece of ormolu or a gold snuffbox, or three Sèvres vases than is contributed by several of our wealthiest congregations. Our much belauded charities are, when nationally estimated, a proof of our meanness, not a monument of our munificence.

Yet an experienced civil engineer warns us that "we are on the verge of a revolution in thought and practice, and the only way to make this revolution harmless, and even beneficial, is to give, freely and betimes, that which else will be taken later on."

VII. These things being so, *the growth of democracy*, the power of the workingmen, the demands of the Socialists and of the independent labor party, are not without a sinister significance. Pope Leo XIII. would not have written his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* if he had not been aware of the extent to which labor questions are coming to the front. We cannot put our ears to the ground and listen, without hearing the low murmur of the swelling tide of the people. "I see them rising to their feet," says the eloquent Bishop of Derry, "the greatest host that time has ever known, and hear the murmur of millions speaking to millions across the sea in many languages. What there is in the gospel to rectify the relations of human life, to elevate the selfishness of capital and chasten the selfishness of labor, to carry to the homes improvement in the present and hope for the future, that will find eager listeners. But to the men of the near future religion will appear a barren and worthless stem unless it be taught to clothe itself with the blossom of worship, and to bear the fruits of human love." But if that be so, it is sad to observe how angry and how contemptuous is the attitude toward the Church and the churches among the artisans and laborers in many centres of commercial and agricultural industry.

Now, amid all these grave conditions, is there any hope ? We know, and many years ago Mr. Gladstone eloquently reminded us, that: "It is against the ordinance of Providence, it is against the interests of man, that immediate reparation should be possible when long-continued evils had been at work; for one of the strongest safeguards against misdoing would be removed, if at any moment the consequence of misdoing could be repaired." But if there be no hope of an immediate Utopia, is there no hope of gradual amelioration ?

Yes ! there is, if nations remain true to the lessons of the Gospel. It is the *only* gospel for the many and for the poor. They can look to no other source of help, hope, or comfort. Science has no gospel for them, and can point them to nothing but vast, mysterious, inexorable laws "which have no ear to hear, no heart to pity, and no arm to save." Political economy has no gospel for them, but the cruel demonstration that the weak must go to the wall, and that those who stumble in the race can only be trampled pitilessly down under the hoof of advancing

generations. Socialism has no gospel for them, but only the false hopes held out by impossible theories, which, if even for a time they were carried out by anarchic violence, would only plunge mankind into more unutterable ruin. But true religion *can* create convictions which will inspire them with courage, energy, and hope; which by the extinction of vice and drunkenness, will give them even amid poverty and struggle, a power to raise themselves into the true self-respect of those who have the dignity of God's image upon them, and the sign of their redemption visibly marked upon their foreheads.

If then another characteristic of this age be *the decay of faith*, it is the worst omen of all. Is there this decay of faith? It is at least a perilous sign that, in many Christian countries, thousands choose atheists, and socialists, and men of no religion, and men of religions utterly hostile to their own, to represent them in their Congresses and Parliaments; that not ten per cent. of the working classes go to church or receive the eucharist; that in France, Spain and Italy Roman Catholicism —on the testimony of Roman Catholics themselves—has so completely lost all hold on the manhood of the Continent that millions of nominal Roman Catholics do not even pretend to follow out the most elementary external rules and requirements of their religion; that among all English-speaking races the word Agnosticism—though a word of yesterday—is descriptive of a widespread mental phenomenon; that leading newspapers discuss such questions as "whether they have not been, on the whole, a curse to the world?" that the "Catechism" of Free Thinkers is widely spread among our working classes; that powerful governments have erased from their statute books the name of God.

Some readers may perhaps ask whether it is the object of this paper to point to pessimistic conclusions. I answer by no means. "Our healing," says Mr. Lowell, "is not in the storm or in the whirlwind; it is not in monarchies or aristocracies, or democracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to wider and wider humanity." The regeneration of society has always come from individuals; never from committees. It will not be achieved, it never has been achieved by legislation. It cannot possibly be brought about by violence. Verbal orthodoxy is absolutely powerless to accomplish reformations. Ceremonial religionism may co-

exist and has often co-existed with the most detestable enormities. But let each true Christian man live up to his profession, let him walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called, let him boldly rebuke vice and be ready patiently to suffer for the truth's sake, and then that salt of sincerity has *not* lost its savor, and will be adequate for the regeneration of the world. It is the duty of every one of us, to the best of our power, to claim and to reclaim; to build upon the foundations, or if that has become impossible, to rebuild among the ruins; to break up the fallow-ground, and make the old waste places blossom as the rose. Then shall we be called "the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in." We are called upon neither to groan, nor to despond, but to work. When Lord Reay breathed the somewhat vapid wish, "Well, God mend all." "*Nay!*" answered Sir David Ramsay, "*Nay, Donald, but we must help Him to mend it.*"

Let us lay it down as an unalterable law that God never does for man, what man can and ought to do for himself. We have seen for generations that

> "God can never make man's best,
> Without best men to help Him."

But when once we rouse ourselves to genuine Altruism, there is no knowing what even the humblest may not accomplish. "A common slave" says the great tragedy,

> "A common slave—you know him well by sight—
> Held up his left hand, which did flame and burn
> Like twenty torches joined: and yet his hand,
> Not sensible of fire, remained unscorched."

There is not one of us so humble that we may not become like that poor slave. There is no hand, which if bravely uplifted to God in the service of men amid the dark world and its doing faith, may not burn in testimony "like twenty torches joined"—illuminating, strengthening, warning, revivifying, hastening the final dominance of that kingdom which even now is, and shall be more and more.

F. W. FARRAR.

THE MICROBE AS A SOCIAL LEVELLER.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

THE germ idea of Socialism, that all members of the body politic are theoretically and should be practically joint partners in one great co-operative state, which should paternally look after the affairs of each and should, by supplementing the individual efforts with the aggregate of influence and wealth, thereby insure individual prosperity, was not promulgated for the first time when Mr. Bellamy published his successful book, *Looking Backward.* In Plato's *Republic* and Bacon's *Utopia,* not to mention other ideal states, the theory so fascinating to the weak and those who have found themselves outstripped in the race of life was worked out to the full. The power of the state, the power inherent in many large community of men, that power which we all realize exists, has more than once in the dreams of men taken the place of the good fairy of the nursery tale and, with a wave of the magic wand, made all men prosperous and happy. It is a fascinating idea, the community of interest and helpfulness, the utilization of the power of all for the good of all, the loyal service given by each to all, and the gracious protection and aid given by all to each.

More than this, the theory, like the majority of theories, rests on a basis of fact. Not only has co-operation in its crudest form done much for men, as in the English co-operative stores, but in a more complicated manifestation, such as an insurance company, it has proved itself capable of great good. I am not certain, however, whether these two examples do not illustrate at once the value and the weakness of co-operation. While the stores in England have enabled those belonging to them to get more for their incomes, and have thus done these people good, it may be questioned whether, when there is set down on the other page of the ledger

the number of individual trades people driven out of business by the stores, the net result to the nation at large is on the credit side. On the other hand, the majority of those who pay their money to insure their homes against fire really pay a little more than the companies ever pay back. Co-operation here merely comes in to assume the burden in case the insured should not have time to protect himself by his payments. In other words, if the individual shall, through circumstances beyond his control, be prevented from protecting himself, his fellows will protect him. The principle at the base of this is directly opposed to Socialism, because it demands as the primary condition that the individual shall help himself.

From the standpoint of the Socialist, all men are bound to help each other. The anti-Socialist, on the other hand, bases his theories of political and social economy solely on individual effort. The Socialist claims that if all will only unite, each will be prosperous to a greater degree than he can possibly be when left to struggle unaided. The anti-Socialist declares that if each will struggle to the measure of his ability, all will be prosperous. Facts as they exist to-day are on the side of the latter; for those nations which are the most prosperous of all—such nations as England, France, and the United States—are those in which individual effort is most untrammelled by "paternalism" in government. Whether we should see equal prosperity in a Socialistic nation we cannot tell, simply because there is at the present time no Socialistic nation. Nor can we appeal to the past, because while there are many instances of "paternalism"—witness Spain under Philip the Second—there is no one in which the people have governed and have directed this "paternalism" to their own good. So far as Socialistic principles in political economy are concerned, we are obliged to look on them as theories only, and therefore, however good they may be, as "not proven."

While it may be true that individual effort is the real foundation of national prosperity, when the theory of individuality is carried to its legitimate conclusion—namely, that no one man has any interest in any other, except so far as their mutual relations bring profit to each—we are able to say, without hesitation, the theory is false. It is not only in material things that the prosperity of each is dependent on that of his fellows. Disease binds the human race together as with an unbreakable chain. More than

this, the industrial development of the world has enlarged this chain until now all nations are embraced within its band. Nothing is easier than for a man with a comfortable income, which is amply sufficient for his wants, to say the poverty of his neighbor or fellow-citizen is of little interest to him. Nothing is easier to say, nothing is more false in fact.

What we call hygiene has grown with the discoveries made by those clever men who have devoted their lives to the study, until now it is a recognized science. Its laws have been formulated and their operation is well understood. Not wholly, be it observed, for there are many things about them we do not yet know—as, for example, the effect on the contagion of disease produced by Telluric atmospheric and perhaps solar conditions ; that there is a connection is believed by many scientific men, and is not wholly denied even by those who do not consider the evidence so far to be conclusive. Still, while there is much yet to be discovered, enough has been learned to enable us to fight disease in a way undreamed of by our forefathers. The science of hygiene is the science of the prevention of disease ; and it is the aim of all physicians now to so guard their patients as to have no disease to treat. This has been rendered possible by the discovery, by Pasteur and others, of the microbes of disease, of the "infinitely little" organisms, which produce particular ailments in humanity. This discovery was in two parts: first, that contagious diseases are caused by microbes ; second, that contagious diseases produce microbes which either as microbes or their products will in turn produce the disease in those who are well.

The discovery of the microbes and of the work they do has naturally resulted in the community preparing itself for the fight with these little enemies. The work of boards of health is very different to-day from that which similar bodies performed twenty-five years ago. Of course the fact of the contagion of disease was known a thousand years back, and the experience of mankind was reflected in such institutions as the quarantine. But the efforts put forth against contagion rested with quarantine for a long time. If disease broke out in a city, as the plague broke out in London during the reign of Charles the Second, the physicians were at a loss. The people had but one safeguard—they ran away, and thus carried the disease to other parts of the country. It would be impossible to-day for the plague to ravage any

city in the civilized world as it ravaged London, simply because, although we do not definitely know what the plague was—it is believed to have been typhus fever by many—we are certain it was a disease caused by and developing microbes, we should fight it exactly as we fight any contagious disease, and we should win the same victory. It is owing to the discovery of the laws of hygiene, and their practical application, that we are enabled to check disease when it appears, to seize it and say it shall not spread. The record of the work of the Board of Health of the city of New York during the outbreak of cholera in 1892 may be fairly said to be an example of absolute control of contagious disease.* While there were eleven cases of cholera, there was not one secondary case. In other words, there was not one case in which the contagion travelled from the sick to the well. While the cases produced the microbes of the disease, these were destroyed as fast as they appeared; and, so far as that outbreak was concerned, the contagion of cholera was practically annihilated. This record has never been excelled, simply because it never could be. It was a perfect victory for the science of hygiene.

While the communities have, through their boards of health, prepared for the battle with contagious disease, and while they can trust with perfect confidence to their defences, the work of the men employed in those boards reveals to them more clearly day by day the close connection which exists between the health interests of all members of the community, be these rich or poor. The microbe of disease is no respecter of persons; it cannot be guarded against by any bank account, however large. True it is that nature herself has set many defences in the path of the microbe, and that these, when the body is well nourished, warmly clad, and properly housed, are generally worthy of being relied on. So far wealth will protect, for he whose health is not weakened by external conditions is less apt to contract disease. But it is unfortunately true in this country that the competition which has grown out of the untrammelled individual effort is so keen and the stress and strain of life so great that the demands on the nervous strength are heavier than those made during any period of which we have knowledge. Excessive demands on nervous strength are even worse than those on the physical, when

* Foreshadowed in article published in NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1892, "Safeguards Against Cholera."

the ability to resist disease is under consideration, because the greatest safeguard of all is that mysterious thing we call vitality, and nervous exhaustion in degree attacks or rather lessens this, first of all. It is the fact, therefore, in this American life, that the conditions surrounding those who have wealth are such as to lessen the value of that wealth when looked at as a safeguard against the microbes beginning their deadly work.

The Socialistic side of the microbe is to be found, then, in the fact that we may only fight diseases in a community by meeting it everywhere. We cannot separate the tenement-house district from the portion of the city where the residences of the wealthy stand, and treat this as being a separate locality. The disease we find in the tenement-house threatens all alike, for a hundred avenues afford a way by which the contagion may be carried from the tenement to the palace. We must, if we would guard the health of the people, look on them as being one whole, not as being several communities, each complete in itself. Their health interests are in common, and the conditions affecting them have many points of resemblance. If the tenant of the tenement be susceptible to disease, because of poor food and insufficient clothing, the inmate of the mansion has his vitality weakened by the worry and anxiety inseparable from business life.

To the man of wealth, therefore, there is a direct and very great interest in the well-being of the man of poverty. The former cannot afford to sit at his well-covered table and forget the absence of food in the latter's poor room, because that absence of food means, sooner or later, that disease will break out in the room, and the microbes or their spores will in time pass the heavy curtains on the windows of the mansion to find their prey inside. This is the Socialism of the microbe, this is the chain of disease, which binds all the people of a community together.

It is at first somewhat difficult to understand the connection between the prosperous man in this country and the poor, ignorant, down-trodden peasant of such a country as Russia. Yet, see how plain it is. The crops in five provinces of Russia failed almost entirely in the summer and fall of 1889, and a wide-spread famine, during which many thousands died, was the result. A simple influenza, a species of almost harmless although contagious inflammation of the mucous membranes, attacked these famine-reduced people. Owing to their ill-fed condition, this influenza was

intensified in character under the law discovered by Pasteur, that contagion may be either intensified or attenuated by the medium through which it is caused to pass. Thus a virulent form of *grippe* was produced, a contagious disease having the power of exhausting the vital energy of those attacked to an almost incredible degree. The disease spread rapidly, it journeyed along the travelled roads of commerce to Germany, France, and England, until it at last reached the United States. It attacked those persons whose vitality was low, and it brought many hundreds of people to the grave. So there were many funerals in this country because the crops failed in those Russian provinces, and because, in consequence, thousands of Russian peasants were reduced to starvation.

This is as good an illustration of the intimate health relation existing between all men in the world to-day as I could offer. It would not be hard to find others: the Board of Health of New York city had to fight the cholera because there was an unusual drought in Persia, near the city of Meshed, when the pilgrims gathered there in 1891 at the tomb of a Mohammedan saint.

If these things are true of the world at large, how much more intimate must be the connection between the health interests of the people of the same city? The efforts which are being made at the present time to alleviate the suffering and to give work to the unemployed are not all charity. They are a real effort on the part of those who have the money to defend themselves and the community at large from disease.

During the great famines that affected the countries of Europe and Asia in the Middle Ages, and since, for every death that occurred from starvation and its consequent exhaustion, ten persons lost their lives from infectious diseases that originated or were intensified by the privations entailed by distress.

In the sixteenth century the frightful condition of the prisons and the sufferings of the prisoners caused an outbreak of typhus fever, which killed not alone the wretched criminal, but also the justices on the bench, who were thus punished for their tolerance of the conditions in which the disease found its birth. This is the lesson taught by history, which to-day we see by the light of the great discoveries of sanitary science. We might call it the Moral of the Past, as seen through the Microscope.

CYRUS EDSON.

A STUDY IN WIVES.

BY MAX O'RELL, GRANT ALLEN, KARL BLIND, AND H. H. BOYESEN.

THE FRENCH WIFE.

THE politics of matrimony is a science inborn in French women. Let a French woman be the mistress of a superb mansion in the Champs-Elysées or of a poor little fifth-floor flat, she always has the charm of feminality. However poor she may be, she is always tidy, smart, alert, *bien coiffée, bien gantée* and *bien chaussée.* She has a little bustling, fluttering way about her that will always keep your interest in her alive. Every one of her movements is supple and artistic. To lift her dress modestly and gracefully as she crosses a muddy street, she has not her equal in the world. She may be sometimes, I confess, a little affected, but she is never vulgar, and when she speaks to you you cannot guess from her speech whether she is the wife of what society calls a gentleman or not. Put a little French seamstress or milliner in the most aristocratic drawing-room for an hour, thanks to her keen power of observation and her native adaptability, she will, at the end of that hour, talk, cross the room, sit down, rise, leave the room as simply, as naturally, as the most high-born lady in it.

Her constant aim is to be interesting to her husband. She multiplies herself. In turn she is his friend, his confidante, his partner in business, his chum, and, if I may use the word in its best and most refined sense, his mistress. She is forever changing her appearance. For instance, you will seldom see a French married woman wear her hair in the same way longer than three or four weeks. She knows that love feeds on trifles, on illusion, on suggestion. She knows that, when a man loves his wife, a

rose in her hair, a new frock, a bonnet differently trimmed, will revive in him the very emotion that he felt when he held in her his arms for the first time. She also knows that the very best dishes may sometimes become insipid if always served with the same sauce.

She understands to a supreme degree the poetry of matrimony. I have heard men say that matrimony kills poetry. The fools! There is no poetry outside of it. And the poetry has all the more chance to live long in French matrimonial life because our wedding ceremony is not, as in England, the end of courtship, but only the beginning of it. In France, when you have married your wife, you have to win her, and the process is very pleasant. I have often told my English friends that if in their country there were not so many kisses indulged in before the wedding ceremony, there would be a great many more administered after it. Why is the French woman of forty so attractive? Because every feature of her face shows that she has been petted and loved.

But, some Englishmen have said to me, in France couples marry without knowing anything of each other. That is true.

In England I have known couples who had been engaged ten years and who were still hoping to know something of each other. Poor couples! They might be engaged fifty years without attaining that end! Life, during an engagement, consists of sentimental walks, the repetition of the same story. The sky is serene, the sea is smooth. How do they know they are good sailors until they have been in the same boat in a good big storm?

Ah, let misfortunes come, to say nothing of the price of butter and the length of the butcher's bill! When they are engaged and they leave their respective homes to meet, they look at themselves in the glass to see there is nothing amiss about their toilet. They are on their best behavior; they put a bridle on their tongues. But, put them married, of an evening, one each side of the fireplace, he sulking over a book with his slippers on (his slippers on, what an utter want of respect to a woman!) and she with her curl papers. True love may get over the curl papers, but it must be very, very true. And why curl papers? Let us talk about it. Why, you will say, to be beautiful, to be sure! Oh, but when? *Only to-morrow.* That is too late. A French

woman is never visible before noon, not even to her husband, because all the morning she has her curl papers on, so as to be beautiful the same evening. Do you see the difference? Do you understand how practical this is?

Through French life, the married woman goes on the principle laid down by Balzac, that a man who penetrates into his wife's dressing-room is either a fool or a philosopher. She does want him to be a philosopher, and she takes great care that he does not make a fool of himself.

MAX O'RELL.

THE ENGLISH WIFE.

THERE is no one ideal of the English wife—because there is no one ideal of anything in England. The English nation, as Matthew Arnold long ago pointed out, consists of three distinct and mutually antagonistic elements,—the aristocracy, the middle class, and the artisans and laborers. Each of these has its own ideas, if any; each of these goes its own way in utter isolation, unaffected by the ideas that obtain above or below it. I shall, therefore, treat of the three elements separately, beginning, as is natural, at the lowest rung of the ladder.

The ideal wife of the laboring classes is a housewife and mother of the antique Teutonic pattern. She rules the kitchen. Before she married, she went out to service for some years in a gentleman's house, where she acquired those habits of neatness and tidiness which stand her in good stead in her husband's cottage. She was cook or housemaid or "general"—a "general" is best for the working man; and she knows how to make ten shillings a week go as far as the condition of the market can carry it. After "keeping company" with her young man from sixteen to twenty-four, she succeeds in marrying him. She is a mother of ten children living, "and five in the churchyard," which last episode she regards as a natural incident of maternity. She brings them all up to be neat and tidy like herself, sends them to board-school betimes, with shoes and stockings on their feet, and puts them out in the world to the best advantage as soon as they have passed the sixth standard. The boys go to trades, for she means them to rise; for the girls, she gets places in a gentleman's family—for choice the rector's—where they are well taken

care of. She sends the little ones to church neatly dressed on Sunday, and sometimes goes herself, but not too often, for she must stop at home to cook the one hot weekly dinner. When she shows up at church or chapel at all, it is chiefly in the evening; after which she may go for a walk with "her man" and gossip with her neighbors. She has the profoundest faith in her well-meaning husband, and often remarks that "no woman hadn't never a better man than our Joe;" he seldom strikes her, except when he's been drinking; and even then, he's always sorry for it afterwards. She manages to extract from him by dexterous coaxing every Saturday night the greater part of his wages, save only so much as the common feeling of virile dignity compels him to retain for expenditure at the public house. She never grumbles about his pipe and his tobacco. She sends him his "vittles," hot in a can, to the place where he works, by one of the children. She spends her life in hard toil, endless household drudgery; she washes and cooks and sews and makes beds for her husband, herself, and her ten clean little ones, their faces are almost as white as their pinafores; yet she believes in God in a blind sort of way, and attaches great importance to religious ceremonies. But she has no soul; how could she find time to attend to one? She is the material ideal of a materialized, brutalized, soulless peasantry; she does her duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call her with a heroism that moves one's respectful pity.

The ideal wife of the middle classes touches far higher planes. She can play the piano! As a girl, she was brought up at a good average school, where she learnt to be a lady, and not much else save to write an invitation. She is usually good looking, buxom and bright as a girl, rather than refined or spiritual. Her cheeks are rosy. He meets her, falls in love with her (if the phrase may stretch so far), and straightway gets engaged to her. She is faithful to him with a fidelity that knows no faltering. She does not idealize him, but she loves him dearly, and believes with touching faith in his solid goodness. She thinks John perfect. After some years of waiting they are rich enough to marry, and she settles down at once into the purely domestic wife and mother. Her function is not to live her own life or expand her own soul, but to play the part of his social representative. She is an appanage of his respectability. She presides with solemn

and silent dignity at the head of his table. She drives out with portly pride in his carriage, when he gets one. She calls on his friends' wives, and asks their daughters in due rotation to tea and tennis. She produces six wholesome-looking children herself at measured intervals, and spends most of her time thenceforth in frittering uselessly over their nursery arrangements. She takes no part whatsoever in her husband's business, and asks no questions about it; she contents herself with spending her housekeeping money wisely, to the best advantage, and dressing herself and her pretty children as creditably as possible on their respective allowances. She keeps the home beautiful, with antimaccassars and white muslin curtains. She continues to play the piano in a progressively feeble way till the girls succeed her, but she makes no other sacrifices to the strange gods of culture. She is not much of a novel reader; into poetry or general literature, still less into science or thought or politics, she makes no wild excursions. Her domain is the drawing-room; in her husband's mind she represents the social and gracefully artistic, or emotional, side of his serious existence. For him, the counting-house; for her, the parlor! As she grows old she develops laterally into the British matron—an awesome person of a certain size, a certain age, and great social distinction. She then devotes herself wholly to her girls and boys, trying to make the first into replicas of herself, and to prevent the last from doing in early life exactly as their dear father did. She carries the whole family triumphantly to church, and marries her daughters well to men of excellent principles. She is the simple and unattractively virtuous ideal of a solid, stolid, unimaginative *bourgeoisie.*

The ideal wife of the aristocracy—does not exist. The British aristocrat has no ideals. He was born cynical, with a good-humored, matter-of-fact, man-of-the-world sort of cynicism; and he carries his congenital creed unabashed through the world with him. He sows his wild oats in many fields; then he marries, for the settlements. His wife is rich, or beautiful, or both; she lives in society. He and she go their own ways forthwith; and those ways usually land one or other in the divorce court. Occasionally both of them reach that goal together. They smile and part, after rearranging the settlements which form the practical basis; thence they drift into the world once more, and begin

again *da capo*. Their ideal is to enjoy themselves; in their own reckless way they usually attain it.

GRANT ALLEN.

THE GERMAN WIFE.

WHEN a German is asked about the best qualities of the women of his fatherland, he is, first of all, apt to think of those who have written and sung in their praise since olden times. Our cultured classes are very much historically inclined. Their thoughts, therefore, easily go back to Tacitus, who says that, in the opinion of our forefathers, "something sacred and prophetic attached to women; that their councils did not remain disregarded, their utterances not undervalued."

The Roman author speaks of the famed prophetess, Veleda, of Aurinia, and other women held in high veneration. Not servile flattery, he adds, was conferred upon the female sex, as if it were composed of goddesses. But so fondly were husbands devoted to their wives, so great was the respect paid to womankind in general, that the idea of any of them falling into the enemy's hands was more unbearable to a German than the prospect of his own captivity. In battle mothers and wives tended the wounded, and their applause of bravery was looked upon as the highest reward. Their prayers and laments as to the fate which would await womenfolk in case of defeat often produced a fresh, courageous rally among the shaken ranks of a sorely-pressed warrior host. In several chapters Tacitus draws a remarkable picture of the ideal state of things as regards marriage among that primitive Teuton nation, conveying thereby a manifest, though veiled, satire upon the manners and morals prevailing in his home at Rome. "A German wife," he also says, "was not to look upon herself as being outside the world of thought of struggling men. The very ceremonies of her union to a husband were to remind her that she was to be his associate in trials and dangers."

But enough of classic testimony, of which there is plenty. When we come to the Middle Ages, there is a wealth of poetical ffusions among our Minnesingers in honor of German women and wives. Foremost among them stands Walther von der Vogelweide, the greatest lyrical bard of his time in Germany, whose renown shone through many following centuries. He "had seen

many lands, and with the best people he had become well acquainted; but evil, he thought, should befall him if foreign manners were to please him more. Between the Elbe and the Rhine, and up to the frontiers of the Hungarian land, he had found the best women of the world; they were like unto angels." "Virtue and pure love—he who seeks them (says Walther) should come to our country, where there is a fullness of bliss. Oh, may I long live there!"

There is occasionally a different strain between those rapturous pæans even in Walther. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, who wrote a book called "Frauendienst" (Worship of Women), is also responsible for a later one, in which, in the form of a dialogue, the decay of chivalrous love is deplored, and the fault mutually thrown by a knight and a noble lady upon each other's sex. But it must not be forgotten that these amatory productions of our mediæval singers, especially of those of aristocratic descent, had always a tinge of the artificial in them. They rather point to the special customs of a class whose poetical spokesmen were in the habit of celebrating love adventures of a sometimes risky kind under the garb of an almost eccentric use of purity talk.

Famous in mediæval German tradition is the history or tale of the *Weibertreu* ("Wives' Fidelity"), which has been sung by Bürger. It refers to the siege of the town of Weinsberg, in Suabia, by the Emperor Konrad III., in the twelfth century, when, after the capitulation, the men who had offered a long and stiffnecked resistance were sentenced *en masse* to death, whilst their wives were to be allowed to leave without hindrance, taking with them, "what was most precious to them." Instead of clothes and jewelry, as was expected, they came out of the stronghold with their husbands on their backs. It is, at any rate, a pretty tale, typifying the ideal German wife of the burgher class.

It need not be said that in the many centuries which followed upon the literary epochs of the Minnesingers and of the Mastersingers, or civic bards, the praise of women is occasionally varied by pungent squibs. That is an inevitable result of the march of civilization which produces many and different types. Yet even so great and merciless a satirist as Fischart, the German Rabelais of the sixteenth century, has wonderfully sweet descriptions of the happiness of domestic life, of the soothing ways and manners

of the true *Hausfrau* and of the tender love between parents and children. However, it would lead too far, considering the restricted space allotted to the contributions to this symposium to say more of Fischart's or of the many modern poets' and writers' references to the ideal German woman. Goethe, in his *Torquato Tasso,* makes the Princess say:

"Willst du genau erfahren, was sich ziemt,
So frage nur bei edlen Frauen an."

This has become a standard quotation in German literature. Again, who does not know Schiller's poem:

"Würde der Frauen"—
Ehret die Frauen! sie flechten und weben
Himmlische Rosen in's irdische Leben—

or his "Song of the Bell," in which the true wife and mother is depicted at the side of the hard-striving husband, in noblest terms which have become household words in the Fatherland?

Did Schiller mean by these pictures of domestic bliss to shut out women from the larger concerns of patriotic aspirations and from care for the cause of freedom as against tyranny? Let anyone who has a doubt on the point read Schiller's grand drama, *Wilhelm Tell.* There, Gertrude, the wife of Stauffacher, is most prominent as urging on the men to rise against oppression. She, before all, gives counsel, both wise and courageous, to her own husband, quite in the style of German women of Tacitus' time. In the same powerful drama, the peasant women are drawn in similar traits of love for popular freedom; refusing, as they do, to bow before the hat which Gessler has had planted on a pole as the sign of his autocratic rule.

Whilst I am writing this, there comes news of a speech of Prince Bismarck, in which he alleges that fifty years ago no German woman busied herself with national affairs, but that now the times are changed for the better! The ex-Chancellor has for years made many speeches in the most contradictory sense. On this occasion he simply forgot the enthusiastic conduct of a mass of German women in the War of Deliverance against Napoleon I., and the sacrifices made by them for patriotic objects. He forgot, or he purposely ignored, the fact of the hearts of vast numbers of German women having been in the cause of national freedom and union during the forties, and the ardent sympathy

they showed with the champions of liberty in 1848–49, as well as the risks and sufferings, in the way of persecution and imprisonment, which some of them underwent in those years of storm and stress.

To be, not "platform mothers," but good housewives, and at the same time to take a deep interest in all that is good and noble in literature and art; to make a happy home, to bring up children with fond care, and also to think of, and so far as the difference of sex allows, to act for the public weal of their country and for the intellectual, moral, and social progress of humanity at large; such in the opinion of the best among us, be they men or women, is the ideal German wife.

KARL BLIND.

THE SCANDINAVIAN WIFE.

AT a time when all ideals are rapidly changing it is difficult to furnish even an approximate description which will not be challenged. The kind of ideal wife of whom Norse youths dreamed twenty years ago, whom the poets sang and the painters painted, is now reported to be in the process of extinction; and the new species of femininity which is said to be taking her place would feel insulted by being associated with the term ideal. A Norwegian young lady of good family, who some years ago was a guest in my house, could see nothing improper in exploring the Bowery and Hester Street by night in the company of a male and a female friend, and when I meekly objected to her striking up an acquaintance with gentlemen in Central Park of a Sunday she laughed in my face and told me *sans cérémonie* that I was an old fogy. My ideas of propriety she intimated were moss-grown, antedeluvian, and smacked of the ancient period of bondage which, happily, was now at an end.

During a recent visit to Norway I discovered that this type of woman, so far from being exceptional, is exceedingly common. She certainly occupies the front of the stage, is all-pervasive and ubiquitous. During the summer you meet her on the public highways, with her knapsack on her back, on foot or on a bicycle, attended or unattended, snapping her finger in the face of all old-fashioned notions of decorum. I cannot conceive what kind of wife she would make, because I cannot conceive of the kind of man who would have the audacity to marry her. And yet she

does not infrequently marry. I cannot help suspecting that she must, in such a case, have exercised the right, which she claims, of choosing, instead of waiting to be chosen; and the poor man, in his embarrassment, has evidently lacked the courage to exercise his right of refusing, instead of waiting to be refused.

Now, I do not claim, of course, that this "virago of the brain," this representative of "the third sex" (to quote Mr. Le Galienne), is the ideal woman of Scandinavia, still less that she would make an ideal wife. But she has, for all that, to be taken into account, because she is, by her presence and her noisy propaganda, visibly modifying the old ideal of Scandinavian wifehood and womanhood.

In my student days we used to sing with immense enthusiasm the song, "The Women of the North," which among other exploded commonplaces, declared that "the lily resembles the bride of thy heart, the fair, Northern maiden"; and that "she stands unaltered, exhaling her coy fragrance; she is the blossom of blossoms." Though this standard comparison with the lily has been repudiated as misleading and uncomplimentary, it has not yet lost and never can quite lose its application. For the qualities which the man demands the woman is bound to supply, or feign their possession, under penalty of celibacy. And Scandinavian man does not differ essentially from the male of other civilized races in demanding of his wife all the standard copybook virtues. He looks to her primarily to uphold the dignity of his house; to give, by her presence and manner, a certain *éclat* to his hospitality; to make his domestic machinery run as smoothly, noiselessly, and economically as circumstances will permit. He associates with his vision of her a certain sweet matronliness which grows more pronounced with the years, as the children gather about her knees. Though the girl be ever so coy and submissive to her lover's wishes, he knows that it is in the nature of things for the young wife to develop, through the experiences of wifehood and motherhood, a personality which must not only win love, but also command respect. As his true comrade and faithful friend she stands at his side, shares his burden, and bears with him the brunt of the hard battle of life.

When I look back through the long gallery of noble Scandinavian women whose portraits my memory retains, the embarrassment of riches makes me loath to choose. One, however, whose

beautiful personality spread a quiet radiance about her simple life, I may, without invidious comparisons, select as fairly representative, and the man of whose home she was the bright and shining focus would have been the first to claim for her every ideal perfection. It has always been a marvel to me how this mother of six children, every one of whom claimed her attention and care, could yet preside with a calm and gentle dignity at the great dinners which her husband's position compelled him to give, superintend a large household, over every minutest detail of which she kept supervision ; and yet preserve, amid innumerable harassments, which would have driven a man to distraction, a benign, unruffled amiability, and an unfailing helpfulness which ever gave and gave, without thought of demanding anything in return. From the early morn to the dewy eve she was in ceaseless activity ; never breathless and hurried, but always quietly ministering to the wants of the many whose welfare was in a hundred ways dependent upon her foresight, sagacity and tender solicitude. At seven o'clock in the morning she presided at the breakfast table pouring the hot tea for boys, while snowdrift and darkness lay thick upon the window-panes ; and I can yet see her benign, somewhat worn face in the lamplight over the large copper tea-kettle. Then she would remind them of their books so that nothing was forgotten, wrap them up warmly in their scarfs and overcoats, kiss each one good-bye with a dear little maternal admonition on the way ; then get papa's breakfast, which came later, and listen sympathetically to his grumbling about the ever increasing expenses, calm his occasional irritability, invent ingeniously maternal excuses for Finn's low averages, Bertha's hoydenish behavior, Olaf's habit of tearing his clothes, etc. There was balm in her words, healing in her touch, solace in the very cadence of her voice. Though she left no record behind her, except in the hearts of her sons and daughters, who mourned her early loss, I cannot conceive of a nobler life than hers, nor one dispensing a richer blessing.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

FUTURE OF THE ARID WEST.

BY THE HON. EDMUND G. ROSS, EX-GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO.

LESS than forty years ago and within the memory of men and women not yet old, there was a rush from the northern and eastern states to the West. It was unlike the steady westward migration that had from the beginning of the century been a conpicuous American habit. It was an organized and suddenly conceived movement of people who turned to the West with a definite and determined purpose. I refer to the famous "Kansas movement." Immediately prior to this movement, and in direct connection with it, a very similar movement had been made from the states of the Southwest, notably from the counties of western Missouri. Both crusades were caused by the repeal by Congress of the Missouri Compromise, which up to that time had restricted slavery to the longitudinal line of western Missouri. By that repeal all the country lying west of that line, from the Missouri to and including the Rocky Mountain region, had been opened to negro slavery.

The first crusaders on both sides went armed and eagerly intent on reaching, in the least possible time, the country in dispute. The largely superior numerical force pouring in from the North, in due season assured the success of the Free State cause, soon filled that country, took possession of its most available portions, and drew much of the succeeding migration to the middle and western plains. But it was found after extensive improvements had been made there—farms established and towns built—that the rain-fall was insufficient and could not be depended upon for agricultural pursuits. Though in occasional years it was abundant and bountiful crops were realized, it could not be depended on, as one good crop was liable to be followed by two or three seasons of drought, and more or less absolute crop

failure. This continuing for several years, the settlers in the end became discouraged and many of them abandoned the country, going still further west, not a few to New Mexico. Later, irrigation was resorted to and in the vicinity of enduring streams proved successful. Away from these, however, the expense was great and the returns meagre and discouraging, few localities being of sufficient elevation or possessing the necessary facilities for the storage of water. This was the first signal proof that had till then been afforded of the existence of a semi-arid region, beginning at about the one hundredth degree of longitude and extending indefinitely westward, in which successful agriculture was impossible without irrigation. Much of that region has since been thus redeemed, and doubtless much more will be redeemed in the same way; but it will be most expensive and the prospective cost of its redemption, coupled with the rapid and constant increase in our population, accentuates the necessity for devising more simple and effective methods of irrigation than are now generally practiced or known in the region of the plains.

Large numbers of those who were early forced to abandon the plains of central and western Kansas pushed on into the mountains of the West, very many of them into New Mexico, as I have said. There they came in contact with a civilization antedating by centuries that which they had left. In all the principal valleys they found adequate irrigation works, and abundant and unfailing crops. Though it had been settled for hundreds of years, the region was to these immigrants a new world. The cultivation of land by artificial irrigation has long been practised by the native people of New Mexico, who originally brought the system from Mexico and Spain, but it is still novel to a very large portion of the people of the United States. It has always been, as it is now, carried on by them in the most primitive ways and has developed almost perfect exactness in that form of engineering. A native New Mexican needs no instrument for the securing of levels in locating or laying out an irrigation ditch. Given a known quantity of water supply, he can with his practised eye, by simply walking over the ground, as exactly determine the course required to insure a uniform flow of water at any desired force, and far more quickly, than can the trained engineer with the most perfect instruments. This skill has become a part

of his nature and in a country which must depend upon artificial irrigation for its food product it is a most useful acquirement.

But irrigation in that country and among the native people is confined mainly to the river valleys, few going outside the larger ones for settlement, and as a consequence there are large areas in the valleys of the smaller streams, on the mesas adjacent to arroyos and in the mountains that are practically unsettled and undeveloped. These arroyos, lying as a rule at the foot of mountains and between elevations, could in very many localities be converted into catchment basins for the storage of water, and thus made the basis of a supply to a considerable portion of the territory, at a cost small in comparison to the acreage that could be thus redeemed.

Since the tide of migration turned actively to the western States and Territories lying in what is known as the arid region, especially in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, the subject of irrigation has come to be one of the first importance, as successful cultivation has there been found impossible by the usual methods applicable to the older settlements of the country east of the line of aridity. Various methods have been applied to the solution of the problem during the last three decades, the most general and conspicuous being through the agency of great corporations based on land appropriations and stock companies absorbing great areas of the public domain. No more productive soils are to be found anywhere than on large portions of the great treeless, waterless plains and mountain valleys of what is known as the arid regions. Water alone is needed to make their cultivation most profitable. In many localities, notably in California, the problem has been solved, but only at points more or less directly in proximity to large running streams. But there are yet in New Mexico, and all the mountain region, and even in California, very large areas not accessible to supply from adequate, enduring streams, and therefore not favorable to tillage by the California plan.

The clamor for the appropriation of public money for the establishment of irrigation has had its day, and it is full time that the appropriation of the public lands for the same purpose should also cease. The government has no constitutional power to devote the money or the lands of the public to local or private benefit, and it ought not to have any such power. The idea was an

offshoot of paternalism, and bound, if once generally entered upon, to result in irreparable mischief of a political character, and of damage to other economic callings. Its origin lies in the mistaken doctrine, which now and then crops out in times of commercial and financial depression, that it is the duty of the government to take care of the people, instead of the opposite and correct political axiom, that it is at all times and under all conditions the duty of the people to take care of the government, and of themselves also—to guard and protect it, and to see that the agents entrusted with its administration do not fall short of the duties or go beyond the limits of their trust and make of themselves the government, the rulers, instead of the agents, of the people. One great hindrance to the successful and general institution of irrigation in localities where it is needed and practicable, is the constant and noisy plea that it can be best secured only through great capitalized corporations based on large landed donations from the government. No greater or more insidious danger now threatens the local, financial, economic, and political interests of the West. It is a political, and in a large sense an economic axiom, that they who own the lands of a country will make its laws and govern it; and there is consequently no more effective method for the strengthening and perpetuation of our popular forms than legislation that encourages the distribution of lands among, and their ownership by, the people who occupy them.

By reason chiefly of the pernicious fallacy just mentioned, how the regions under discussion may be watered and thereby reduced to successful popular cultivation and settlement, still remains an unsolved problem. In the more northerly sections the snow and rainfall reduce the difficulty of solution, but in New Mexico and Arizona, especially, the conditions are essentially different and the problem presented a much more difficult one. In these territories the Rocky Mountains gradually diminish in altitude and abruptness, till they fall away and end in great mesas or elevated plateaus along the Mexican border, arid and hot in summer, and which, though abounding in the elements of fertility, remain for lack of water as barren as Sahara. There are rain-falls and occasionally snow in winter, but so seldom and so slight, as a rule, that the arid atmosphere soon dissipates the most that falls, and their moisture is gone. There are a

number of streams, such as the Rio Grande and the Pecos in New Mexico and the Gila, the Salt and others in Arizona, reinforced by a considerable number of smaller ones, with the usual affluents, which, fed by the melting snows from the north, often run bank full in the later weeks of winter and early spring, and also for some days after the brief mid-summer rains; but their volume soon diminishes, and in the months when their waters are most needed for the growing crops their flow is slackened, while not infrequently at the still later season for irrigation the farmer finds himself without water, especially in the more southerly sections, below the localities of supply in the north.

For these reasons, in the greater portion of the mountain districts, any general, coherent or connected system of irrigation is impossible; but limited, detached and independent irrigation is practicable everywhere, though, of course, in very limited localities, as in the more elevated mountain areas, where irrigation is possible only in crude ways. It is only on the plains and in the larger valleys that extensive irrigation works can be made applicable or large investments of capital profitable. In other and smaller isolated mountain areas, the methods of storage, distribution and application, must vary according to the configuration of the land, and be confined to limited districts, the rugged nature of the mountains rendering impossible any general system of conserving or distributing the waters or the snow fall. This must be done by the construction of isolated catchment basins in the arroyos and depressions that abound throughout the mountains, from which the water can be distributed to the larger valleys and plateaus lower down. The varying altitude of the sections in which water storage and cultivation can be made profitable is from 3,000 to 8,000 feet, and the clear, dry, bracing atmosphere is charged with health-giving properties. At all seasons of the year, save perhaps in the higher altitudes, it is a positive luxury to be out in the open air, summer and winter. Abounding in all the elements conducive to health, comfort and longevity, it is fitted in a pronounced degree for the home of prosperous communities. In the presence of all these prime concomitants to the comforts of life, it cannot be possible that these regions are condemned to perpetual barrenness and isolation. Nature makes no mistakes and creates nothing in vain. It cannot be that those beautiful, healthful plains and mountains can never be redeemed

from their condition of sterility and converted into comfortable homes. They have the necessary constituents of fertility, though dormant, the grandest of scenery and the most delightful of climates.

It is true that every age must wrestle with and settle, if possible, its own problems, and it is especially true that every generation owes something to those who are to succeed it, as well as to itself. Without a due observance of that obligation there would be little if any progress. Without constant endeavor for the betterment of conditions, there would be no progress and no purpose in life but a brutish momentary satisfaction. The redemption of the earth to the satisfaction of human needs and the promotion of human happiness is therefore among the highest duties of men, and the command of nature to essay its redemption falls with equal force on every succeeding generation. The solution of this problem of irrigation has fallen to this age, and should be settled now, or, at least, put in the way of settlement, for the welfare of this generation as well as of those which are to follow. With a large proportion of the lands of the country now available for settlement held by great corporations and private syndicates, or otherwise for speculative purposes, and our landless poor flocking to the cities or eking out a laborious existence on rented farms, we have reached the open door of an European condition of landlordism and tenantry, under which the class not long since distinctively known as the "American farmer" must soon become extinct. There is no condition, as already stated, so calculated to inspire love of country and loyalty to law, or so conducive to public order, as ownership of the home, be it in city or country, though this influence is most quickly and deeply felt in the rural districts. Therefore, no country can be truly prosperous or long remain the home of freemen, whose producing population is forced to live on rented farms; or even where the great mass of its laboring urban population is forced by the excessive values of realty to a condition of tenantry. There can be no condition like independent freeholding—home owning—especially by laboring people, for the stimulation of love of home and country; and no other American environment has been so productive as the farm of useful public men, who in the past hundred years have left their impress for good upon the history and institutions of their country and the world.

But we are swerving from the beneficent policy that was long so distinctive a feature of our history; and it is time to return before we become a nation governed by an aristocracy of landowners, of landlords and tenants, afflicted by all the evils such conditions bring in their wake.

To those who have noted the tendency of the time during the last half century, this will not seem an overdrawn picture of the danger that has come to threaten our basic industry, and through it the welfare of the country. Most of the great fortunes of the time, individual and corporate, have been accumulated through vast landholdings and speculation in land, secured largely through governmental benefactions to corporations, and the otherwise mischievous administration of ill-considered public land laws. On the other hand, mistaken economic legislation to the discouragement of agriculture and cognate pursuits, has driven to the cities large numbers of the people of the country, to live by varying shifts and uncertain employment, till the cities are filled with a population for which there is little room and less work. It is true that wise and beneficent laws have decreed the right of free homestead and pre-emption to settlers on the public domain, but on the other hand the Congress has thrown away vast empires in area of the public lands to capitalized corporations, and its auction sales have made the public domain a basis of enormous private speculation, while its invitation to settlement and development has been robbed of its effect by the enactment of tariff laws, which create great centres of manufacture and commerce and thus lure the people from the country to the cities. Our beneficent land laws have thus been rendered comparatively of little avail for the purposes of homestead and development, but great cities of princes and beggars have been built up, while the public lands in large degree have been absorbed for purposes of speculation, and still remain the same wilderness of desolation they were at the beginning. There has been little development, very little in comparison to what there should and might have been, on the public domain of the West in the last two decades.

The policy of spoliation indicated has been continued till extension and growth in the West are practically at a standstill, certainly so in comparison with its earlier record. Settlement has reached the limit of production without artificial appliances,

and the great cities of the East have reached the point of congestion from over-crowded populations demanding employment. Prudent fiscal legislation can do much for the betterment of these conditions, but that alone can bring only partial and temporary relief. There would be little philosophy or coherence in any plan therefor that did not contemplate the restoration of the remaining areas of the public domain to settlement and production, and the re-establishment of the movement to its unoccupied portions. But a small proportion of the vast acreage that still remains is impossible of reclamation. It is true that in large portions of the mountain States and Territories a coherent system of irrigation is impossible, but limited, local, independent irrigation is not only possible, but feasible and practicable everywhere, from the great valleys to the timber line, and at less cost to the occupant, proportionately, than by any of the great schemes of irrigation now in operation in the most favored regions.

The greatest hindrance to the institution of successful irrigation is the idea somewhat prevalent that it can be accomplished only through the medium of great capitalized corporations, based on speculative land holding and land absorption. But the public faith in and demand for such methods are passing away. It is found that not only do they fail to meet the demands for homes for the people, for whom the public lands were originally and wisely set aside, but, on the contrary, that such diversion of them is destructive of that purpose. It is coming again to be recognized that the public domain exists primarily for the benefit of those who seek it for homestead purposes solely, and not as an instrumentality for spoliation by the public or the individual, but for the establishment of American homes; and it is to be hoped that not another acre will ever be diverted to any other purpose.

There are no more productive soils on earth, given water, than those of the great plains and mountain valleys of New Mexico. The equability and healthfulness of its climate is unequalled, varying in latitude and altitude to suit all tastes and physical temperaments and conditions. The only question in the matter of its successful irrigation is the water supply. The present visible supply is manifestly insufficient. How it may be permanently increased during the season of planting and growth is a serious question. In view of the capabilities of that country for the maintenance of a population sufficient to give it economic and po-

litical consequence, and of the demand of an increasing population for homes, the question of its reclamation becomes one of mighty import and worthy of profound consideration. A land so fair, so replete with all the elements of healthfulness and vitality, should not be permitted to lie inert and waste, if human ingenuity can compass the stimulation of its wonderful, but undeveloped, energies. The utility of irrigation for the cultivation of the earth has been so fully established by successful experiment that its discussion here would be out of place. That phase of the question has passed into the realm of established fact. It is no longer in dispute. The problem now is, how best to apply it under the varying conditions of localities. It is not a question of fact, but of methods of application, and of the forms of its administration with a view to the best possible results.

Next in importance to the reclamation of land for the production of food stuffs and its preparation for homes for the people, is the prevention, as far as possible, of its absorption by capitalists for speculative purposes. Any measure that left the arid lands open to such absorption would defeat the first and most important purpose of their reclamation. In the case of New Mexico, with whose needs I am most familiar, I would make the institution of a system of irrigation a condition precedent to admission to statehood, as without the reclamation of its arid lands there would be little value in statehood. New Mexico has remained in its original territorial condition for nearly fifty years, and it is in many respects practically in nearly the same economic condition as at the time of its acquisition from Mexico —a mere satrapy of no consequence politically, and of very little in any other respect. There is no good reason for the longer continuance of this condition, but it will continue so long as her lands remain impossible of development. Admission to statehood will not of itself attract people or capital, or materially or permanently change existing conditions; but statehood in connection with irrigation will.

Nor is it the duty or the province, even, of the United States to assume the work of irrigation and reclamation there; but it is to a degree the duty of the federal government to permit the territory to assume the discharge of that duty in any legitimate and proper way that affords reasonable promise of good results. The public lands of New Mexico, the larger part of which will

forever remain valueless, I am convinced after long and careful study of the subject at first hand, afford a legitimate and fruitful resource for the accomplishment of the work of their own reclamation, and I am also confident that the work can be accomplished through that resource practically without expense to the Territory or the general government, establishing at the same time a basis for successful statehood, with the assurance of an early and material increase of population for its maintenance.

The plan I have in mind is simple and easily understood, and could also be readily applied to the other mountain communities of the arid West. Let Congress enact that at a given time, say two years from the date of enactment, a convention shall be held for the preparation of a constitution for the new State. Fix the time for the popular vote of the territory on that proposed constitution at not less than a year subsequent to the promulgation of that act, and arrange that upon the approval of that constitution by Congress and the President the act of admission shall be complete. The act of Congress authorizing a constitution should also provide that upon the admission of New Mexico to the Union as a State, the Territory shall be at once vested with the title to all public lands therein at the date of that act, on condition that it shall within a reasonable time, to be fixed by Congress, commence the work of reclamation by irrigation, authority having been given it to borrow specified sums of money from time to time therefor, and also on condition that as such lands are satisfactorily reclaimed they shall be sold to actual occupants only, at the actual cost of reclamation and in tracts of not more than forty acres to each actual settler. The capacity of the lands of New Mexico for production has been fully tested through several generations, but that capacity has not been developed to any general extent because of the inadequacy of private enterprise to such a work, and because they belong to a general government that has no constitutional right or power to engage in internal improvements. It is folly to ask the general government to expend the public revenues for the benefit of a locality. These arid lands never have been and never can become a source of revenue in the hands of the government. The state, however, by the plan suggested, can reclaim and develop them if permitted to do so, fit them for prosperous homes for tens of thousands of the now landless, homeless people of the country, and make them a source

of revenue, without the cost of one dollar to the government. I believe that the state, thus endowed, will find little difficulty in procuring the necessary means to enable it, by a judicious administration of the trust, to fit for cultivation every reclaimable acre within its boundaries in a reasonable time, and locate a farmer on every one of its forty-acre tracts.

When wisely undertaken, adequate irrigation can be secured at a comparatively small cost per acre. The futility of damming the streams of New Mexico for the purpose of conserving water for irrigation is shown by the fact that almost every dam thus far constructed has been destroyed by flood, to the loss of life and vast amounts of property values in addition to that of the works destroyed; and even were it possible to construct a permanent dam in these streams, the basin thus created would soon fill up with the sand and sediment carried down from the mountains in every flood, and the waters thereby forced out and over adjoining farms to their fatal injury. But as to the most economical and effective method of conserving water for irrigation, the native people of New Mexico have, fortunately, set an object lesson which, strange to say, has been generally overlooked in the elaboration of irrigation theories. All that is needed is to adopt and improve upon their method, which is not by damming but simply placing an obstruction in the stream, so as to divide the current and divert the desired proportion of its waters into a previously constructed acequia, or irrigating canal. By this canal the water is carried across and distributed over the fields under cultivation. The system thus suggested is admirable in its simplicity. Taking the Mexican acequia as a basis, there should be built in the centre of the stream from which water for irrigation is to be taken, a pier high enough to divert a portion of the flood or surplus waters into a lateral canal commencing at the pier, and thence conducted into a reservoir at some point in the foothills lower down the stream and of sufficient elevation to irrigate the lands between it and the stream. This operation should be repeated at different points along the stream as often as the needs of cultivation may require and the topography of the valley will permit—the surplus waters that flow down all the streams and arroyos in torrents from one to three times every year, being stowed away and held for distribution when needed by the growing crops. There is not a running

stream or arroyo whose flood waters cannot be thus impounded, and held as reserve for irrigation at times when most needed, during which all the watercourses are as a rule too dry or too low for the purpose.

Aside from the direct aid to agriculture thus afforded, another very great benefaction to the country will be secured in the prevention of the disastrous floods that every year sweep down all those valleys, washing out farms and sometimes destroying entire villages. By this plan, and at desired intervals, the surplus waters for storage being drawn off, the volume and force of the highest floods that ever visit that country will soon have become so diminished and slackened in their flow as to render serious damage therefrom impossible.

It is a serious question whether admission to statehood under present conditions, even if possible by a vote of the people, so far from being advantageous to New Mexico, would not, on the contrary, become an absolute and permanent detriment—whether the desired immigration and development which this proposition is designed to invite and stimulate would not be repelled, and thus the condition of the people of the new state, instead of being bettered by the change, become actually worse than before, by the establishment in political control of an element of retrogression. This result has happened in the haste to make new States, and the intelligent, progressive people of New Mexico do not desire that their own territory shall constitute such an example. The value of statehood would be incalculably increased by the cession of lands to the new State, the aggregate wealth of the country correspondingly magnified, and the opportunity for the acquirement of homes, independent American homes, by tens of thousands, would be opened to the landless people of the entire country. Three inter-state conventions have been held in the last few years for the purpose of consultation on this important topic and a fourth has just been held at Albuquerque.

It may be objected that the plan I have outlined would be subject to abuse. Is it possible to suggest any effective plan for this purpose that would not be open to the same criticism? Yet it cannot be denied that the opportunities for wilful misdirection of the public domain would thus be reduced to the minimum. As a rule, actual settlers only would become possessed

of the lands, and that of itself would be a great gain. As a rule, too, very considerable areas would be rendered tillable which are not at all likely to be so improved in the absence of any similar provision by the government, and that would be another great gain; and all done at a small cost to the settler, in comparison with the value to him of the land so redeemed and at no cost in the end to the State or the United States. Of the more than sixty million acres of public land in New Mexico, at least half could be made subject to successful cultivation, adding correspondingly to the tillable area and to the wealth of the world, and affording comfortable homes, in addition to its present population, for a quarter of a million of producing people.

At the rate at which the public lands of the West have been absorbed for speculative purposes by capitalized corporations, the next generation will see the great central West barred against the tide of homeseekers which marked and glorified the history of the past generation. It is time to call a halt before the available area of the public domain shall have been absorbed by speculative capital and closed against that great class for whose benefit as homesteads it was primarily set apart. The man who owns his homestead has a pecuniary as well as a sentimental interest in the conduct and stability of the government that protects him in his right to that home. There is no condition so conducive to loyalty to law and to public order as the ownership of the home. He who owns the roof that shelters him has something at stake, the security and value of which is dissipated in the presence of public disorder. The security, the permanency and the efficacy of popular government have no more earnest champion than the man over whom the flag of his country waves as a symbol and guarantee to him of protection in his home.

EDMUND G. ROSS.

ENGLISH WOMEN IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS.

BY LADY JEUNE.

WHEN the Primrose League was started in 1881 and 1882 under the aegis of the late Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Henry Drummond Wolf, it was the fashion to laugh at the little yellow badge of flowers, which was said to be beloved by one whom many regard as the greatest leader in the history of English political strife. The question as to whether Lord Beaconsfield really loved the primrose is still an open one, but the sunny woods at Hughenden are full of them, and the flower was eagerly seized on by the longsighted organizers of the League as a symbol which might do a mighty work.

The idea "caught on" in the imagination of Englishwomen, and being adopted by all ranks, it brought into a more friendly and close compact the women of the upper and middle classes who, whatever may be the political opinion of their lords and masters, are thoroughly conservative. The League is now fourteen years old. It has had the experience of some elections and its power is enormous. In 1881 the members of the Primrose League were a few hundreds, in 1894 they were 1,259,808. This organization is spread all over the country, in radical Scotland and Wales, and the modest flower has even ventured to plant its roots in the Emerald Isle, and it may fairly claim now to have attained an age when its influence can be felt. The Radical party and press have always professed the greatest scorn and contempt for the Primrose League, looking on it as a base and designing organization, which by means of social temptations is sapping the honest political convictions of Englishwomen. That the wife of a doctor or clergyman should be able to withstand the seductions of a wily Conservative duchess is a possible contingency, but that the honest farmer's or tradesman's wife should fall is inevi-

table, and so the friendly gatherings and garden parties, the new amenities which have helped so largely to brighten the lives of people living all year round in the country are regarded as the political serpent which has crept into the garden of Eden and is corrupting the honesty and simplicity of our English Arcadia.

The Radicals have, however, the wit to see that such an organization is invaluable and many have been the attempts on their side to inaugurate a like work, but all their efforts have been unavailing. But the lesson of their unsuccessful imitation is not thrown away on their opponents, who in that form of flattery find great encouragement. Perhaps nowhere have their failures been more distinctly grotesque than in Scotland, where the Primrose League itself had a chequered childhood, but where the blandishments of any such like Liberal organization failed to touch the hearts or imaginations of the sons of the Gael.

The Primrose League during the last election sent out an army of women workers, canvassers and clerks, besides those who spoke at meetings; and the report which deals largely with the work done during the last election and the direction in which members were most successful ought to fill their hearts with unbounded pride. The success which attended their efforts seems to have borne rapid fruit if the one fact only is considered, namely, that they added no less than 5,613 members to the League in July, and there is little doubt that the Primrose League dames contributed largely to the success of the Conservative party.

The income of the League shows a large increase this year, and where a supreme effort is needed there is no lack of willing hands and well-filled purses which respond to the appeal. It is curious, after recounting the experience of the work of women connected with the Primrose League, to find a very clearly expressed opinion that, while their work is excellent in many ways, it is in the smaller and less important matters appertaining to politics that they are useful. One must in fairness admit that any strongly expressed opinion adverse to them comes from the Liberal side, who view the Primrose League as the offspring of the evil one, but both parties seem agreed that women who speak in public at election time do not have anything like the power and influence that the quieter and more unobtrusive canvasser has, who is willing to turn her hand to any work that is wanted,

from directing covers to bringing the always weary and often drunken voter to the poll.

It would be invidious to point out exceptions, but I should think the women whose work certainly helped their husbands into Parliament did it during the long months before the election, and that it was by personal acquaintance and canvassing that they won the hearts of the electors, and not by any great oratorical display. There is something repugnant to the ordinary Englishman in the idea of a woman mounting a platform and facing the noisy, gaping, vulgar crowd of an election meeting. The smell of smoke, the ribald jokes, the coarse comments, the rough give-and-take of an election are not circumstances in which women either appear to advantage or are appreciated, and the testimony of members of Parliament on both sides agrees on this point.

An English weekly journal, *The Gentlewoman*, sent a formal letter to every M. P. asking him his opinion on this question and some of the answers are very amusing. They are curious, taking them at random, and it may not be out of place to quote a few. Lord Valentia says: "I can only speak for my own constituency, and have no hesitation in saying that the aid contributed by ladies both in clerical work and canvassing has been of the greatest possible value. . . ." Another M. P. says: "The ladies gave me great help; on the other hand my opponent's wife was of great value to her husband by her clever and lively speeches. . . ." One says: "My wife was my best canvasser." The member for Rotherhithe says: "Ladies have succeeded as canvassers in many places where men have failed, finding it most interesting work and as exciting as bicycling." The evidence as to their utility in clerical work, their willingness and their perseverance in bringing up voters, is endless. There are a few M. P.s, however, who are more outspoken than gallant. "I consider I owe my success in a great measure to the ladies who worked for me. . . . I think ladies can do a great deal privately, but I am not in favor of their speaking in public," is the opinion of one M. P. Another says: "Personally I am convinced that the less women have to do with politics, either in public speaking or canvassing, the better." One M. P. is both ungrateful and brutal, and writes: "I had no help from women, whatever, nor would I ask any woman to do anything in the political contests; they have no sense of judicial fairness and will

attempt to carry out practices which if they were known would lead to persecution under the Bribery and Corruption Act. The rule of women's political associations is in nine cases out of ten, bribery, corruption, undue influence or threatening in some form or other. I have heard a Conservative Primrose dame deplore the existence of the ballot which prevented her from knowing whether her bribes gained her votes." Sir Frederick Milner bears testimony to the help he received in clerical and departmental work, adding that he "found Separatist women more fond of talking than Unionists."

The *Primrose League Gazette* is brimful of acknowledgments from candidates of the great service the ladies of the Primrose League rendered to them. We may, no doubt, discount some of their enthusiasm and gratitude, but that the women worked hard and zealously is a fact, and a great deal of the Conservative success is owing to their enthusiasm.

While the chorus of praise is nearly unanimous, there are great differences of opinion as to the reasons for the success, and there is a very universal consensus of opinion that the value of women's work lies in the humbler and more mechanical parts of an election. If we analyze the different answers, we find that in clerical work, such as directing envelopes and leaflets, in personal canvassing, and on election days in bringing up recalcitrant, rambling or distant voters, women were supremely useful. It may be the long rooted distrust and jealousy with which men have viewed the gradual rise of the weaker sex that have caused them to indicate the less glorious part of the fray as women's part, but it is a fact that, while sternly deprecating their speaking in public, and abstaining carefully from admitting that their softer or more persuasive manners had greater weight than formerly, nearly every M. P. has given his evidence to the help women render in a political campaign in England. Even Mr. Chamberlain, the sternest opponent of women's rights, has spoken most enthusiastically as to the help the Unionist cause received from them. But apart from the widespread influence so large an organization as the Primrose League must exercise, there are many reasons why women should be very useful in political strife. They are untiring in their enthusiasm, and their resolute belief in the cause they advocate insensibly encourages and impresses those they work with. They are willing to do any work that is given them, and as so few

of them have any oratorical capacity they are saved from the most prominent of female weaknesses, namely, jealousy of those who have. They have no real shyness in canvassing or in approaching the voter, however rough he may be. As a rule he is civil to women even in his cups, but no one can deny the great increase of drunkenness in many parts during an election day.

The work of an active canvasser is really very entertaining, for she comes into contact with people and phases of life which are very original. In England the mode of procedure is a first canvass of the constituency, so as to feel the pulse of the constituency and see in what direction the political current is flowing. Each ward has its allotted canvassers, and they have either to see each elector personally or to acquaint themselves with his intentions. After the first canvass is over, which is necessarily a very incomplete one, a second is undertaken, which throws more light on the situation and leaves only the doubtful, the absent and the distant elector to be accounted for. Besides the ordinary canvassers of the stronger sex a large number of women are employed, who volunteer their services and who are of course unpaid, and they are nearly always the last and most potent influence that can be brought to bear on the being whose vote may be of such vital importance. In each ward political feeling varies; some are "all right," *i. e.* Conservative, others "very unsatisfactory" or nearly all "blue," probably the Radical color. The latter are the ones to be tackled, and upon them all the batteries of Conservative female persuasion have to be directed.

In London there are only two hours in the day during which the lord and master of the house is to be found at home, at dinner time, between one and two, or after eight o'clock. Dinner is not the best time to solicit his suffrage; his time is short, he is hot and tired, anxious not to be late at his work and does not want to "jaw" with anyone. In such cases the wife has to be approached, and nothing can describe the discretion of the English voter's wife. "I know nothing about my husband; he does not tell me how he votes; I have enough to think of without votes, and don't care. What good will it do me or the children? You can leave your card, and there's a lot more cards come. I'll mention it to him when he comes back."

The electoral literature is a very wonderful development in England; for, besides all the information in the shape of leaflets,

etc., which are laid at the elector's feet, there are magnificent portraits of the rival candidates, and cartoons of the wildest and most distracting description, by means of which artistic efforts it is hoped some impression may be given of the misgovernment and incompetency of the existing administration. These offerings are received in the most impartial spirit, and at one London election an enthusiastic canvasser was horrified to find the windows and walls of a most important supporter smothered with bills, pictures and cartoons casting obloquy on his party; and he was only relieved from the terrible suspicion of apostasy on being informed by the eldest daughter of the family that they had put them there "cos they was much the most beautiful of the two sides, Mr. —— being that ugly mother would not have pictures of him in the house."

A large number of the poorer electors know very little and care still less about the larger questions of home and imperial policy, and local matters in country districts often turned the scale one way or another. Shorter hours, better pay, foreign immigration, were the questions about which the wives seemed to care most, the larger and broader questions being algebra to them. The women were always courteous, with one or two exceptions, but when a certain canvasser had exhausted all her persuasions and was sternly asked "Are you married?" and replied in the affirmative, she was brusquely told to go home and look after her husband and children. Such amenities, however, were rare, and in most cases the workmen's wives were quite polite. A canvasser I knew encountered a maid in a small family, no member of which on numerous visits was ever at home, and at last, being wearied out by repeated questions on answering the door the maid said: "There is no use for you to come again; master's out and wont see anyone. I don't know how he'll vote: all I know is that we always lights the fire with the *Daily News*."

In canvassing it was found a very useful help to leave a card on the electors with the name and address of the canvasser, and if it was a well-known person or a local celebrity, it had some effect and was put in an exposed position, so that the less favored neighbors might realize what they had foregone by their political opinions. Local people had more weight than strangers unless, as I say, it might be some person of distinction or rank or a very pretty woman. Pretty women still retain their potency,

though I know of no renewal of practices such as were carried out with singular success by a beautiful duchess.

The influence of the Church in London was unmistakable, and those whose names were known to the electors as working through that medium had great power. One lady who had worked in a very poor constituency in East London and had been the medium of a great amount of help given to the women and children for some years, told a very characteristic story of how she visited two or three families in one of the large industrial dwellings for the poor and was refused a hearing. She asked permission merely to leave the candidate's card and one of her own, and took her departure to go higher up in the same block where she received the same answer: "My husband is going to vote for Mr. ———, so there is no use your coming here." On her return next day to finish her canvass she was waylaid on the stairs by one of the most vehement of her opponents of the day before, who said: "We was not aware yesterday 'oo you was, and I've been speaking to my 'usband and 'e says 'e don't mind 'ow he votes as you was very good to the children," and without solicitation on her part, as she went upstairs, her other opponent of the day before assured her of her husband's indifference as to what *he* did with *his* vote.

This story does not say much for the stolid, honest, political working man in London, but it teaches one a very important lesson which would-be legislators may take to heart; namely, that anyone who desires to get into Parliament should seek a poor metropolitan constituency, and if he devotes his time and what money he can legitimately spend towards making personal acquaintance with his constituents, and endeavoring to beautify and improve the lives and conditions under which they and their children live, he may make his success assured and his seat safe against all attack. There is no necessity to degrade or pauperize his people; but the sympathy and kindness he can show them, and the various opportunities which come to him in which he can help to make their lives brighter, must bring about this result.

There is one notable example in the North of London of a constituency (which is the safest seat in the Metropolis) which has returned the same representative for years, and which has been held against internal dissension and strong political opposition, solely for the reason that the members of his family have devoted

themselves to acquiring a personal knowledge of his constituents, and impressing on them the conviction that they consider themselves their friends in the best sense of the word. If Parliamentary life is so desirable, it is not a very heavy price to pay for it, and the labor can be shared and lightened by the wife and daughters undertaking part, and their influence is of more importance than any other. It is not only during the storm and stress of election-time that women can do their best work, but it is during the intermediate period when they ought to be able to get on terms of personal acquaintance with their constituents. One of the most trying parts of electioneering to a woman must always be the sight of poverty and sickness which meet her at every step, and which makes the political work she is carrying on such a mockery. Wretched houses, drunken parents, sick children, terrible poverty on all sides confront her, and the difficulty of staying her hand must be great. To the credit of the London voters be it said, they realize the impossibility of such help being forthcoming, and they never add to the difficulty of the work by demanding it. When homes and scenes come under the notice of the canvasser at every turn, which are appalling in their grim darkness, it seems almost impossible to appeal for political support, and to urge the claims of party on those who live under such conditions. The promises of better times, higher wages, a life more like a human being's than an animal's, seem to choke them, and the man from whom the political favor is asked must think with savage cynicism of the repeated story which to him is only a hideous sham. "I don't blame them when they promises," said a London workman, "they mean all they says when they says it, but when they gets to the House of Parliament they finds others as has promised more, and they cannot do what they said they would," and so the workingman knows that he is still far from the Arcadia promised him during a Parliamentary election.

There are amusing sides to the picture, however, as illustrated by the story told by a female canvasser during her work in the East of London. One day she found a man whitewashing a house in which she was looking for a vote, and she addressed him, expressing her hope that he would give his vote to her candidate. He sternly refused, and she said she regretted it because his candidate was sure to be beaten, adding in fun, "I'll back my man against yours." "I never bets, it's wrong,"

was his answer. Explaining this was a mere *façon de parler*, she turned to his mate, who then appeared, asking for his support, which he also refused, and he added: "I'll bet you your man will be beat." After some chaff the bet was booked, the man saying, as he wished the canvasser goodbye: "If Mr. R—— is beaten, you'll send me 'arf a crown; if Mr. W—— is beaten, I'll see what I can scrape together." Mr. R——, however, was returned with a triumphant majority, and three days afterwards she received the following letter: "Madam—Mr. R——'aving got in, you don't owe me anything; I'm a workingman and I 'ave not got 'arf a crown, but any day you was passing I should be glad to see you. Yours truly, John Jones." In a few days her work took her in the direction of Mr. Jones' house, and she found him at home. After the usual amenities Mr. Jones said: "I ain't got 'arf a crown, of course, yet what am I to do?" She assured him it was of no consequence, that he might defer his settling day. Mr. Jones did not, however, appear satisfied, and expressed his conviction that the "'arf crown" would never be forthcoming. "I ain't going to tell you 'ow I voted; my vote's my property and I can do as I likes with it, and I ain't going to tell you anything; but I am a very 'ardworking man and I've not 'ad a 'oliday for over 15 years; I 'ave not been in the country I don't know when; I 'eard as there is 'olidays going about, and I thought I'd ask you to come and see me and see if you could 'elp me to one." What happened, history says not. Let us leave the sequel to the consciences of Mr. Jones and Miss D——; but Mr. Jones was still in London a week ago.

Such incidents throw light on the motives which govern the ordinary English elector in his exercise of the franchise. While there are thousands of workingmen who no doubt value the possession of a vote, there is still a vast majority who know little and care less about the questions which affect the welfare and integrity of the empire, and whose life is one long struggle to make two ends meet, and who are therefore only influenced by purely personal interest.

This is, however, in parenthesis, and our paper is only intended to give an idea of the incidents of a general election, and the influence and effect women have had on the result.

MARY JEUNE.

ENVIRONMENT AND DRINK.

BY J. F. WALDO, M. D., AND DAVID WALSH, M. D.

In the present year of grace there is happily no need to enlarge upon the evils of alcoholic intemperance. It may be at once assumed that such indulgence entails disaster upon the individual no less than upon the family and the nation. For all that, the underlying causes of inebriety are but ill understood, although of late years a flood of light has been thrown upon their inwardness by many earnest workers. Among recent advances none is likely to be of more practical value than that which recognizes alcoholism as pointing to some mental flaw in the individual.

To the medical man a "symptom" is merely the evidence of a more remote disorder. Thus, a red and inflamed skin may be symptomatic of scarlet fever, of parasites, of measles, of sunburn, and of a host of more or less sharply defined and definable causes. In a similar way the craving for strong drink may be regarded as a symptom of varied origin. That it may be the token of an inherited mental instability is now generally acknowledged. When, however, it results from acquired brain conditions little appears to be known as to its causation.

In the matter of drink, as in other ways, the individual responds to the influences of his environment. Thus, bad surroundings may convert a man of seemingly sound mental and bodily constitution into a drunkard. On the other hand, a good environment may to a great extent neutralize the effects of even a large and long continued consumption of alcohol. Take, for instance, the case of a country squire well off in such things as food, clothes, housing, and open air exercise. He may consume a large quantity of strong drink every day of his life, and yet live to a hale and hearty old age. A poor man in a bad en-

vironment who drank to a similar extent would probably never reach forty. In the first case, it should be noted, the special circumstances imply good liquor, whereas in the second they mean drink of an inferior and highly injurious nature.

Then a bad environment acts in many ways as a direct physiological incentive to the use of alcohol. In most instances it sooner or later lessens the moral control of the individual by damaging his brain, the nutrition of which is sensitive to changes in the blood and circulation. By enfeebling the body generally, and the heart in particular, it leads the individual, naturally enough, to seek relief from the stimulant that lies nearest to his hand.

Environment is, of course, a wide term, and includes such circumstances as occupation, habitat, worldly gear, in short, all the immediate externals of the individual. The circumstances of town life are more harmful to mankind than those of the country, as shown by a comparison of the death rates of the one and the other. If we compare the mortality of the rustic laborer with that of the corresponding class in London we find that the countryman enjoys a life on an average three times as long as that of his metropolitan brethren. Much of this disparity may be accounted for by the fact that labor competition is keener in the towns, and hence there is a greater amount of poverty and privation. Among other causes are the smoky atmosphere and the general dissipation of town life, as against the simple habits and pure air of the country. Town mortality is further influenced by such points of special environment as bad drainage and unhealthy employments, but it may be questioned if, after all, the great determining factor of its havoc among adults may not be ascribed to alcohol.

It need hardly be pointed out that all comparative figures of class mortalities bristle with fallacies. Thus, certain rich London districts, such as Hampstead, with a death-rate of 14.6 per 1,000 of population, and Plumstead, with 16.4 per 1,000, compare favorably with many rural districts, and dilute, as it were, the returns for the whole Metropolis. Then, again, the towns are recruited by a steady stream of robust country folk. The urban child mortality, moreover, is about twice that of the rural. Taking such things into consideration, it is likely that the brunt of the total mortality of Great Britain falls upon the town poor.

The question of occupation closely affects the death rate of

the laboring classes. The statistics of trade mortalities, however, do not give much help upon the point. The census is meagre in details, and is taken at too long intervals. Of the workmen, many desert an unhealthy trade and drift off to swell the mortality of some other occupation; while not a few die in workhouses and other institutions, and leave no record of the particular trade that has broken their health. One may, however, attempt to arrive at a few broad tentative conclusions.

In a table by Drs. Ogle and Arlidge, comparing the mortality between persons of various occupations, we find the fifteen highest on the list:

Occupation.	Mean Annual Death-rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure.
	Age. 25-45.	Age. 45-65.	Age. 25-65.
All males	10 16	25 27	1,000
Occupied males	9.71	24.63	967
Inn and hotel servants	22.63	55.30	2,205
General laborers in London	20.62	50.85	2,020
Costermongers and hawkers	20.26	45.33	1,879
Cornish miners	14 77	53.69	1,839
Potters and earthenware manufacturers	13.70	51.39	1,742
Filemakers	15.29	45.14	1,667
Watchmen, porters and messengers	17.07	37.37	1,565
Licensed victuallers and innkeepers	18.02	33.68	1,521
Chimney-sweeps	13.73	41.54	1,519
Cabmen and omnibusmen	15.39	36.83	1,482
Brewerymen	13.90	34.25	1,361
Hairdressers	13.64	33.25	1,327
Professional musicians	13.78	32.39	1,314
Bargemen and watermen	14.25	31.13	1,305
Carters and carriers	12.52	33.00	1,275
And the fifteen lowest:			
Watch and clock makers	9.26	22.64	903
Plasterers and whitewashers	7.79	25.07	896
Coal miners	7.64	25.11	891
Grooms and private coachmen	8.53	23.25	887
Drapers and warehousemen	9.70	20.96	883
Barristers and solicitors	7.54	23.13	883
Booksellers and stationers	8.53	20.57	825
Carpenters and joiners	7.77	21.74	820
Fishermen	8.32	19.74	797
Grocers	8,00	19.16	771
Schoolmasters and teachers	6.41	19.98	719
Agricultural laborers	7.13	17.68	701
Farmers and graziers	6 09	16.53	631
Gardeners and nurserymen	5.52	16.19	599
Clergy, priests and ministers	4.64	15.93	556

Glancing over the fifteen occupations of highest mortality two things at once attract attention. First, they belong to the working class, with the single exception of the licensed victuallers and innkeepers. Secondly, they are in the main urban. Moreover, seven of them, that is to say, the general laborers, costermongers and hawkers, watchmen and messengers, cabmen

and omnibusmen, musicians, bargemen and watermen, carters and carriers, are engaged in outdoor work that is arduous, prolonged, and often ill-paid and unhealthy. Is it any wonder that men working under such conditions should turn for solace to alcohol? As a matter of fact nearly all of them drink to excess. We see, then, that the fifteen highest trade mortalities fall for the most part upon the town laborers, who are given to drink, and whose work is of a toilsome and exacting nature. Of course, among them are many persons of deficient bodily and mental development, who earn their bread in the unskilled labor market of the cities. In the case of the Cornish miners, countrymen of strong frames and temperate habits, the high mortality is due to the poisonous dust and the bad ventilation of the mines.

Turning to the fifteen occupations of lowest mortality, we find that four of them, namely, fishing, agricultural labor, farming and grazing, and gardening, are carried on in the open air and away from towns. The rest are partly urban and partly rural, or mixed. Some of them, such as the legal and the clerical professions, appear to enjoy a specially favorable environment.

On the whole, it may be said that the fifteen callings of lowest mortality are to a great extent rural and include many well-to-do persons in town and country, while those of the highest fifteen are mainly urban, and, with the single exception of the publicans, belong to the working classes. The majority of those included in the fifteen lowest mortalities either work in the open air or spend a good deal of time out of doors, so that it seems clear that the hardship of out-door work cannot in itself be a chief factor of the high death-rate among town laborers. We must look for some other explanation of that excessive rate.

That alcohol has a share in the untoward result it is hardly possible to doubt. Some such relation of cause and effect may be traced in the following table:

Occupation.	Mean annual death-rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure, 1,000.
	Age. 25-45	Age. 45-65	Age. 25-65
Barristers and solicitors	7.54	23.13	842
Law clerks	10.77	30.79	1,151

This startling disproportion may be accounted for in great part by the three following factors. 1. That law clerks lead less

regular lives and drink more than their masters (and worse liquor). 2. That they live in cheaper and less healthy houses, and work in smaller and less wholesome offices. 3. That they are drawn from a class, often degenerate town-dwellers, less sound in mind and body than the middle class which supplies their employers.

Conditions of a similar kind apply more or less to all the fifteen occupations of highest mortality. So far as the towns are concerned, bad housing is probably to a great extent due to modern systems of drainage, which are often grossly defective. In rural districts, where no general house drainage exists, this particular risk will be avoided. Other defects, such as want of ventilation, dampness, deficient cubic space, are common both to town and to country.

The factor of faulty drainage applies to workshops as well as to houses. Broadly, it may be said to cause much bodily weakness, and, like bad ventilation, to predispose not only to chronic ill health, but also to occasional acute disease. From a physiological point of view it seems perfectly natural that any one living under bad surroundings of the kind should fly to alcohol for relief. Take the case of a town laborer going out to his work after a night spent in an unwholesome dwelling. Suppose him to change one bad environment for another in the shape of a workshop that is overcrowded, ill-ventilated and polluted by sewer gas? No wonder that a man passing his life under such depressing conditions should become weakened in mind and body, and crave for drink to stimulate his flagging heart and overtaxed energies. That this picture is not altogether imaginary may be gathered from the following considerations: First, the proper sanitary supervision of dwellings, especially of the poorer class, is yet in its infancy, and, indeed, must remain so until our system of inspection is rendered more thorough, skilled and systematic. Secondly, the defective conditions under which workshop labor is often conducted in our towns is plainly shown by the evidence given before the Lords' Commission upon sweating, and also by the reports of medical officers of health all over the country. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise while the present local staffs of sanitary inspectors are inadequate even for the discharge of routine duties, to say nothing of the impossibility of a house to house inspection of places that contain domestic workshops.

If, on the other hand, the town laborer follow an outdoor occupation, his life still appears to be much shortened as compared with a corresponding class in the country. Thus, among the fifteen trades of heaviest mortality, we find :

Occupation.	Mean annual death rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure, 1,000.
	Age. 25-45	Age. 45-65	Age. 25-65
General laborers in London	20.62	50.85	2,020
Costermongers and hawkers	20.26	45.33	1,879
Watchmen, porters and messengers	17.07	37.37	1,565
Cabmen and omnibusmen	15.30	36.83	1,482
Professional musicians	13.78	32.39	1,314
Carters and carriers	12.52	23.00	1,275

Although those who work at the foregoing occupations escape the danger of unwholesome workshops, they are nevertheless exposed to the environment of an unhealthy home at night. They share certain bad conditions in common with the countryman, such as long hours of labor, arduous toil and constant exposure to the stress of weather. They do not share alcohol to an equal extent, and there can be no doubt that strong drink is one of the most potent factors in shortening the life of the town laborer.

An interesting illustration of the effect of drinking habits upon mortality may be drawn from the following table :

Occupation.	Comparative mortality figure, 1,000. Age. 25-65
1. Cabmen and omnibusmen	14.82
2. Carters and carriers	12.75
3. Grooms and private coachmen	8.87

Workers in the first two classes, which have relatively a much greater death-rate, are notoriously heavy drinkers. They stop at many public houses in the course of their daily rounds, and they receive many offers of drink. Moreover, although their work is out-door it is to a great extent sedentary, and exposure under those conditions throws such a strain upon the circulation that it is perfectly natural they should seek a physiological restorative in the shape of a pleasant cardiac stimulant. Next compare the mortality of these two classes with that of the private grooms and coachmen, who work under almost similar con-

ditions as to exposure, but who have shorter hours and less opportunity of indulging in alcohol. Indeed, it is obvious that heavy drinking habits would soon throw them out of employment. We find that their mortality is far less than that of the carters and carriers, and again than that of the cabmen and omnibusmen. It cannot be argued that the higher death-rate of the two last-named classes is due altogether to their greater consumption of alcohol. They are handicapped by longer hours of work, and they suffer in consequence to a much greater extent than private servants from rheumatism and other diseases due to exposure.

In this bird's-eye view of the relation of environment to drink the chief aim has been to map out a few of the more striking outlines. The following broad statements may be appended in the hope that they may have a suggestive value to future workers :

1. An excessive mortality prevails among the working population of towns as compared with (a) that of country laborers, or (b) of mixed classes in the wealthier urban districts.

2. The town mortality is swelled by an excessive infantile death-rate, and by the dusty and otherwise injurious trades carried on in crowded centres.

3. Overcrowding is rife in towns, especially in manufacturing districts.

4. Many town occupations are unskilled and attract men of inferior stamp.

5. Urban labor competition is keener than rural, with consequent increase of poverty and starvation.

6. Alcohol is consumed in larger quantity in towns, in part, possibly, because of the greater temptations to indulgence. It is also taken freely in the fifteen occupations that have the highest death rates.

7. Systematic house drainage, with its attendant risks, is in the main a distinctive feature of towns. Or, to put the matter in a different form :

A. The stress of preventable mortality falls on the infantile and working population of our great towns.

B. The conditions more or less peculiar to the town laborer are (a) the temptation to indulge in alcohol, (b) trade dangers, (c) bad drains.

J. F. WALDO,
DAVID WALSH.

THE SALOON AND THE SABBATH.

BY THE REV. FERDINAND C. IGLEHART, D. D., PASTOR OF THE PARK AVENUE M. E. CHURCH, NEW YORK.

It is natural that there should be conflict between the saloon and the Christian Sabbath. They represent ideas exactly opposite. One stands for every thing that is bad, the other for every thing that is good. The saloon breeds disease, disorder, misery, and crime; the Sabbath brings order, health, wealth, happiness, and virtue. No moral conflict since the civil war has been more important or bitter than the one now being waged in New York city between the saloon and the Sabbath.

The first question involved in the conflict is the enforcement of law. The present excise law in New York was passed nearly forty years ago. It has been retained with few modifications by successive Democratic and Republican Legislatures. In late years it has been enforced, but only against the poor saloonkeeper who had no political influence and no money with which to pay the bribe. The records show that there were seven thousand arrests for the violation of the excise law during the last year of the Tammany administration in the city—more in proportion than under the present rule.

The Police Commissioners should have had the united support of the New York city press. With honorable exceptions they have had its opposition. The city papers are brilliant, enterprising, and, as a rule, are on the right side of moral questions. But it is one of the astonishing and lamentable features of this contest that so many secular papers have recorded themselves in favor of the breaking of law. They have not only apologized for law breakers, but they have laughed at, sneered at, and persecuted the officers who tried to enforce the law.

One of the most disgraceful things about the contest is the bit-

ter opposition to the enforcement of the excise law on the part of some officers of the Municipal, State, and Federal governments. These are surely men who ought to know what an oath is and what a law is, and yet they demand that the officers violate their oaths and allow the crime-breeding places of the city to break the law.

In the history of the world human government has moved in a circle: first, absolute despotism; then, a limited monarchy; then, a democracy; followed by anarchy and an absolute despotism again. This was the record of human government till the close of the civil war, when we taught the world that a republic need not fall into anarchy to be ruled by an absolute despot again. But we are in the midst of grave danger in the great cities. We are confronted by enemies of every kind; by the anarchy of wealth, the anarchy of labor, and especially the anarchy of the breweries, the distilleries and the grog shops. Ex-Judge Noah Davis, before whom William M. Tweed was tried and convicted, said in a public address a few months ago: "In my experience of thirty years on the bench I give it as my deliberate opinion that eight-tenths of all the crime can be traced to the saloon." Notwithstanding the opposition of able papers, of influential politicians and powerful office holders, the Police Commissioners have held their faces like flint to the purpose, and their moral heroism and patriotism have stood out in bold relief against the moral cowardice and disloyalty of those who have opposed them.

The second question involved in the contest is the continuance of the Sunday closing law. No law favoring the opening of saloons on Sundays should be passed. Nothing would so offend the conscience or corrupt the morals of the people as such a step. New York should be slow to crave the disgraceful notoriety of being about the only State in the Union to legalize the opening of saloons on Sunday.

The Sunday opening is claimed in the interest of the poor man, when it is for the benefit of the rich. It is in the interest of the tills of the eight thousand saloon keepers of New York city, and especially in the interest of the coffers of the millionaire brewers and distillers. The brewers' organization of New York city alone represents $50,000,000, and the whiskey dealers' association $30,000,000 more; so that there are $80,000,000

behind the liquor interest in New York city. It is this colossal monopoly, and not the poor man, that is causing all the excitement against the enforcement of the Sunday law. It is said that the brewers' association has mortgages on more than six of the eight thousand saloons of the city, and is proceeding steadily to place mortgages on the rest of the town, on its public sentiment, its politics, and its laws. It is estimated that previous to the Sunday closing there were $200,000 worth of liquor consumed in the bar rooms of the city every Sunday. Many saloon keepers deprived of their best day's sales have broken up, and thousands of failures will follow. The loss will fall upon the millionaires who furnish the product and hold the mortgages. No monopoly of America so oppresses the poor as the monopoly of beer. Moloch of old whose brazen form held out its hand for the money of the people, and whose fires consumed the sons offered as victims, was merciful, compared to the Moloch of rum whose hand demands millions of money, and whose fires burn up the best of our sons.

The laboring man of the United States consumes an average of a hundred dollars worth of drink each year. This amount would buy fuel and flour for every working man in America. The working people of New York City spend for liquor more than $50,000 a day, or $1,500,000 a month. Many men are poor because they have had too much beer through the week. It would be a mercy to them to shut the door of temptation to them on Sunday. The liquor dealers are anxious that the poor man shall have some beer with his dinner on Sunday. The anxiety of the poor man's family is to have some dinner with their beer. There has been no proposition of the benevolent saloon keeper to let the poor man have free beer with his free lunch on Sunday. It is the poor man's dimes and not his liberty that they are so anxious about.

It is claimed that the poor man has as good right to his beer on the Sabbath as the rich man has to his fine wines, brandies and whiskeys. The jealousy of the poor man might ask no sweeter revenge than to continue the discrimination. For if the rich will continue to drink long enough they will become poor, and if the poor will quit drinking long enough they will become rich. An easier and wiser way of securing justice would be to amend the law and prevent the selling at rich mens' clubs, restaurants and hotel rooms.

Another reason assigned for opening the saloons on Sunday is that there are so many foreigners in New York city that it would be the proper thing to adjust our laws to their customs. When the blood is good, mixed blood makes the best nation. It makes the strongest body and most vigorous mind. We have been very fortunate as a nation in the good stock that has come to us from foreign shores. The surprise is not that we have been Europeanized so much, but so little, and that we have Americanized our foreign population so well. That fact attests the strength of our form of government and the wisdom and virtue of its founders. Of late, however, the foreign element has been poured in upon us too rapidly, much of it being of an undesirable character. We used to be the asylum for the oppressed of all nations, it looks of late, as though we were coming to be oppressed by the asylums of all nations, so much abject poverty, mental disability, moral stupidity and crime are thrown in upon us to poison us body and soul. We can take care of the whole world, but it must come to us slowly enough for us to assimilate it. Almost nowhere on the continent is our form of government so strained to maintain itself as it is in its resistance of the tremendous tide of un-American immigration which flows into New York city to remain in it. This is no time to relax American law to the standard of Old World government or Old World morals. This is no time to make New York a Berlin for the German, a St. Petersburg for the Russian, a Paris for the Frenchman, or a Rome for the Italian. It is the time to keep New York American for the Americans, whether they come from Europe, Asia, Africa, or the islands of the seas, or are native born. It is one of the fortunate results of an unfortunate panic that last year we exported about as many foreigners as we imported, giving the nation a rest and an opportunity to assimilate the elements already here. It is said that there are 400,000 Germans in New York city, and that they have been accustomed to have their beer on Sunday in their own country and should be allowed to have it here. The Germans are among our best population. Their industry, economy, integrity, domestic fidelity, intelligence, patriotism, have contributed much to our national thrift. But these hundreds of thousands of Germans have no more right to ask us to surrender our civil Sabbath, and hug the saloon to our bosom, than they have to ask us to surrender our form of govern-

ment and have a Kaiser because they have been accustomed to live under a monarchy. The proper thing for them to do is to respect and obey the laws of the country to which they have come. That the Puritan civilization is better than theirs is attested by the fact that 100,000 of the flower of the German nation come to our country every year. Numbers of Germans have strict ideas of the Sabbath, and have no love for the American saloon. Some of the most powerful advocates of Sunday closing are among the ministers and members of the evangelical German Churches in New York city.

A large proportion of the solid, substantial, law-abiding people of all religious creeds and every political faith are in favor of closing the saloons on Sunday. They believe that the Fourth is one of the Ten Commandments on which is based the jurisprudence of the ruling empires of the world, and that in the long run human society would suffer as much from disobedience of the Fourth as of any other one of the commandments. The rigid Sabbath laws of most of the English speaking nations of the world have their root in the old Anglo-Saxon idea of loyalty to God and liberty to the individual through loyalty to God.

There are others who do not recognize the religious obligation of the Sabbath, who believe in it as a civil institution. They consider it necessary as a rest for labor, a wall against crime, a shelter for virtue, and they are earnestly in favor of enforcing the law against the saloons. The Supreme Court of New York and the Court of Appeals have thus defined the civil Sabbath :

"As a civil institution it is older than the government. The framers of the first constitution found it in existence ; they recognized it in their acts. The stability of government, the welfare of the subject, and the interests of society have made it necessary that the day of rest observed by the people of a nation should be uniform, and that its observance should be, to some extent, compulsory, not by way of enforcing the conscience of those upon whom the law operates, but by way of protecting those who desire and are entitled to the day."

Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court says :

"Where there is no Christian Sabbath there is no Christian morality, and without this free government cannot long exist."

Nothing which the Catholic Church has done in its history in this country has so commanded the respect and approbation of the Christians of the United States as the strong stand it has taken against opening the saloons on Sunday. The last Plenary

Council at Baltimore, held last year, at which eighty bishops and nearly all the prominent priests in the United States assisted, and over which Cardinal Gibbons presided, has this to say on the question:

"We earnestly appeal to all Catholics without distinction, not only to take no part in any movement tending toward a relaxation of the observance of the Sunday, but to use their influence as citizens to resist in the opposite direction. There is one way of profaning the Lord's Day, which is so prolific of evil results that we consider it our duty to utter against it a special condemnation. This is the practice of selling beer or other liquors on Sunday, or of frequenting places where they are sold. This practice tends more than any other to turn the Day of the Lord into a day of dissipation, to use it for an occasion for breeding intemperance. While we hope that Sunday laws on this point will not be relaxed but even more rigidly enforced, we implore all Catholics for the love of God and of country, never to take part in such Sunday traffic, nor to patronize nor countenance it. We call upon pastors to induce all of their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to abandon as soon as they can the dangerous traffic and to embrace a more becoming way of making a living."

The Methodist Church, the largest Protestant denomination in the country, has taken a step further, and declared in favor of total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for society. Protestants and Catholics will be united in this fight, a fact which the makers of political platforms and the candidates for votes should remember before they place themselves on the wrong side of the question.

The women of the state and country are about a unit in favor of the Sabbath against the saloon. Cultured Christian women, who know the value of the Sabbath in their lives and in bringing up their families to usefulness and honor, and the poor wretched woman who is oppressed by husband, father or son crazed by drink, will join their prayers to God for the preservation of the Lord's Day. Woman may not cast a ballot, but she will be powerful in this contest.

A law opening drinking-houses on Sunday would be the entering wedge that would eventually open all the other business places. Every other branch of industry could offer a better reason for opening on Sunday than the saloon. The working men ought to stand by the church people in this contest, for if the civil Sabbath is allowed to slip away from us to business, it will mean for the laborer seven days' work for six days' wages, as in many places on the Continent.

The contest in New York city thus far has proved that the

law can be enforced. Very few people thought it could. About the strongest argument urged for a change before the Excise Committee of the last Legislature was that a law that could not be enforced engendered disrespect for law which was demoralizing. The majesty of law, however, has been vindicated not by repealing, but by enforcing, the law. This local moral victory has a far-reaching significance. It rejoices the friends of law and order all over the land. They feel that if the saloons can be closed on Sunday in New York they can be closed anywhere. Philadelphia, with more than a million of inhabitants, has but 1,400 saloons, all of which are shut on Sunday. New York follows with its victory over six times the number of these breeding places of vice. There is no reason why all the cities of the country should not profit by their example.

The enforcement of the excise law has been in every way beneficial to the public. It was claimed by the liquor men and by their many friends that it was the Puritanical law that caused the wholesale bribery of the police, and that this vice would never cease till the harsh law had been repealed. Many good people believed the falsehood. Columns of the newspapers were full of charges that Puritanical law and religious oppression caused the bribery of the police, with not a word against the thousand self-confessed bribe givers whose wicked hearts had conceived the crime. There is no bribery of the police now. It was the enforcement and not the repeal of the excise law that was needed to stop the bribery.

President Roosevelt reports that, thus far, crimes committed on the Sabbath have fallen off fifty per cent. The same good results followed the enforcement of the metropolitan excise law in New York from 1867 to 1870. Resolutions of approval signed by many of the pastors below Fourteenth street, headed by Bishop Potter, which were sent to the Police Board, attest the beneficent effects of Sunday closing on the crowded down-town population.

The liquor men having failed to secure from the Legislature the favor which they have sought for years, now propose to leave the decision of the question to a vote of the people of New York City. But when the effort was made to force the Legislature to pass a Sunday opening law, it was never once thought of leaving the matter to a vote of the people. And if the whiskey men

should have votes enough in the next Legislature to pass a Sunday opening law over the Governor's veto, the home rule proposition would never be heard of again. The church people do not like the idea of submitting to a vote the question whether the people of New York shall be permitted to steal, murder, commit adultery, break the Sabbath, or violate any other one of the Ten Commandments. A Legislature that would not recognize as true without any debate the principles of the Ten Commandments, and would not have courage enough to embody them in laws, would have no reason for its existence. It is the business of the members of the Legislature to make laws for the State. They have no right to shirk the responsibility. They ought to continue to us the civil Sabbath, which is older than the government. Some sneer at the Legislature as though it were a collection of rustics ignorant of the needs of a great city; when, in fact, nineteen Senators and fifty-six Assemblymen, or more than one-third of the whole number, are members from New York city and Brooklyn.

If a Sunday saloon is good for New York it is good for all the other towns of the State. What right has any one to discriminate in favor of the great rich city and against the poor little town? There has been much silly talk about the necessity of the city's cutting loose from the country. The country could do without New York as easily as New York could do without it. Meat and bread and milk and vegetables and fruits are drawn from the country. The stores of the city could not keep open long without customers from the country. New York is engaged in sneers at the "hayseeds." Washington and Lincoln were farmers; Grant was the son of a rural tanner; they were "hayseeds." General Harrison was born in the country and Grover Cleveland was the son of a village pastor. A majority of the leading financiers, business men, professional men of New York city, are from the country. Some of the editors who write such caustic articles about the "hayseed" Legislature learned all they know on a country newspaper. A poll of New York city would show that half, if not two-thirds, of the inhabitants are from small cities, towns, villages, and farms. There is perhaps not a great city in the civilized world that could live for two generations without population from the country to replenish and enrich it. It is more than likely that a majority of our foreign population who

scout the idea of "hayseed" representatives being able to legislate for a cosmopolitan city are themselves from rural districts in their fatherlands, some of them from regions where they eat black bread all the year, and count it a luxury to have white bread and molasses at Christmas time. In native ability, in education, in enterprise, and in moral force, the man of the country is a match for the man of the metropolis.

The civil Sabbath or the church is not at stake in this conflict. They shall stand till the end of time. Our form of government in the great cities is at stake; the American commonwealth is in the balance. There is encouragement to believe that in this fair land free government will not prove a failure; that virtue, however unfavorable the environment may be, will be stronger than vice, and that avarice and appetite for drink and all base passion will fall before love to God and fellow-man, which is moving so swiftly to the conquest of the world.

FERDINAND C. IGLEHART.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

X.—THE CAUSES OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

THERE is no doubt in my own mind that the corruption of the Second Empire, to which I referred in the preceding chapters, has led some writers astray in their appreciation of the first cause—or may be causes—whence sprang the war in Mexico. Amidst the haze which unquestionably enwraps those causes, the figure of the Swiss banker, Jecker, with his claim for 75,000,000 francs against the Government of Benito Juarez, seems to loom inordinately large; but a few moments of serious consideration must inevitably bring the conclusion that the huge contour is due to the peculiar disposition of a light behind a comparatively small substance; in other words, that the shadow is out of all proportion to the object reflected. For not the most "slap-dash" leader-writer, not the most theorizing and dogmatic essayist, let alone the more evenly-balanced student of human nature, could for an instant imagine that at the period at which we have arrived, Louis Napoleon would have embarked on the Mexican campaign for no other reason than a prospective lion's share of those 75,000,000 francs.

The following notes, emanating from the two different sources I have so often had occasion to indicate, will throw a better light on the causes that led to the Mexican campaign than any attempt of mine could. Their authors had not only the privilege of being frequently behind the scenes at the Tuileries, and the enviable and instinctive talent of deduction, but one of them—the late M. de Maupas's friend—was unquestionably, as I have already shown, on intimate terms with some of the foremost members of the Corps

Diplomatique. There are but two drawbacks to the mass of information they supply; first, it is very fragmentary, consequently it lacks sequence; secondly, the dates are wanting in nine cases of every ten. This latter defect probably arose from the authors' utter indifference as to the ultimate fate of their jottings; I have endeavored to remedy it by classification and condensation, in which, however, I was guided by the wish to give a succinct account of events rather than by considerations of chronology. I may be permitted to remark that this obvious indifference of the authors lends additional value to their evidence, for it renders their good faith above suspicion. They may have erred in their appreciation; the authenticity of the facts themselves is beyond dispute. The uniformity of style—some people might say the want of style—of these notes is due to me. As usual I have had to abbreviate and correct many of those that were in English; the French ones I have had to translate.

"There is to be more military glory and more marching at the head of civilization." Thus runs one of my English notes, evidently written at the very outset of the affair. "There is to be more military glory and more marching," it says a second time. "The military glory is almost a foregone conclusion, and there will be plenty of room for marching and even for countermarching in a country as vast as Mexico; it remains to be seen whether it may not prove a bit too vast to be furrowed by the wheels of gun-carriages instead of the plough for the reception of the seed of that civilization; it is questionable whether bayonets are the most efficient implements to 'set' seed with, even the seed of civilization. I have got an idea that one of the causes for this anxiety to march at the head of civilization through the erstwhile Empire of Montezuma is jealousy of the growing influence of the United States in that quarter and the probable consolidation of republican principles which would result from that influence. In spite of the sympathy with those principles supposed to lie dormant in Louis Napoleon's breast, he does not like them practically any more than his uncle, albeit that some of the coins of the latter's reign bear the words 'Empire et République.' Moreover, if there be jealousy in the mind of the Emperor with regard to the United States, the United States do not appear to be altogether free from an analogous sentiment with regard to him. Her public men have had, as it were, a prophetic feeling of

antagonism against him for years, in fact, almost since his very accession to the throne, which feeling, perhaps, showed itself against their wish in such matters, for instance, as their lukewarm participation in the Exposition of 1855. That lukewarmness was, if not resented, at least regretted by the new Emperor, who especially at that period was never tired of proclaiming his admiration of, and his cordial friendship for, the United States, and who expected, perhaps, a return of the compliment. He not only did not get that, but President Buchanan sounded a distinct warning against him and his probable policy with regard to Mexico as early as two years ago.* The feeling of displeasure on the Emperor's part was probably heightened by the curious coincidence that President Buchanan had given umbrage to Napoleon III. before.† The disturbed condition of the Union's home affairs is not the absolute reason for Napoleon's taking action in the matter just now, but it is one of them. He knows perfectly well that in 1857 the United States did not send their representative to Zuloaga but to Juarez, because the erstwhile Oaxaka lawyer is a man after their own heart. And it would appear that President Lincoln thinks as much of him as his predecessor. I have all this on very good authority, not from one source but from at least a half-dozen. President Lincoln has, however, his hands very full, and the Emperor thinks that Lincoln's poison may prove Napoleon's meat; for from all I hear, *the Emperor is absolutely working for his own hand,* and if all I hear be true, *for his own hand alone.*"

The note does not end here, but I am obliged to interrupt its transcription to make room for one in my younger grand-uncle's handwriting, which note affords, as it were, a kind of explanation of the last sentence of the other. The italics of that sentence are not mine, and I may also be allowed to state that if my surmises with regard to the identity of the writer of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas are correct, as I have every reason to believe they are, the two men whose information I print, that is my younger grand-uncle on the one side and the English nobleman on the other, were never even on speaking terms with one another. Their social standing and their tastes were too wide apart.

* Buchanan's speech in Congress, 1859.

† Then follows the story of Mr. Buchanan's conversation with the Emperor at the French Embassy in London in 1855, related in a previous note by the same author, both which note and story I used in Chapter V. The repetition is, to my mind, another proof that the notes were never intended for publication.

They may have met in society, and the name of the Englishman was a household word among the Parisians of that day, in the sense that the name of the Duc de Gramont-Caderousse was a little later on, but I feel certain that they never held any communication. The similarity of opinion expressed in those notes is therefore apparently all the more striking, not in reality though, when we remember that both were behind the same scenes. The note of my uncle, I should say, is of a somewhat later date.

"The English are really not showing their usual and admirable common sense in their criticisms on the Campaign in Mexico. A few weeks ago Lord Montagu" (Lord Montague?) "gave a statesmanlike account of the 'Jecker claim' in the House of Commons. He told his listeners how Jecker had sold an enormous portion of the shares of his loan to the then French Minister in Mexico, M. de Gabriac, how the latter had sold them to others until they finally came into the hands of Morny, who, according to his Lordship, bought still more from various holders, and also induced a still higher placed personage—by which, of course, he meant the Empress—to participate in the purchase. The English nobleman is unquestionably a capital speaker, and marshals his real or supposed facts with great ability, but his absolute ignorance of the character of the Emperor, Empress, Morny, and the rest of the foremost personages at Court, has led him into one or two most amusing blunders besides deluding him and his countrymen into the belief that the recovery of the Jecker claim was the main object in the Emperor's mind of the expedition to Mexico. The idea of Morny's disbursing money for such things as the Jecker bonds is too ridiculous for words, and the thought of the Empress acting upon any suggestion from Morny in that or any other matter is if anything still more ridiculous. These bonds were never sold by Jecker to Gabriac; they are probably in Jecker's possession now, though there is certainly an understanding between him and Morny that the latter shall have a considerable number of them the moment they look capable of being realized even at a tremendous discount. Why, when Jecker became bankrupt about two years ago over 68 millions of francs of those bonds, out of 75 millions issued, were found among his assets. I have this on excellent authority, namely, on that of Baron James de Rothschild, who told me at the time. It is pretty well known here that Mr. Mathews, the

English Consul in Mexico, sent word to Lord Russell that Benito Juarez had not even the comparatively small sum wherewith to send La Fuente to Europe, though it is equally well known that Abraham Lincoln, notwithstanding his own difficult position just now, has fulfilled his secret promise to the real defender of Mexico's independence to send him money, arms, and, if possible, volunteers. But Juarez is scrupulously honest, and with the subsidies received he no doubt discharged his most pressing liabilities, and left himself almost penniless. Not only are the personal resources of Juarez and his adherents practically exhausted, but the country itself is in a similar sad plight. The report has just reached here that the capital has not even sufficient funds for the decorations and triumphal arches on the occasion of the entry of the French troops, and that M. Martin Daran, a banker in that city, advanced 40,000 francs for the purpose. One can scarcely imagine the Emperor to be ignorant of those reports, and yet it is assumed by a prominent member of the English parliament, and probably by others also, that in order to press the Jecker claim more forcibly, the Emperor continues his occupation, for there is scarcely any contention about the purely French claim, though the Emperor for reasons of his own would scarcely admit this.

"The English Government informed Lord Cowley about five months ago that in a conversation with the French Ambassador Lord Russell had given the latter to understand that if the French would completely abandon the Jecker claim, her Majesty's Minister would support the purely French claim, though not for the amount claimed. I wonder whether Lord Russell is aware that the Comte de Flahaut, the French Ambassador in question, is the father of Morny, that Morny has been mainly instrumental in procuring the appointment of Dubois de Saligny as French ambassador in Mexico in succession to the Comte de Gabriac, and that Dubois de Saligny, who aroused all the ill-feeling of the Mexicans or rather of the Juarists—although the terms seem almost to be synonymous—against the French in order to report that ill-feeling to his government, has boasted to one of the Civil Commissioners of the army of occupation that his (Saligny's) 'sole merit consisted in having foreseen the intention of the Emperor to intervene in the affairs of Mexico, and to have rendered

such intervention absolutely necessary.' All those doings and sayings are recorded in private letters from Mexico, private letters which would be useful indeed to some of the European statesmen who seem to be stone-blind with regard to the real motives and intentions of the Emperor.

"For the support thus generously offered by England is the very thing the Emperor does not want. It would smooth the money difficulties between Juarez and himself, and would at once destroy the pretext for a protracted occupation. Jecker's claim, as being less likely of settlement, affords a pretext more difficult to destroy, and that is where Jecker will probably score and Morny pocket his ill-gotten gains. Let it not be thought for one moment that the Emperor has the faintest sympathy with Jecker as the creditor of the Mexican Government or erstwhile Government. He is as firmly convinced of the iniquity of the claim, and that apart from the amount, as all those must be who have given the matter the slightest attention. But he saw in it at once the opportunity he had been looking for for at least three years, that is, ever since it became patent to him that the war with Austria for the liberation of Italy, now that it had been successful, would inevitably lead to complications with the Holy See. For the wish to regain, if possible, the good graces of the Vatican is another factor in the Mexican Campaign, and a much more powerful one than the recovery of the moneys Mexico owes to France. It must be remembered that the Liberals, the partisans of Juarez, have confiscated the lands and property of the clergy, which property, if realized, would assume almost fabulous proportions. Unfortunately for the real independence of Mexico this realization is at present impossible. In the disturbed state of the country no foreigner would invest, and the Mexican higher clergy have already threatened the Mexicans born with major excommunication if they bought the tiniest plot of that property or paid rent for it. General La Forey has already had to interfere in that respect.

"At the first blush nothing seemed easier for the Emperor than to have made France's claim against Mexico the basis for an intervention, although—and I am absolutely certain of what I say—the whole debt with regard to moneys lent at the beginning of the intervention scarcely exceeded a million of francs. The rest had been incorporated into the Jecker loan, which, 'giving

new bonds for old ones,' had nominally made Jecker and Company the chief creditor of Mexico. The whole of the French claims other than for money lent, even if every claim had been justified, would not have exceeded another million. The latter is the claim which in the first clause of the ultimatum at Soledad, has been magnified into sixty million francs for damages and losses sustained by French subjects up to July, 1862. The ultimatum did well to insist that the claim had to be acknowledged by Mexico, without discussion on her part and without France furnishing particulars. Monstrous as this may appear in the light of the comity of nations, it is still more monstrous in view of the following fact, for the authenticity of which I can vouch. After the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa, the French had their claims settled to the amount of three millions of francs, a million of which remained after a careful examination of the claims by the French Government itself. That million was afterwards divided by the French Government among the necessitous Frenchmen in Mexico.

"France, therefore, has not fared badly either at the hands of Juarez or at those of his predecessors. Nevertheless, as I said just now, inasmuch as a claim, which upon conscientious examination would not have amounted to two millions (including moneys lent), was magnified into one of sixty, the Emperor might as well have taken that one as the redemption of the Jecker bonds for the basis of his intervention, with the additional knowledge of having a more ungrudging material support from England, and a moral one from the rest of the powers.

"But this would have been altogether at variance with his temper. That spirit of indecision of his, that tendency to have any number of strings to his bow, in reference to various and often conflicting ends, that spirit and tendency which to a great extent, though not wholly, had remained in abeyance in the beginning of his reign, have recently assumed the upper hand. The Emperor likes to suspend his decision about any and everything until the last moment, and after having weighed the *for* and *against* of a scheme for ever so long, he ends up by taking a sudden but entirely unforeseen resolution. The resolution to make the Jecker bonds the pretext for the expedition was of that kind and surprised no one so much as Jecker himself, who had certainly no such hopes when he applied to the Emperor.

Far from disbursing money for Jecker bonds, which at that time were practically worthless, Morny must have had a pretty lump sum from Jecker on the promise of interesting the Emperor on his behalf. There was, moreover, a correspondence very compromising to the natural brother of the Emperor. The sum Morny had received was too considerable to be refunded by the Emperor—people say it was a million and a half of francs—and Morny had not taken a step towards redeeming his promise. Jecker, on the other hand, positively refused to part with the correspondence, nay, threatened to publish it unless that sum was refunded; and as Jecker was not naturalized then, consequently not a Frenchman, the usual means for gagging him, or for that matter for suppressing him altogether, resorted to by the Prefecture of Police, were not available.

"It is doubtful whether the Emperor would have resorted to them if they had been available. He jumped at the redemption of the Jecker bonds as a valid pretext for intervention. For I repeat again and again, the redemption of the Jecker bonds is a pretext, just as the offer of the crown of Mexico to Maximilian of Austria is a sham. I may not live to see this, but if the expedition be successful, and Maximilian elevated to the throne, he may remain there for his lifetime, if for so long, but the succession will devolve upon Napoleon's heirs; for what the Emperor has really in his mind is a great empire in America for the French, just as there is a great empire in India for the English. If the thought had been seriously entertained to found a stable empire for any one but Napoleon III. and his heirs, Napoleon III. would not have selected a childless prince and a prince who is childless after five years of marriage. There is another end the Emperor has in view by that selection, the reconciliation with the Holy See. Maximilian is a staunch Catholic, and the Mexican higher clergy, the most corrupt in the world, will regain their influence under him. It will be a set-off against the probable loss by Pius IX. of his temporal sovereignty. If that fails Napoleon III. will think out something else to conciliate the Vatican."*

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

* My uncle was right, the Convention of 1864 between Italy and France was "the other thing."

HUNTING LARGE GAME.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

THE bison, or buffalo, was the roving Indian's mainstay and support. It furnished him with splendid robes to protect him from the cold of winter. Its hide, with that of the elk, furnished him warm shelter and clothing, while the venison and buffalo meat supplied him with an abundance of wholesome and toothsome food. The vast region from the Rio Grande, through Texas, eastern New Mexico and Colorado, the Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Wyoming, Montana, and the plains of British America, was the pasture ground of millions of buffalo. I think it is safe to say that from the crest of a mesa or some high butte I have frequently seen from twenty thousand to thirty thousand within a radius of ten or fifteen miles. Within a single decade the buffalo, as well as the wild horse of the plains, became extinct, the last remnant of both having been run down and killed or taken in the vicinity of that strange section overlooked by surveying parties in laying out the boundaries of Kansas, the Indian Territory, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, known as No Man's Land.

The chase of the buffalo was the Indian's chief amusement as well as one of his means of livelihood, and was carried on usually on horseback, formerly with bow and lance, latterly with rifle also. In this exercise they became wonderfully expert. Mounted on his strong, fleet "Indian pony," well trained for the chase, he dashed off at full speed amongst the herd and discharged his deadly arrows to their hearts from his horse's back. This horse was the fleetest animal of the prairie, and easily brought his rider alongside of his game. Both the horse and rider had been stripped beforehand of everything, shield, quiver, dress, and saddle, which might in the least encumber or handicap the horse for speed, the Indian carrying only bow and quiver with half a dozen arrows

drawn from it and held lightly and loosely in his left hand ready for instant use. With a trained horse the Indian rider had little use for the line, which was fastened around the horse's neck with a noose around the under jaw, falling loosely over the horse's neck and trailing behind, passing to the left side of the rider. This was used for a great variety of purposes—to stop, to guide, to secure the animal, to throw him, and bind him when down. All this the Indians did with great skill.

The approach was made upon the right side of the game, the arrow being thrown to the left at the instant the horse was passing the animal's heart, or some vital organ, which received the deadly weapon "to the feather." In fact, Indians have been known to send their arrows with such force as to drive them completely through the buffalo.

The Indian generally rode close in the rear of the herd until he had selected the animal he wished to kill. He then separated it from the throng by watching for a favorable opportunity, and, dashing his horse between, forcing it off by itself and killing it, thus avoiding the danger of being trampled to death, as he was liable to be if operating within the massed herd.

The training of the horse was such that it quickly knew the object of its rider's selection, and exerted every energy to come to close quarters. In the chase the rider leaned well forward and off from its side, with his bow firmly drawn ready for the shot, which was given the instant he was opposite the animal's body. The horse, being instinctively afraid of the huge beast, kept his eyes strained upon him, and the moment he reached the proximity required, and heard the twang of the bow or the crack of the rifle, he sheered instantly, though gradually, off, to escape the horns of the infuriated beast. Frightful collisions would occasionally occur, notwithstanding the wonderful sagacity of the horse and the caution of the rider. Occasionally the buffalo would turn before being wounded. In a buffalo chase, I had one turn quickly on myself, even before I had a chance to fire a shot. Capt. Frank D. Baldwin, of the Fifth Infantry, had a number of most remarkable escapes both from buffaloes and from wolves, and as illustrating the characteristics of both these species of large game, I may instance in some detail one or two of his dangerous adventures. One day in September, 1870, when he was stationed at Fort Hayes, Kansas, he received a note from a friend in

Chicago, saying that he, with two others, would be out to take a buffalo hunt.

Baldwin was Quartermaster of the post at that time. Among the horses which he used himself was an extra-fine "buffalo horse." This horse was one of the most perfect of its kind, and it was no poor horseman that would remain on him after firing the shot, unless he thoroughly understood the traits of the horse. Of course when the friend and his party came it was incumbent upon Baldwin to give him the best buffalo horse, while he himself was obliged to ride an untrained one from the corral.

They rode out with great expectations of having a fine time, and, after travelling twelve or fifteen miles, discovered their first herd of buffalo. Baldwin had warned his friend of the necessity of watching his horse after firing, but feeling confident that in the excitement of his first chase he would forget all about it, kept along close beside him. Sure enough, at the first shot fired when about fifty yards from the buffalo, the horse made his sharp turn, and off went the rider.

After getting him up and on the horse again, Baldwin thought he would show what he could do himself; so with the green horse on which he was mounted, he started for a fine bull and soon overtook him. By a little urging he was able to get the horse close beside him, and then fired, mortally wounding the animal; but the horse, instead of trying to escape the brute, kept along by his side. Instantly the buffalo turned and imbedded his horns in the horse, just behind the flanks. Baldwin was thrown over the buffalo. He alighted on his head and shoulders, and remained unconscious for several minutes. When he became conscious the buffalo was standing there, bleeding at the mouth and nose, with his four legs spread apart, and in the last agonies of death, but looking fiercely at Baldwin, watching for the least indication of life. Had he made the slightest movement, as he no doubt would have done if he had had the strength, he would have been gored to death. Parts of the horse were still hanging to the horns of the buffalo. Fortunately this condition of affairs did not last more than a minute, when the buffalo fell dead with his head within a few feet of Baldwin's person.

What was regarded by the Indians as royal sport has been denominated the "surround." It required a body of three or four hundred warriors to perform it satisfactorily. First, a few

runners were sent out to discover a herd of buffalo, frequently selecting one containing as many as two hundred. Then dividing the force of warriors, and selecting some four or five groups of from fifteen to twenty warriors each, to take position outside the moving body that was to encircle the herd at prominent points where they could give chase to and destroy any buffalo that might break through the closing-in line and escape, the main body proceeded to surround the herd. They went in groups to different sides of the herd and then gradually approached from all directions, closing the animals in and starting them to running around within the circle formed by the converging and contracting line of warriors. So skillfully was this managed that they would keep the herd in motion, alternating in the chase and firing, until they had destroyed the entire number. It approaches more nearly than any other sport to the excitement of a battle, exhibiting the same skillful horsemanship and marksmanship without the attending danger.

In the dead of winter the Indian would run upon the surface of the snow by the aid of snow shoes, while the great weight of the buffaloes, sinking them down through even when the snow was heavily encrusted, rendered them easy victims to the bow or lance of their pursuers.

Another method of the Indian in hunting was to place himself under the skin of the wolf and crawl up on his hands and knees until within a few rods of an unsuspecting group of buffalo, where he could easily shoot down the fattest of the herd.

There were several varieties of wolf on the plains, the most formidable as well as the most numerous being the gray wolf, often as large as a Newfoundland dog. They were gregarious, going about in packs of fifty or sixty, and were always to be seen following about in the vicinity of herds of buffalo, standing ready to pick the bones of those the hunters left on the ground, or to overtake and devour those that were wounded, which were an easy prey. While the herd of buffalo were together they seemed to have little dread of the wolves, and allowed them to come in close company. It was this fact that suggested the above described stratagem. When the buffalo were abundant these wolves were harmless to man, but as the buffalo diminished in numbers, and the food of the wolves became precarious, they grew ferocious when made ravenous by hunger.

Captain Baldwin gave me an account of an incident that happened to him in May, 1866.

"I was stationed," said he, "at Fort Harker, Kansas, in command of a company of the 37th Infantry. Fort Harker was located on the overland stage route from Fort Riley to Denver, and after leaving Fort Harker it was unsafe for any one to travel in daylight except with a good escort of troops. . . .

"On one of my journeys of inspection I stopped about thirty miles from the fort to have a buffalo hunt, and hunted all day, but at night I was obliged to start back for the post. I left the station about four o'clock in the afternoon in a light snowstorm, with a tolerably fresh horse that was both strong and spirited. I was alone and armed only with a small thirty-six calibre pistol, depending almost entirely upon my horse to escape any danger from Indians, not anticipating danger from any other source.

"I had ridden about ten miles when it began to grow dark. My horse taking an easy trot, I was rather enjoying the ride. I had noticed previous to this time the howling of wolves, but had paid very little attention to it. As I rode along I noticed that this howling began to get closer, and at length was aroused from my reverie by the bark and howl of two or three wolves very close to me. Looking back I saw two coyotes and one big prairie or Lobo wolf following close behind me, and howling their utmost. This rather startled the horse, as you may be sure it did me. I increased my speed, but still they gained on me, and it wasn't long before their numbers grew to a dozen or more, and the distance between them and my horse was very much lessened.

"I began to appreciate the danger and realized for the first time that I had a weapon with which it was very doubtful whether I could defend myself against such ravenous beasts as these. I recalled the fact that just before leaving I had counted the number of rounds of ammunition I had, which was just forty-nine.

"I had left the stage route, intending to go to the post by a trail which would save me something more than five miles in distance, and as it was dark I had no hopes of gaining one of the stations along the route, but was obliged to keep to the trail, trusting to my mount to take me out of what had now become a real danger. The wolves kept gaining on me until they had got within a very short distance before I fired the first shot at them, which, fortunately, disabled one of their number to the extent

that the blood ran from him, and he began to howl, whereupon the whole pack pounced upon him and tore him to pieces. This gave me a little start of one or two hundred yards before they commenced following again. I fired every shot with the greatest care, and it was very seldom that I missed disabling or killing one of them.

"Afraid of tiring my horse at the start, I rode very carefully. The number of the wolves increased until there were not less than from fifty to seventy-five of them, and they followed me for at least twenty miles, cutting my horse in the rear and flanks, often getting almost in his front, enabling me to shoot from right to left, firing when the animals were not four feet distant from me. Fortunately I ran through a large herd of buffalo, which I think diverted a large portion of the wolves from following me. Still some of them kept after me until I got within five miles of the post, when I had only four rounds of ammunition left, and I felt it was necessary to make the supreme effort to escape from them. My horse was nearly exhausted and bleeding from the wounds of the wolves, but I put spurs to him, urging him to his utmost speed, and reached the bank of the Smoky Hill River, on the side opposite that on which the post was located, completely worn out with fatigue and excitement, and my horse dropped dead before I could remove the saddle. I then waded the river filled with floating ice."

In all that country ranged by the buffalo, were to be found the elk and deer, and a variety of feathered game. The prairie chicken was the most conspicuous. This bird is also found in great numbers east of that belt, in the States of Iowa, Illinois and Minnesota. This region, during the Spring and Autumn, also abounds with water fowl—snipe, curlew, wild ducks and wild geese of every variety.

My personal experience with game and hunting has been somewhat limited. During the years that I was in that wild country of the West, much of my time was devoted to hunting hostile Indians. In Kansas in the early part of 1870, I found some leisure, however, to devote to hunting buffalo with General Custer, who had a cavalry command near mine, and who was well equipped with horses and had a large pack of dogs. I also found much healthful exercise and recreation in hunting wild turkey, prairie chicken and quail, over the rolling prairies of Kansas, where

there was plenty of cover in the wild grass, which yet was not so high but that we could see the intelligent and well-trained setters and pointers work to perfection. I preferred the prairie chicken to the quail as being a much better mark as well as a finer bird. The wild duck could be found in considerable numbers at that time in Western Kansas. In the timbered reaches of the "Rockies" the blue grouse were and are quite abundant.

During the construction of the transcontinental railroads, a large amount of game was killed for the use of the men employed in that work. In this way William F. Cody made his reputation as a buffalo hunter. He was at that time a young man in the twenties, tall, stalwart and of magnificent physique—one of the handsomest and most powerful men I have ever known, with auburn locks of a golden hue, large, brilliant, dark eyes, and perfect features. He was a daring rider and a most expert rifleman. He excelled in the rush after game, and could kill more buffalo during a single run than any other man I have ever known. He not only took the risks of a desperate chase, but he and his party had to be constantly on the lookout for Indians. Under his contract, he for quite a long time supplied the railroad contractors and builders with meat in this manner.

Farther north in the Dakotas and Montana, although the country was alive with large game, my command was so incessantly occupied in hunting Indians that it was rarely that any attention could be paid to game, except occasionally buffalo, deer, and mountain sheep. I regard the meat of the mountain sheep or big-horn, as the finest of all large game. The pursuit of this animal requires great skill, hard work, and dangerous climbing. They frequent the little mesas and ledges at the foot of precipitous cliffs. They are very keen-sighted and difficult of approach. When in repose they are usually found on little ledges where they can survey the country below. For this reason the hunter aims to get above them, and is prepared to shoot at first sight. The skin on the knee and brisket of the mountain sheep is nearly an inch thick, made so by kneeling on the sharp rocks. In the broken country of the Rockies the black-tailed deer are nearly as sure-footed as the mountain sheep, and frequently use their trails.

About the most interesting sport I have ever engaged in, was the hunting of large wolves in Indian Territory in 1875, when they were found in great numbers. A party of hunters, very

often numbering from ten to twenty, and well mounted, would move out to a divide or high ground of the rolling prairies, each with a greyhound or staghound in leash, while some men would be sent along through the timber and the ravines with deer-hounds and bloodhounds to start the wolves out of the cover on to the high ground. The moment they appeared and undertook to cross the prairie, a signal would be given and the dogs let loose. The result would be a grand rush and chase of from three to five miles, winding up with a fierce fight. The large gray wolves were very powerful; you could hear their jaws snap half a mile away, and frequently they cut the dogs very badly. When any one dog had courage enough to make the attack all the others would rush in; and I have frequently seen the whole pack upon one large wolf.

There is, however, rarer sport than this to me in hunting the bear with a well trained pack of dogs. Mr. Montague S. Stevens, an English gentleman, who has a large cattle ranch in New Mexico, has a fine pack of dogs, composed of bloodhounds, fox terriers, staghounds, boarhounds, Russian wolfhounds, and various others of the canine species—the first used as trailers—and taken altogether they will tree or bring to bay any bear found in the country. In fact they fight the bear so furiously that he pays little attention to the hunters, so that they can approach with comparative safety. It is royal sport, though very difficult and somewhat dangerous. The hunters are usually mounted on strong, hardy, sure-footed horses, as they are obliged to ride rapidly up and down the sides of precipitous mountains.

Bear hunting is the most dangerous of all kinds of sport, and is uninteresting unless one is equipped with a well trained pack of dogs—a pack used for no other purpose. Such dogs are never allowed to hunt any other game.

The game of the West has rapidly disappeared before the huntsman's rifle. It is a fair estimate that four million buffaloes were killed within the five years between 1874 and 1879, from what was known as the Southern herd, which roamed through Northern Texas, the Indian Territory, Kansas, and Nebraska. Between 1878 and 1883 the great Northern herd—quite as numerous—roaming through the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana, were destroyed in like manner. The hunters received on an average from $2.50 to $3.50 per hide, to be shipped out of the

country and sold for leather making, belting, harnesses, and kindred purposes. Many thousands of men were engaged in the enterprise. The most successful hunting parties consisted of a hunter and about six men known as strippers. The time usually selected for taking the buffaloes was just after they had been grazing in the morning, had gone to the water and then returned to the high ground, lying down to rest in bunches of from twenty to a hundred. The hunter, with the longest range rifle of the heaviest calibre he could obtain, would fire from the leeward side, so far away that the crack of the rifle could not be heard by the buffalo, and being behind a bush or bunch of grass, could not be seen. In that way he would kill from a dozen to a hundred a day, without disturbing the herd to any great extent. The buffalo receiving a mortal wound would bleed to death, while the others about him, smelling the blood, would sometimes come near him and paw the ground and so stand until they too would receive their death wounds. The strippers would then come up with ox teams, take off the hides, place them in the wagons, and transport them to the nearest railroad station, whence they were shipped to market. At one station alone on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad as many as 750,000 hides were shipped in one year.

After the hides were removed, the carcass would be poisoned in many cases, some yearling buffalo being generally selected, and next morning there might be found forty or fifty dead wolves lying scattered around, victims of strychnine. In this way the large game was rapidly destroyed, together with countless numbers of wolves that had thrived only by preying upon them. This might seem like cruelty and wasteful extravagance, but the buffalo, like the Indian, stood in the way of civilization and the path of progress, and the decree had gone forth that they must give way. It was impossible to herd domestic stock in a country where they were constantly liable to be stampeded by the moving herds of wild animals. The same territory which a quarter of a century ago was supporting those vast herds of wild game is now sustaining millions of domestic animals which afford the food supply to hundreds of millions of people in civilized countries.

NELSON A. MILES.

IS SOCIALISM ADVANCING IN ENGLAND?

BY THE REV. PROF W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

SOCIALISM may still perhaps be identified in the minds of some with anarchy, atheism, dynamite and assassination; but its reasonable and intelligent friends among us have stripped it of these and other ugly adjuncts. It is not now held to be the product of either dreaming lunatics on the one hand, or reckless desperadoes on the other; it is allowed by friends and foes alike to have a reasonable basis, and to be capable of a friendly alliance with religion, family order and morality. It has ceased to be regarded as the culmination of democratic violence, bent on seizing all existing property, flinging it into a common reservoir, and doling it out to all and sundry in equal dividends; it is no longer the synonym of anarchy or of communism. It is on this account that it is receiving much more attention than in former days and, according to its advocates, constant recruits.

The distinctive term by which it now desires to be known is "collectivism," and the essence, or as Dr. Schäffle puts it, the quintessence of collectivism may be simply stated. Its object is to transfer the whole *means of production*—all that goes to *produce* the commodities needful for human beings, namely, land, machinery, workshops, warehouses, ships, railways, and all capital used in production—from the ownership of individuals to the ownership of the State. Its purpose is illustrated by the transaction which took place a few years ago when the ownership of all our British telegraphs was transferred from railway companies or other owners to the State. The transference, however, of the whole instruments of production would be of no avail unless followed up by a corporate organization of labor and a distribution of the proceeds in proportion to the value of the work done by each laborer. On these three things—nationalization of the instru-

ments of production, unification of labor, and proportionate distribution of the fruits—the fabric of socialism rests, as it is usually presented by its more intelligent advocates in this closing decade of the nineteenth century. Nothing is allowed to be socialism, or at least collectivism, that does not embrace these points.

In this way modern English Socialism severs connection not only with revolution and anarchy, but also with certain elaborate systems, such as Fourier's "Phalansteries," or even Comte's "polity," by means of which society was to be constituted on an entirely new basis. It also differentiates itself from not a few movements to which the general name of Socialism, or social reform, is often given. The "Christian Socialism" of Kingsley, Maurice, and others, some forty years ago, does not come under the true category of Socialism, because it did not recognise these three points. Even the "Christian Social Union" of the present day is not in its constitution socialistic, although some of its members may have embraced the tenets of collectivism. Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, in his "Social Aspects of Christianity,' shows warm sympathy with socialist objects, with the elevation and increased comfort of the working classes, but he does not believe in socialistic weapons. "Lombard Street in Lent," the somewhat enigmatical title of a series of addresses by members of the Christian Social Union, strives to correct many of the blemishes in the present economy of labor, but does not advocate the distinctive principles of collectivism. It may be a question whether the members of this Union are not as well entitled to the name of socialists as the advocates of the three points; and it is only as a matter of convenience that in this paper we restrict its application to those who claim, as a *sine quâ non*, the nationalization of the whole instruments of production.

Unfortunately it is impossible to deny that under the present system many serious social evils are found. Nothing can be more uncomfortable than the disputes between capital and labor; nothing more tragical than the strikes and lock-outs to which they often lead. And as to the condition of the lowest class of our people in London and other large towns, it is simply heart-breaking. It is a disgrace to civilization. All these evils collectivists ascribe, without hesitation, to the system that has hitherto ruled in the world of labor, the system of "individual-

ism," and the ruinous competition which it involves. Their view is, that under the present system, labor is exploited for the sole benefit of the capitalist; it is his aim to produce as cheaply as possible; in order to do this the workman is robbed of his fair share of profit and the capitalist fattens on the spoil. The tendency of the system is to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Small industries are swallowed up by large; all independent ways of making a livelihood are cut off from the worker; he must depend on the capitalist for the very right to live. It is a system that affords no prospect of improvement; the process of the fat kine swallowing up the lean (for Pharaoh's dream is reversed) must go on as long as there are lean kine to be swallowed, and at the completion of the process, what you will have will be, a few men rich "beyond the dreams of avarice," and the great mass "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

There is some truth, and also some exaggeration here. As a whole, it is not true that the skilled artisan class has become poorer of late years; on the contrary that class is much better off. Any statistical statement of wages and prices makes this plain. And as for the unskilled and unemployed mass, whose conditions of life are so miserable, it should be remembered that it is characteristic of the large towns where they live, that the feeble of the race are not absorbed or borne up by the rest, but sink to the bottom. Moreover, whether it be cause or effect, it is to be noted that much of the helplessness of this class and much of their misery are due to drink. Any explanation of the misery of the east end of London and all our large towns that overlooks the influence of drink, is on the very face of it miserably and palpably defective.

Still, our modern industrial system has much to answer for. The history of our manufactures is not flattering to human nature. In the early part of the century, when the practice began of employing large numbers of men, women and children in single manufactories or other industries, the abuses that arose were frightful. It is shocking to read of children toiling for fourteen or fifteen hours a day, and only kept awake by the lash of the foreman; of women, even in a state of pregnancy, carrying heavy loads in pits, or working deep in water, or of children on all fours with a chain round their waist dragging trucks of coal along dark and dirty passages; of injured spines and twisted

limbs, of wounds and bruises, premature old age and early deaths, all caused by the greed of men who did not scruple to wring their wealth out of the life blood of their workers. This was the first result of the system of free competition, of supply and demand, of *laissez-faire,* of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. No wonder that even when somewhat reformed, it aroused the indignation of men like Mr. Ruskin, whose denunciations of it have served in no slight degree to bring it to the bar of public opinion, and to swell the chorus of social condemnation. But, thanks to Lord Shaftesbury and other good men, many of these abuses are now swept away and others have been greatly modified. And, in the judgment of many wise and benevolent men, the right course for the English nation is to persevere on these lines of improvement, in the hope that if equal progress be made in years to come as in the past, the condition of the working class will become sufficiently civilized and comfortable.

But in this view socialists will not concur. They maintain that under any system of capitalism in the hands of individuals, the object of the employer will be to give as little as possible of the profits of their labor to his workmen, and keep as much as possible to himself. The value of any product, socialists say, is determined by the amount and quality of the labor bestowed on it. To whom does this value rightfully belong but to the worker? Unless the worker gets the full value of his work, he is robbed. No amendment of the present system will ever give the workman all that he is entitled to. Such a result will never take place till the whole instruments of production are public property, and labor is so organized that, after necessary deductions, each laborer shall receive the share which corresponds to the amount and quality of his labor.

The threshing out of the principle here assumed, that the value of products is measured by the labor bestowed on them, has not proved very favorable to socialism. It is denied that labor is the only element that goes to constitute value. Dr. Flint, in his recent elaborate book on socialism, has shown well that mere labor creates nothing, any more than the moving of our hands and feet in space would create anything. Labor must receive from nature the materials on which it works; it must be aided by the intelligence that plans and directs it, and by the machinery, often complicated and elaborate, that has been designed

for its purposes; and it must be turned to account by the discovery of customers who desire to purchase its products. It is one thing to maintain that labor is an essential element of value, and also that in the distribution of profits labor has not hitherto received its due share; but it is another thing to represent it as the one element of value, and to make this the standard by which the just demands of the workmen are to be tried. Even Dr. Schäffle, in spite of his strong leaning to socialism, strongly contends that, in addition to the *labor* value of products, we must take into account what he calls their *use* value, the value that arises from the amount of demand there is for them. I may write an elaborate book that costs me a world of labor, but, useful though it may be, the demand for it may be almost *nil*. Under a socialistic scheme of regarding labor, how should the value of my book be determined? If by the amount of my labor, it will stand high; if by the sale of the book, extremely low. What Dr. Schäffle maintains is that socialism has not grappled with this question, which, under any practical scheme, would be an extremely important one. We are not, therefore, entitled to assume, as so many socialists do, especially of the working class, that labor is what constitutes the sole or nearly sole value of products, or to maintain that the workman is robbed aye and until he obtain the full value of the product which his hands have fashioned.

Land holds a foremost place among the means of production that must become public property under a valid socialistic economy. Naturally, the question arises, How is the land to be acquired by the nation? Happily the idea of seizing it without compensation has no advocates among reasonable men. There are those who mutter that as the land was originally the property of the nation, but has unrighteously come to private owners, who enjoy its fruits at the expense of the laborer, who, as producer, ought to have the greater part of them, all landlords should be treated as robbers and compelled to disgorge their unrighteous mammon. But any such proposal would give too great a shock to the conscience of the nation to be seriously entertained. The nation recognizes the right of private property under arrangements that have come down from time immemorial, even supposing that centuries ago the first private proprietors acquired the property unjustly. And some of the most intelligent advocates of socialism hold that a landlord or a capitalist who should

be converted to socialism would be under no obligation, moral or legal, to throw up his property, so long as the present system prevailed.

Compensation, therefore, in some form, would be due to the landlord if his land were transferred to the state. But any such arrangement would be a poor one for the people, seeing that even under the present system the profits derived from land are so small, and it is more than doubtful whether they would be better under public management. As we say, a money compensation in these circumstances would make the arrangement as broad as it is long—perhaps broader. But, under a thorough system of socialism money would be abolished. There could therefore be no compensation in money. The compensation, according to Dr. Schäffle, both for land, capital and other instruments of production, would be in the form of perishable goods—in what is called labor-money, that is to say, in the form of orders on the department of distribution for such goods as they distributed, consisting of the common necessaries and a few of the luxuries of life. But the compensation would not yield a permanent income, nor would it allow the recipients to carry on any productive work that would make them independent. As Dr. Schäffle remarks, even the fortune of a Rothschild could not long resist the process of dissipation that would soon set in!

Another proposed way of dealing with landed property is to increase taxation on it to such an extent that ultimately its whole value should be absorbed in the taxes, and landlords would no longer care to keep what brought them nothing. This is the course advocated by Mr. Henry George, and by Morris and Bax in their work on *Socialism* (1893), as it is also by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, editor of the *Church* [of England] *Reformer*. It is indeed strange that so mean a proposal should find respectable advocates. But it is hardly less strange that it should be entertained as a practicable scheme. How should such a taxation obtain the sanction of Parliament? Unless, indeed, we should come to have a Parliament of red-hot socialists, the thing is out of the question; and that is a prospect that does not seem very near! Even the 25 per cent. tax proposed by the Financial Reform Association may be regarded as quite Utopian.

That all property acquired by and for the nation must be reasonably compensated for is, therefore, coming to be admitted

generally in England, although voices against compensation may be heard occasionally. Compensation would take the sting out of the older socialism, and place the whole question on a footing on which it might be calmly discussed by honest and reasonable men.

Other important concessions, as we must call them, have also been made. For instance, the introduction of socialism is no longer advocated in the form of a revolutionary mechanical measure, to supersede the present system as suddenly and as completely as the railways superseded the stage coach, or as the electric light takes the place of gas. It is admitted that any change must be a gradual one, and that the new system, instead of a mechanical creation, must be a vital growth. The law of evolution must apply to it. All permanent institutions, it is seen, follow this law, and anything affecting society must obey it. And then the question arises, How long time may the process demand? Various answers have been given, ranging between fifty and five hundred years: for, as evolution generally works slowly, it is seen that this process must be slow. By this concession, another ground of alarm has been removed. People are seldom alarmed at the prospect of a change which is to work slowly and gradually, like the subsidence of a beach losing a foot or two in a hundred years. It was the idea that socialism was to be brought in like the French Revolution that terrified people, the idea of "after me the deluge;" the thought of Europe converted into an innumerable multitude of volcanoes, causing confusion and desolation on every side.

And then, too, we find that the more reasonable socialists are more concerned to sow the seed of their principles and leaven society with their spirit, than to attempt the practical execution of their projects. This is clearly seen in Mr. Sidney Webb's *Socialism in England* (Second Edition, 1893), one of the most reasonable expositions of the system which have lately appeared. In common with most socialists, he sees a great tendency to the adoption of socialist views and operations in the public policy of the nation. That is to say, we are continually increasing the number of institutions managed by the nation for the nation. The army, the navy, are old socialist institutions; but in recent times the carriage of letters, books, and parcels, the telegraph system, public education, life insurance (through the post office),

granting annuities, remitting money, etc., etc., are socialist operations. Municipal socialism is even more active than national. All that concerns the heating, lighting, cleansing and repairing of the streets; in many cases gas-works, water-works, tramways, galleries, gardens and baths have become public concerns. And, outside the nation and the municipality, individual ownership is in the course of being exchanged for joint-stock companies, hundreds and thousands of proprietors taking the place of one. The very men that denounce socialism, as Mr. Sidney Webb puts it, are unconsciously practising it. "The individualist town councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas, and cleaned by municipal broom with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school, hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system and tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading-room, by the municipal art gallery, museum, and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall, in favor of the nationalization of the canals and the increase of the government control over the railway system." And yet he will denounce socialism as a dream!

Socialists believe that in these and in other ways, the public mind is becoming familiarized with the great idea—collectivism *versus* individualism. As the process goes on, they think that it will become ripe for the last and crowning step—the conversion of the whole instruments of production into the property of the State. By the time that the public mind is thus prepared, another operation, also favorable to socialism, will have been completed—the absorption of all the smaller industries, and the extinction of the class of individuals working at their own hand, for their own benefit. When this comes to pass socialists think we may slide into socialism as easily as the railway train, at the end of its journey, slides into the rail that brings it to the platform.

So long as socialists work mainly on these two lines—exposing the evils of the present system, and indicating the reality and the benefit of socialist principles, so far as they are currently in

operation among us—it is possible that it will become more popular; it may gather new recruits, and it may avoid the rough handling that the older and bolder socialism encountered. But it seems to us a great mistake to suppose that the forms of national or municipal socialism now in operation will really prepare the way for the final gulp. Before the whole instruments of production are nationalized many important and difficult questions have to be settled. In the first place, how are we to find a substitute for the motives that under the present system impel men to diligence, activity, and inventiveness? In other words, how is a man to be induced to work as hard for the welfare of the community as he does for himself and his family? It is sometimes said in reply to this, that selfishness and other evil propensities will pass away when the present temptations to the exercise of them are removed; men will become generous and amiable when nothing is to be gained by greed and passion. It were amusing, if it were not too serious for amusement, to mark the simplicity of mind with which this transformation of human nature is expected from a change of circumstances! As if in all circumstances and under all systems, monarchy, republicanism, democracy, oligarchy, and amid all conditions of life, riches or poverty, ease or struggle, success or failure, the great features and failings of human nature had not always been, and would not always be, the same! Nothing in all the speculations, whether of the socialists or the philosophers of the present day, is so surprising as the facility with which they think they can generate an "altruism" sufficient for their purposes! In this connection, the contention of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, demands our serious consideration. He maintains that all the altruism that has hitherto been at work among men has been generated by religion, and religion alone. We may be excused for refusing to believe in an altruism that comes from a mere belief in the greatest good of the greatest number. The demon of selfishness is not so easy to exorcise. "Leviathan is not so tamed." True, there is no necessary antagonism between socialism and religion. But more is needed than the absence of antagonism. If the true altruistic spirit is necessary for the success of socialism, it must come from the fountain of religion, and socialism must enter into close alliance with religion. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

Another great question needing to be settled is the scale on which labor is to be rewarded. Our present system settles that question by a natural process. But before a vast scheme of unified labor could be worked, definite rules must be agreed to regarding it. What difference is to be made in the same occupation between the work of the active, steady worker, and that of the slow, idle, good-for-nothing one? And how is the value of work in different occupations to be settled? And what about mental work, and other work that is not strictly productive? And what if the work of some particular individual, say an author, is in infinite demand, and that of another hardly in demand at all? Then again, it is a principle of socialism that the State is bound to provide work for all. But what if the State cannot give a man the work he likes? What if that department be already full? He must just take such work as the State, or rather the officials that manage the department, can give him. All will be under State officials. Will this conduce to liberty? If I can only get work that I don't like from an official that does not like me, shall I be much better than now? We know how much men will sacrifice for liberty; and both our working men and our thinking men will pause before committing themselves to a system that may practically land the worker in slavery.

Then the enormous army of State officials that would he called into being is another serious consideration. The national book-keeping which (if money were abolished) would have to embrace a record of every transaction of buying and selling in every man's life, is too gigantic to think of. And how would international commerce be arranged? What kinds of goods, scheduled as productive, would be forbidden, and what, being non-productive, would be allowed? Might one possess a carriage but not a wheel-barrow? an organ, but not a sewing-machine?

Mr. Webb did not meddle with those questions when he was in America, and they are not discussed in his published book. It is wise policy to keep them in the background, and to bring forward the non-contentious points of socialism; but it is a mistake to suppose that because the public readily accept what is non-contentious, we are nearer a final solution of the real question.

We have considered the prospects of socialism in England as the subject is presented to us by the more educated and cultured champions of the cause; it may be well, before concluding,

to say a word on the attitude and expectations of the working classes.

It is quite natural for them to feel keenly on the subject. It is natural to believe that their labor is too hard and their remuneration too small, and to feel that there is something far wrong when so many idle men live in ease and luxury, and so many hard toiling men have hardly the means of bare subsistence. It is natural to chafe at a foreign sovereign drawing £10,000 a year, or an ex-Speaker £4,000 a year from what they consider the profits of their toil. No class can feel the evils of the present system more than they do. And unless they have something of the wisdom that would "rather bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of," it is natural for them to have strong leanings to socialism. But when the shrewdest and steadiest of them try to see through the social system, and to consider how society would get along under it, it is no wonder they find themselves in a maze. It is the labor question, as it is called, that more immediately interests the working class, and though that question is very closely related to socialism, yet several of its issues do not depend on it. The length of the labor day, the living wage, the protection of the workman, education, old-age pensions, comfortable houses, allotments, crofts and the like, are all apart from the leading positions of socialism, and it is with these questions mainly that the working class are at present concerned. True, the I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party) has a socialistic basis, believing that socialism would be the complete solution of all that it aims at. But meanwhile its chief energies are directed to what more specifically belongs to the Labor question.

But certainly the recent election to Parliament has done little to comfort either the socialists or the I. L. P. Keir Hardie is out and his protegés are not in. The verdict of the country has been given against too many organic changes, and in favor of working out for the present admitted principles that tend to the general good.

And thus the answer we give to the question, Is socialism advancing in England? is substantially this: Not in its radical principles; not in its demand for organic change; not in its claim to nationalize the whole instruments of production. As a new system, it may be picking up adherents here and there, in-

telligent and patriotic men of sanguine temperament, like the members of the Fabian Society, who hope that the difficulties in the way of its practical working may one day be overcome, though they may not see how. But as a real force in the country, gathering power as it goes, and only needing time to bear it to victory, we maintain that it is not advancing. In many ways, however, it is doing useful work; it is calling attention to the condition of the worker and the obligation of society to give him a more comfortable life; it is constraining the Christian churches to address themselves more to the improvement of the condition of the people; it is compelling the legislature to give its deserved prominence to this subject; and it is drawing out many men and women to use their influence and their lives for the welfare of those who spend their lives in daily toil. Dr. Flint has pointed out its faults: so far as it allies itself to atheism and materialism; so far as it assumes that man's chief end is a happy life on earth; so far as it attaches more importance to the condition of men than to their character; and so far as it does injustice to the rights of individuals. With these faults amended, so far as they exist, it may do still greater service; and should it find its goal inaccessible, it may turn out that it has done better for humanity than if it had been crowned with victory.

W. Garden Blaikie.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR NEED OF STRINGENT SHIPPING LAWS.

THE advent of a new era in the establishment of fast transatlantic steamship lines under the American flag, carrying thousands of passengers and valuable cargoes, calls for more stringent laws governing the loading, manning, and sailing of our steamships and sailing vessels, as is done in other countries, notably in Great Britain, whose mercantile fleets predominate in every sea. It is the protection she affords to her seamen, and the strict discipline enforced on board of her passenger steamers, that give the rich traveller, as well as the humblest employee on board, that feeling of security and protection under her flag. Her shipping laws are carefully framed to prevent accident from the inefficiency and carelessness on the part of officers, inefficient crews, overloading, improper stowage, defective construction, inadequate equipment, etc. They also have checked the greed of owners, and prevented their sending to sea old and worn-out vessels unfit to carry in safety passengers and cargoes, which used to be done before such laws were enacted and rigidly enforced.

The "Merchant Shipping Act" of Great Britain has been revised and made more effective in recent years by its many amendments framed by the great philanthropist, Mr. Plimsoll, the sailors' friend, and introduced and pushed through Parliament by him against the powerful opposition of the most prominent ship owners. What that act has done to protect the lives of seamen, to promote their comfort and to increase the safeguards of ocean travel, similar laws should do to protect and foster the mercantile marine of this country, if it is to grow and attain prominence among the maritime nations of the world.

The recent achievement in the construction of the palatial ocean steamships, "St. Louis" and "St. Paul," warrants the assumption that this country will in a few years own creditable fleets and control under its flag a fair share of the ocean-carrying trade of this vast Republic.

Apart from the fact that England heretofore has been able to build, equip and navigate her ships more cheaply than this country, one reason why British steamships have in the past carried the greater portion of the passengers and freight across the Atlantic is because greater care has been taken by the British government in the enforcement of her shipping laws to protect the lives of passengers and seamen. That guarantee of security has been further enhanced by the supremacy and guardianship of her navy, which has always been available and ever ready to resent insult to its subjects, and interference with their rights and property, wherever scattered from one

end of the globe to the other, no matter whether in one of her distant colonies or in foreign countries.

It is evident, therefore, that if the United States desire to foster their shipping interests, and to attain prominence with their mercantile marine, our government must be prepared to inaugurate more efficient measures in that direction. Our aim and motto must henceforth be, "Protection to our ships and to the seamen who man them." When that is done our young men will be more encouraged and take greater pride in following the sea as a profession, and in time, let us hope, will supersede the foreign element that now is found to a large extent among the crews of our ships.

What our navy did in Chili two years ago to protect our citizens and interests there it must be prepared to do again as often as required, as England has always done—more recently at Corinto, Nicaragua.

Our fast cruisers and modern battleships, which have been so much admired abroad and which are unrivalled in the modern navies of the old world, are competent to protect the safety of our citizens and property at home and abroad, also to guard the dignity and honor of the "Stars and Stripes" wherever it may wave. This must be done, however, without boasting too loudly or making any attempt at "Jingoism" in the "spread eagle style," so as not to detract from the dignity of the Commonwealth, and thus *quietly but firmly* our influence can be made to be felt when the occasion arises.

Recent instances are not wanting to illustrate the necessity that exists for such laws being enacted, or if already enacted, to urge their enforcement. Only a few weeks ago the steamer "Colima," of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, sailed from San Francisco for Panama and way ports in Central America and Mexico, with a large passenger list and a heavy cargo, *including a deck load.* If the reports thus far published of that sad disaster, by which two hundred lives were lost, are true, and nothing has yet been made public to refute them, that shipwreck was beyond doubt caused by the steamer being improperly loaded and carrying a deck load which should not have been permitted. Such a thing could not have happened under the laws of Great Britain, which make it a misdemeanor to carry deck loads, except under certain restrictions, and subject the captain and owners of vessels to heavy fines and imprisonment. Had such regulations been in force under our laws, the "Colima" could not have obtained a clearance at the Custom-House, while carrying such a deck load. Hence the disaster would have been prevented and two hundred valuable lives saved. It has been a dearly bought lesson, by which we should take warning, though it will be but poor comfort to the many bereaved who have lost husbands, wives, sons, and relatives by the catastrophe. Such disasters reflect discredit on the laxity of the shipping laws of this country; and should direct the attention of our public men and legislatures to the urgent need of reforms being speedily *enacted and rigidly enforced.* The question of the liability of owners of vessels sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition, is one which the courts may be called upon to decide. It should not be left, however, to individual sufferers (who may be financially unable) to make a test case under such circumstances. The owners or officers of corporations managing steamship companies should be held accountable and responsible for damages, and punishment by the State, and in all cases the cause of the loss or disaster, properly investigated by government officials and nautical experts, as is the case in Great Britain and her colonies. The

loss of the "Colima" is not the only instance of such sad disasters. Two iron steamers, the "Keneewaw" and "Montserrat" left Nanaimo and Comax, Puget Sound, in December last, same day, coal laden, bound for San Francisco; neither has ever been heard from. They encountered heavy gales, and being heavily loaded (no doubt beyond their capacity), it is supposed were unable to withstand the force of the tempest and went down with all on board. There is little doubt but that both these steamers were overloaded, as no restriction was placed upon them, although one sailed from a Canadian port, but being under a foreign flag the authorities had no right to interfere. Some seventy souls were hurried into eternity by those two disasters, which were the evident result of *greed* on the part of their managers or owners, yet not a voice has been heard in condemnation of such flagrant outrages, beyond the stifled moans of wail and despair of the widows and orphans of the *unprotected* seamen. They should appeal to the sympathies of the public and hasten the much needed remedies. No official enquiry investigating the causes of these disasters has been made. Surely it is full time that steps be taken by our government to inaugurate some system of inspection and adopt stringent measures for the better protection of our Mercantile Marine, and the hardy seamen who risk their lives to navigate our ships and develop the commerce of the Republic.

FRANK ROTHERHAM.

THE AMERICAN NOTE.

IN a community where no religious organization can ever take the lead except by the consent of the people, it is important for each one to keep as near to the characteristic note of the nation as it can, while adhering to a course which is already marked out by tradition. When the American colonies became the United States, they had a considerable variety of religious systems, which had already struck their roots into the soil and which have been handed down to our own time. These were mostly the fruits of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and derived their strength from the fact that they held to freedom of thought as a vital principle. Neither the Episcopal nor the Roman Catholic organizations had any considerable foothold, but there was a very general aversion to both of these systems as opposed to that simplicity of worship and that centering of ecclesiastical power in the hands of the people which had been the main idea of the Protestant bodies. It was affirmed that the people should rule in Church as well as in State, and now, while both of these bodies are immensely better understood than they were a century ago, there still prevails in the nation at large the conviction that the people are the masters of the situation.

Hence the effort in both of these communions, notwithstanding their relation to the past, to take positions which identify them with the dominant American ideas. The one is Latin in its spirit, and is seeking to be so thoroughly American in its attitude toward the nation that its mediæval character shall not be considered. The other is Anglo-Saxon and is identified with the ideas of freedom and fair dealing which belong to the English race. It has its outreach into the past and feels obliged to keep itself historically true to the traditions it has received, but it has always allowed to the people a certain amount of power in things ecclesiastical, and to-day, while it has kept the spiritual prerogative in the hands of the bishops and clergy, it has given to the laity the temporal control of the churches. Both

these communions are closely watching their opportunities and throwing overboard many of their mediæval ideas in order to increase their favor with the people, and both are beginning to share in the confidence of Americans that they are not a menace to our institutions, but an essential factor in their maintenance. Each has a work to do, and each is eager to secure a claim to popular favor. The Episcopal Church has greatly modified its ritual in order to meet the people, and the Roman Communion has gone from one step to another in falling in with our national ideas, in taking up popular education, and in showing that it can adapt itself to the situation.

This is a right thing to do if it does not involve the sacrifice of essential principles, and it is here that the Episcopal Church is possibly at a critical point to-day. It is controlled by two schools of religious thought. One prides itself in the name Catholic, and believes that the Church has only to proclaim itself in strong terms in order to go in and possess the land. It is ready to read the future in the light of its hopes and convictions, but it is slow to remember that it has just emerged in the popular estimation to a position where the community at large begins to appreciate it on its merits. Phillips Brooks did a great deal toward this appreciation in New England, and Bishop Potter has accomplished much in making its purpose better understood elsewhere. They have done this not by emphasizing this or that feature of its polity or ritual, but by showing that it is in sympathy with the object that people are living for in the widest sense, and that the issues with which it has been bound up in popular opinion are obsolete. In short, they have struck the American note, and have led the way, perhaps unconsciously, to a truer understanding of what it represents than has been expressed before. If this broader spirit prevails in the coming convention at Minneapolis, the Episcopal Church will place no obstacles in the way of its progress. Whatever important changes may be made, they will do no harm if they are not out of harmony with the dominant note.

Of all the prelates in the Roman Catholic Church there are three men who seem to understand instinctively how to strike this note. They are Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane. The Cardinal is strong for an American spirit. Archbishop Ireland has endeared himself to his own people and to all Americans for his stand for education and for his attitude toward intemperance. Bishop Keane has shown as the rector of the Catholic University at Washington that he is as ready as the head of any Protestant university to take the lead in the higher education and to extend it to women as well as to men. With the details of the religious life in either communion the public has no quarrel, but in striking the American note these men have shown a masterly appreciation of their position and have done more to disarm prejudice and secure goodwill than any others of their generation. This is genuine work of a quality that will not be forgotten. It takes a man who can interpret the signs of the times to be a leader in Church or State, and there is much speculation in religious circles as to who will insist that this American note shall be adhered to in the convention at Minneapolis. If three men can induce the whole body of the Roman hierarchy to do the sensible thing in the Roman Catholic Communion, it ought to be within the power of three men of born leadership and insight to hold the Episcopal Church to the position which it has attained and keep its enthusiastic clergy and laity from mistaking their own convictions for the American note.

JULIUS H. WARD.

HARNESSING THE TIDES.

THE work of harnessing Niagara having proved successful, the question of obtaining similar power for generating electricity in cities begins to assume an importance never before appreciated, and it is only a question of time before the problem will be solved to the eminent satisfaction of thousands of town dwellers. The presence in our cities of steam boilers and engines scattered throughout the most crowded and over-heated sections is a constant source of irritation and unhealthfulness, and the substitution of electricity brought from a convenient distance outside of the city limits for the present huge steam plants would prove a boon that even the densest could readily comprehend.

The experiment with Niagara has shown sufficiently that with such power at hand a city like Buffalo (or New York, for that matter, if within a reasonable distance) can be heated, lighted and all necessary machinery run by electricity generated at a cost less than one-half of that produced from coal. This electric current could be conducted across the continent if the necessary installation of the plant was not so costly. Sources of power nearer at home, however, will probably prevent the lighting of New York by electricity brought from Niagara. The question of utilizing the tides of the rivers, bays and inlets along the Atlantic Coast for generating power is not a new one; but recent developments in electrical matters bring up the matter again in a new light. Within the last few years electricity has entered the field as a formidable competitor with steam, and the real status of the question cannot be determined until some of the experiments now in the process of development have been completed.

The tides of the North and East rivers produce power enough to generate all the electricity required to light New York and Brooklyn, to do all the mechanical work in the factories and machine shops, and to run all the railroad lines in the city and suburbs. This power is wasted, as formerly all of the power of Niagara was allowed to expend itself in a profitless way. All that is required is to store this immense power and to turn it into profitable use. The problem presented differs somewhat from that at Niagara. The tides are periodic, and not constant, and the power would have to be collected at the times of its greatest exertion and stored for later use.

The Niagara people have already proposed to run a line to New York to do what the tides of the Hudson and East rivers would accomplish right at home. Either undertaking is a large one, requiring the expenditure of millions of dollars. But the results would more than justify the outlay. An inexhaustible supply of power from outside would prove a blessing that could hardly be appreciated to-day. The present cumbersome delivery of coal to factories and private houses would be abolished, and a clean, neat, pleasant method substituted. The plant could be located at some convenient place in the suburbs, or along the river front, where the city air would not be vitiated and poisoned by coal gases, dust, and smoke.

What applies to New York and Brooklyn would apply to many other cities. The tides of the Delaware and Chesapeake could be converted into inexhaustible power to give the cities along that coast a perfect and cheap electric plant. The great inland rivers are not so constant in the summer season as the tides of the rivers and bays along the Atlantic coast. The rush of the waters through the narrow inlets of our bays and rivers is so tremendous that enormous machinery could be propelled at a cost representing a small percentage on the capital invested in the plant. The present outlook

is that the Niagara Falls Power Company will in time run an electrical conduit to New York to supply the motive and lighting power of the city and suburbs, unless some enterprising body of capitalists undertakes to utilize the wasted power of the tides nearer at home. A conduit capable of bringing 100,000 to 200,000 horse power from Niagara would cost more than a four-track steam railway. The investment of a similar amount in collecting and storing the power of the tides in the North and East rivers ought to yield better results.

Greater New York represents the largest power market in the country, and through the ever-increasing suburban traffic the demand for this power will increase. The trolley lines are running in all directions from the city, penetrating farther and farther into the suburbs, and with each new line the demand for electric power becomes greater. Electricity is destined to supplant steam in the short hauls, and it is only a question of time before all of the suburban traffic is carried on by this power. Where railroad lines enter the cities through tunnels the electric engines are sure to become more popular than the steam engines. They have already supplanted the steam engines in Baltimore and other large cities, and the freedom from dust, ashes, smoke and gases, is a boon that every citizen appreciates. The most complete electric terminus of a great steam railroad running into a city is that of the Baltimore & Ohio. The Belt Line Tunnel runs under the city of Baltimore for a distance of one and a quarter miles, and then through small tunnels and cuts into the suburbs. The total length of the electric line equipped is about three miles. When the steam engines and train come to the mouth of the tunnel, the electric engines are simply to haul them through the underground passage of the city to the open country beyond. This system has not been adopted for the sake of economy, but for the convenience and comfort of the patrons of the road. The example set may bring other great railroads entering our cities to a proper sense of their duty to the public, if they wish to retain patronage.

The question of lighting and heating the cities and private houses by the electric power brought from a general storage house outside of the city limits, commends itself to every one. Cooking by electricity is the only modern and improved way. It can be done without heating the room, and without the bother of using wood or coal. The electric heating stoves are regulated so easily by a series of handles and knobs that no one could fail to like them. There is no loss of fuel as at present. When the cooking is finished the current is turned off, and no unnecessary waste follows. The heat is ready at hand on a moment's notice. A slight turn of a knob provides heat enough instantly to broil the steak or to cook the potatoes. The power of the heat can be made constant by a small regulator, so that one knows exactly the intensity of the unseen fire.

Our present system of running machinery compels the erection of small steam plants all over the city. Every hotel, office building, large apartment house, and manufacturing loft must have its steam plant to run an elevator and to heat the building. The steam companies attempt to economize for the individual house owner by running their pipes into the buildings and supplying the power from some central point. But even this system imposes great expense. The steam companies must pay good prices for their coal, and the cost of running the pipes through the streets is as great as that of gas or water pipes. An electric plant could supply through its one con-

duit all the power and light that the gas and steam companies now furnish through their numerous intricate net works of pipes. The cost could be reduced one-half; the service could be made far more satisfactory, and the city redeemed from many of its present foul odors and an unpleasant, superheated atmosphere. The boon would not simply be one of economy and cleanliness, but one of healthfulness as well.

In a few years it is predicted that electricity will have entered into our city life to the full extent described above, and the first in the field to obtain control of the power will reap profits that cannot be estimated. But where this power will ultimately come from is an unsettled question. It would seem, however, that the tides along our coast might furnish the cheapest and most effective power for such an undertaking if they could be controlled and harnessed as effectually as Niagara has been in the last few years.

GEO. E. WALSH.

RURAL FREE MAIL DELIVERY.

A BETTER mail service in the city than in the country is, by reason of the greater density of population in the first named, consistent with "the greatest good to the greatest number," and, therefore, is a part of good government; but the disparity between the mail service in the city and in the country has become greater than is warranted by justice or the public welfare. The estimated receipts of the post-office department for the current fiscal year equal the expenditures of the preceding year; and it is generally conceded that the finances of the department have, notwithstanding the business depression, reached a point that justifies a decided improvement in the mail service. One cent letter postage would aggravate the inequality between the mail service of the city and of the country. That rural free mail delivery is the more equitable is so apparent that its opponents are compelled to limit their arguments to an exaggeration of its cost and the assertion that the people do not want it. But the people do want it. There is not a single agricultural paper that does not heartily advocate it. There is not a national farmers' organization that is not earnestly working for it. During the past year two hundred subordinate farmers' organizations have pronounced in its favor. The leading dailies everywhere advocate it. Just as the people understand the situation are they in favor of it, once more demonstrating that intelligent public sentiment is wise and just.

Mr. Wanamaker's experiments, set forth in his able reply to Senate resolution of January 13, 1892, demonstrated that free delivery in towns and villages would not add to the net expense of the department. With free delivery on farms would grow up an express and telegraph messenger service that, while being of great benefit to farmers, would yield such profit to the carrier that the bids for free delivery would soon be greatly reduced. Mail could be delivered by those not capable of earning high wages, and the number of offices could be lessened. In an agricultural township now having five or six offices, all but one could be abolished, and two boys on ponies could deliver the mail daily. This would effect an actual saving. In the more sparsely settled regions, boxes along the star routes would suffice for some years. All that is asked for has been well expressed by the Farmers' National Congress: "That free mail delivery be extended into towns and villages and to farms as rapidly as possible without making an onerous increase in the net expense of the post-office depart-

ment." This is not unreasonable when city mail service is being constantly improved. For example, during 1894 the area of free delivery in Chicago was increased from 75 to 125 square miles, and the number of deliveries and collections was increased 25 to 40 per cent. At the beginning of the year there were 12 carrier stations, 24 sub-stations, and 70 stamp agencies; at its close there were 22 carrier stations, 15 branch post-offices, 54 sub-stations, and 190 stamp agencies.

If the publications wrongfully enjoying the second-class privilege paid a proper rate of postage, the net cost of rural free mail delivery would probably be met. Nor would the official publication of the L. A. W., which is friendly to our cause, be denied the "pound rate." A further saving could be made of the appropriation for "special mail facilities on trunk lines," which has not accelerated the mails, which has never been recommended by any postmaster-general, and which Dickinson, Wanamaker and Bissell have condemned; or by getting back to a reasonable figure the appropriation for "mail depredators and post-office inspectors"—known in the post-office department as slush money. It is certain that whatever free mail delivery may cost will be saved many times on the one ground alone that it is much more economical that one person should bring their mail to fifty people than that the fifty people should go for it. But why should the post-office department more than the war or navy department be required to be self-sustaining.

So closely interrelated are the interests of city, town and farm that anything to the benefit of the one must be to the benefit of the other. The farmer would be benefited by the prompt receipt of the merchant's letter; the merchant, also, would be benefited. The publisher as well as the farmer would be benefited by the daily delivery of the newspaper at the farmer's door.

The isolation of the farmer, driving his sons and daughters to the overcrowded cities, and his growing discontent from an increasing realization that he is not in touch with the busy centres of humanity, proclaim the need of rural free mail delivery in ways that the nation cannot afford to ignore. This need is revealed by a comparison of our mail service with that of other nations. Japan has rural free mail delivery, and in all the vast Indian Empire there is not a person, no matter in what jungle he may live, to whom his mail is not delivered. China, which alone keeps us company among the nations of the earth in the private ownership of telegraph lines, and which has highways about as bad as ours, refuses further to disgrace herself by being as niggardly and antiquated as we are in rural mail facilities; and the American farmer has a mail service much inferior to that enjoyed by the agricultural portion of the nation we have most despised.

JOHN M. STAHL.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXVIII.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

QUICK TRANSIT BETWEEN NEW YORK AND LONDON.

BY AUSTIN CORBIN.

THE introduction of some means of rapid transit between the two great English-speaking nations, wholly free from the inconveniences, delays and hazards due to tides, fogs and storms encountered in narrow and crowded water-ways and along dangerous coasts, is of the utmost importance to all transatlantic travellers, who look upon the voyage as a necessary means to an end. The universal demand is for the shortest possible sea passage for travellers and the quickest delivery of the mails between the two great distributing cities, London and New York.

The question, in projecting the best transatlantic steamship line, is how to secure a route which shall combine the merits of shortness and directness with the greatest safety and comfort to the traveller. In solving this question, ports having a particularly advantageous geographical location for embarkation and debarkation, and from which vessels can at once attain full speed, must be selected, and ships must be run which will have the maximum of speed, coupled with all the modern conveniences for security and comfort.

As the western terminus for a new transatlantic route, it is

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proposed to select Fort Pond Bay, which is one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is located on the north side of Long Island, six miles west of Montauk Point, and 114 miles from New York City. As shown by the latest government charts, it is of such great and uniform depth that the largest steamers can enter or depart from it day or night throughout the year, without danger of detention. To enter this harbor, all large steamers would depart from the usual route between Great Britain or Europe and New York, at a point a little south of Nantucket Shoals, and would proceed in a straight course through unobstructed waters to the entrance of Block Island Sound, west of Block Island. This entrance has a width of five miles, between Phelps Ledge and a small shoal located a little to the westward of Southwest Ledge, its minimum depth being seven fathoms. From this point the course would be through Block Island Sound, passing between Shagwong Reef and Cerberus Shoal, which are four miles apart, and between which the minimum depth of water is eight fathoms. Thence the course is direct, through absolutely unobstructed waters, into Fort Pond Bay, whose entrance is three-quarters of a mile wide, and where the tides never exceed three feet five inches. In selecting this harbor for the western terminus of a new transatlantic route, the entire southern shore of Long Island and the eastern coast of New Jersey are avoided; the risk from collision on the much-frequented North River and New York Bay is escaped, and the long delay at Sandy Hook and the slow passage through the twenty-five miles of tortuous and crowded channels from Sandy Hook Lightship to the New York piers are done away with.

Having chosen Fort Pond Bay as the western terminus of the proposed route, the selection of a British port of arrival and departure becomes the chief matter requiring consideration. Of the competing ports of Liverpool, Southampton and Milford, the last is the most accessible at all times, and possesses in the highest degree all the advantages necessary for a port of arrival and departure. To reach this port, vessels taking the usual course to Queenstown and Liverpool, after sighting Fastnet Light, off Cape Clear, on the southern coast of Ireland, would bear directly eastward to the most westerly port of Wales which is Milford Haven, and thus avoid the disagreeable and dangerous trip through a channel full of shipping at all hours of the day and night.

This harbor, which has an entrance more than a mile and a half wide, with a minimum depth sufficient for the largest steamers, is entirely land-locked, and no seas of any consequence to large vessels can rise in it. The tides in the Haven are very slight, running not more than one and one-half knots per hour, while in the Solent they run as high as four and one-half knots. Fog is much less prevalent in the approach to Milford than around the Scilly Islands, which must be passed in approaching Southampton. Observations taken at the Milford Docks during the past four years show that during that time there have been but forty-four days on which fog existed in the Haven, and then only for a few hours. According to the statistics of the Meteorological Society the number of fogs prevailing at and around the Scilly Islands is nearly double the number found on the south coast of Ireland, the approach to Milford Haven.

This prevalence of fogs increases the necessary reduction of speed in approaching the coast at the entrance to the Solent, and makes navigation to Southampton much more dangerous. This can be fully understood when it is remembered that all vessels must pass the Needles, and run up the narrow channels between the sandbanks of Southampton Water before they can reach their destination. The Mersey channel is not less exposed to these dangers, as it is always more or less filled with shipping. But Milford Haven has free and uninterrupted access to and from the sea, and is a harbor into which the largest vessel afloat, or which is contemplated, can steam at any hour of day or night. It has a depth of thirty-four feet at the pier where vessels would land for discharging mails and passengers. At the end of this pier is the Great Western Railway Station, which could be entered without stepping from under cover, and from which special trains could be run to London in less than five hours.

How essential it is that steamers should be able to go up to their piers, at all times, regardless of tides, is shown by the great efforts and enormous expenditures made by Liverpool and Southampton to secure such piers. Their efforts have met with practical success, so that it is now possible for both the Liverpool and Southampton lines to boast of terminal facilities which enable them to advertise a fixed hour of departure.

What, then, are the other advantages to be gained, which should induce the American people to insist upon the adoption of

a new route, with Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven as the termini? To answer this question, it is necessary to compare carefully the proposed route with those already in existence. There are two main routes between New York and London. The first is by the way of Queenstown and Liverpool and thence by rail to London; the second is by way of Southampton and rail to London. The first route may be subdivided into (*a*) the passenger route by which the traveller, after being compelled to wait at Queenstown while the mail is transferred, is then carried on to Liverpool, and thence by rail to London, and (*b*) the Overland Mail Route by vessel to Queenstown and thence by rail to Kingstown or Dublin, again by vessel to Holyhead, and then by the London and North Western Railway to Euston Station, London. The mail route by Queenstown entails considerable extra expense on the passenger, as well as the great inconvenience of repeated changes, and is consequently very little used by travellers, except under special circumstances.

For the purpose of determining the relative merits of the routes already established, and comparing their *intrinsic value* with the *true worth* of the route proposed between New York and London by way of Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven, it is necessary to adopt some absolute standard of speed for both the steamers and railway trains, and ascertain the exact difference in the lengths of the several sea routes, as well as the railway journeys from the ports of debarkation to London and New York.

All previous comparisons have been rendered difficult because fixed standards have not been taken, and because eastward and westward passages have been confounded. The proper method is to consider passages in the same direction, and to deal with the same ship in all cases, and having determined its rate of speed, and the length of the different routes, ascertain over which route it could make the passage in the shortest time.

The best record made prior to this date has been assumed as the standard of speed for all calculations. The fastest eastward ocean steaming yet made is certified by the Cunard Company to have been five days eight hours and thirty-eight minutes by the "Lucania." The average run was exactly 21.90 knots per hour. This rate is therefore taken as the standard in all cases. In determining the length of the different routes, it can be fairly assumed, for the purpose of comparison, that all steamers

plying between the same termini traverse the same distances during corresponding periods of the year, or could easily do so, whether the passage be eastward or westward. If they do not, it is because the master of one ship is willing to increase the sailing distance in order to lessen the dangers of the voyage, or *vice versa*. It is only necessary, therefore, to ascertain what advantage one route has over its rivals in reference to their *expedient courses*. By expedient course is meant the shortest course, between the same termini, which experience has shown should be chosen, consistent with the season and dangers of the voyage, in distinction from the shortest *geographical* route. The principal transatlantic steamship companies have adopted regular expedient routes which are now actually in force, and should be followed by all steamers. These routes practically coincide for the greater part of the distance across the ocean. In determining, therefore, the advantage which one route has over another, the distance for which they coincide may be eliminated, and the routes considered only from the points of divergence to their respective termini.

The passenger and mail routes by way of Queenstown would coincide with the route to Milford Haven until they reached the meridian of Fastnet, at a point ten miles south of the Fastnet Light. From this point the two courses would begin to diverge, but the exact distances in both cases to their respective termini can be easily ascertained, and they are unchangeable, being the same in every season and in all kinds of weather.

The following tables show the distances from *the point of divergence* to the ports of destination, the shortest railway distances, and the total time necessary for carrying the mail from the point of divergence to the London Post-office by the three different routes. These calculations assume that steamers could proceed at the *maximum* speed of twenty-one and nine-tenth knots per hour *from the point of divergence to their piers*, and that trains could be run at the rate of a mile per minute over the whole railway distances.

The detentions in transferring at the several ports are exceedingly variable, depending upon temporary conditions ; but, as the purpose of these particular tables is to show the *intrinsic* merit, not the actual gain of the Milford Haven route over the already-established routes, a fixed delay of one hour is assumed. This may be too short, or it may be too long, a time, but it is as just

a standard for one route as it is for the others. The delay at Queenstown is necessarily longer, as the transfer is there made by means of a tender; the usual time is therefore taken. The transfers at Kingstown and Holyhead, being chiefly transfers of mails, are assumed to take only thirty minutes.

QUEENSTOWN MAIL ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
From Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots.	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown (two transfers of mail and tender to landing)		2 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Kingstown by rail	185 miles.	3 h. 05 m.
Transfer at Kingstown		30 m.
Kingstown to Holyhead	56 knots.	2 h. 34 m.
Transfer at Holyhead		30 m.
Holyhead to London	264 miles.	4 h. 24 m.
Euston Station to London post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		17 h. 09 m.

PASSENGER ROUTE TO LIVERPOOL, LEAVING MAIL AT QUEENSTOWN.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots.	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown (for transferring mails)		1 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Liverpool	240 knots.	10 h. 57 m.
Detention at Liverpool		1 h.
Liverpool to London	201 miles.	3 h. 21 m.
Station to post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		20 h. 24 m.

MILFORD HAVEN ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Meridian of Fastnet to Milford Haven	170 knots.	7 h. 46 m.
Detention at Milford		1 h.
Milford Haven to London	273 miles.	4 h. 33 m.
Paddington Station to post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		14 h. 19 m.

In computing the time for the Liverpool passenger route, one hour and thirty minutes is allowed for transferring the mail at Queenstown, as all the fast steamers running between Liverpool and New York are under government contract to stop there for discharging and receiving the mails. If this delay were omitted the time would be reduced to eighteen hours fifty-four minutes.

It is a little more difficult to compare the Southampton route with the Milford Haven route, as the point of divergence of the two courses is much farther to the west, but from this point of divergence both courses are on the arc of a great circle, and vary little, if any, in length to the meridian of Fastnet, so that it is only necessary to consider the distances from that meridian. From the meridian of Fastnet, the distance to Milford Haven is 170 knots, and to Southampton 343 knots.

The following table, compared with the preceding table, giving the time from Fastnet to London Post-office, by way of Milford

Haven, will give the net gain of the Milford route over the Southampton route.

SOUTHAMPTON ROUTE.

Description of route.	Distances.	Time.
Meridian of Fastnet to Southampton	343 knots.	15 h. 40 m.
Transfer at Southampton	.....	1 h. .....
Southampton to London	79 miles.	1 h. 19 m.
Waterloo Station to post-office	.....	1 h. .....
Total time from meridian of Fastnet to London post-office		18 h. 59 m.

It will thus be seen that steamers using the Milford Haven Harbor would gain four hours and forty minutes over the Southampton route; six hours and five minutes over the Liverpool passenger route, including the delay at Queenstown, and four hours and thirty-five minutes excluding it; and two hours and fifty minutes over the Queenstown mail route.

It is much easier to determine the gain made by using Fort Pond Bay, for, as a rule, all large steamers from Great Britain or Northern Europe, approaching New York Harbor, aim to pass the southern end of Nantucket Shoals in about latitude forty degrees, forty minutes north, and longitude sixty-nine degrees twenty minutes west, from which position the course for Sandy Hook Lightship is west three-eighth degrees north, the distance being 207 knots. Assuming that the whole distance of 207 knots could be run at the maximum speed of twenty-one and nine-tenth knots per hour, it would take *nine hours twenty-seven minutes* to reach Sandy Hook Lightship. From this vessel it is twenty-five knots to the pier of the American Line in New York, and as this distance is through narrow, winding channels and through New York Harbor, it must be run at greatly reduced speed. The average time consumed by steamers from the Sandy Hook Lightship to their respective piers is *three* hours, making the total time from the point of divergence of the two routes to the pier in New York *twelve hours twenty-seven minutes,* to which must be added one hour for transporting mail from the pier to the post-office, making *thirteen hours twenty-seven minutes.* The distance from the *point of divergence* to the foot of Fort Pond Bay is 123 knots, all of which is through open and unobstructed waters, and through all of which, to the entrance of the bay, the maximum speed can be maintained in clear weather.

FORT POND BAY ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Point of divergence to Fort Pond Bay	123 knots	5 h. 37 m.
Transfer at Fort Pond Bay	.....	1 h. .....
Fort Pond Bay to New York, by rail	114 miles	1 h. 54 m.
Station to Post-Office	.....	1 h. .....
Total time from point of divergence to New York post-office, by Fort Pond Bay Route		9 h. 31 m.
Total time required from point of divergence to New York post-office, by present route		13 h. 27 m.

This shows an estimated saving in favor of Fort Pond Bay, of *three hours and fifty-six minutes,* based on the assumption that vessels are run at full speed to the Sandy Hook Lightship. The actual gain would always be greater than the estimated. Statistics received from the hydrographic office show that the average time of the ocean greyhounds from the meridian of Montauk to their piers is eight hours. Adding to this five hours and thirty minutes, the time necessary to sail from the point of divergence to the meridian of Montauk, 120 knots, at the maximum speed, and one hour from the pier to the post-office, the total time from the point of divergence to the post-office is fourteen hours and thirty minutes, which shows a saving in favor of Fort Pond Bay of *five hours.* In foggy or stormy weather the gain for the Fort Pond route would be greatly increased, as speed must be materially reduced along the entire coast of Long Island, and especially when approaching the Sandy Hook bar; while by the Fort Pond Bay route, any reduction in speed would mean very little loss of time, as the course over which it would be necessary to reduce speed is short, and the trip from Fort Pond Bay to New York could always be made in uniform time by rail. By this course five hours could be saved and 114 miles of railroad travel—which can be made at the rate of sixty miles per hour, regardless of fogs and storms—would be substituted for 109 knots, or 125½ miles, of dangerous ocean travel.

The total gain thus estimated at both ends for the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route would be: over the Southampton route, eight hours thirty-six minutes; over the Liverpool passenger route, including the Queenstown detention, ten hours and one minute; excluding it, eight hours and thirty-one minutes; and over the Queenstown mail route, six hours forty-six minutes.

Practically the same results may be obtained by taking the distances, as estimated from the Government chart, showing the

different expedient courses, and using the same standard of speed in all cases, 21.9 knots per hour and a mile per minute by rail, thus ascertain the time required to transport the mail from the New York Post-office to the London Post-office over the various routes.

QUEENSTOWN MAIL ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
From New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
From steamship pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook to meridian of Fastnet	2,755 knots	5 d. 5 h. 48 m.
Fastnet meridian to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown to transfers, mails and tender to landing	.....	2 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Kingstown by rail	185 miles	3 h. 05 m.
Detention at Kingstown	.....	30 m.
Kingstown to Holyhead	56 knots	2 h. 34 m.
Detention at Holyhead	.....	30 m.
Holyhead to London, Euston Station	264 miles	4 h. 24 m.
Euston Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 2 h. 57 m.

LIVERPOOL PASSENGER ROUTE LEAVING MAIL AT QUEENSTOWN.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
Pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook Lightship to meridian of Fastnet	2,755 knots	5 d. 5 h. 48 m.
Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown for transfer of mails	.....	1 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Liverpool	240 knots	10 h. 57 m.
Transfer at Liverpool	.....	1 h.
Liverpool to London	201 miles	3 h. 21 m.
Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 6 h. 12 m.

SOUTHAMPTON ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
Pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook Lightship to Bishop Rock	2,883 knots	5 d. 11 h. 39 m.
Bishop Rock to Southampton	215 knots	9 h. 49 m.
Detention at Southampton	.....	1 h.
Southampton to London	79 miles	1 h. 19 m.
Station to post-office, Waterloo	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 4 h. 47 m.

FORT POND AND MILFORD HAVEN ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Time from New York post-office to Railroad Station, New York	.....	1 h.
Railroad Station, New York, to Fort Pond Bay	114 miles	1 h. 54 m.
Detention at Fort Pond Bay	.....	1 h.
Fort Pond Bay to meridian of Fastnet	2,671 knots	5 d. 1 h. 58 m.
Meridian of Fastnet to Milford Haven	170 knots	7 h. 46 m.
Detention at Milford Haven	.....	1 h.
Milford Haven to London	273 miles	4 h. 33 m.
Paddington Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	5 d. 20 h. 11 m.

These calculations, based upon the maximum speed for steamships, and for long railroad distance, *show only the theoretical gain which would be made by adopting the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, were the conditions such that these standards could be maintained for the whole distance over each route.* They can be maintained, or nearly so, in the case of the proposed new route, which has open deep-water ports, a straight course with entire exemption from bars, and almost absolute freedom from crowded waterways, for at the western terminus, the course is unobstructed and at the eastern terminus, all steamers would cross St. George's Channel in a direct line and would soon be out of the usual course for shipping. In the case of the other routes, which run for long distances along dangerous shores through crowded tortuous channels and over sand bars, the speed must be materially reduced. The assumed standard of speed cannot be maintained on either the Liverpool route after leaving Queenstown, or the Southampton route after reaching the Solent, or from Kingstown to Holyhead, on the mail route, any more than it can be continued over the Sandy Hook bar and through New York harbor. *The real advantage of the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route is, therefore, much greater than the theoretical, and to fully appreciate the gain between New York and London, which the location and merits of this new route render possible, we must compare what would be done, if it were adopted, with what is done by the other routes.*

The time allowed for carrying the mail from Queenstown to the London Post-office in these calculations is undoubtedly much smaller than the actual, and the conditions of the channel are such, that, as in New York harbor, *the actual time can never be*

reduced to the theoretical. When it was lately decided by the Railway and Steamboat routes, in conjunction with the British Post-office Department, to run express trains both ways between Queenstown and London, so as to save all the time possible, and the arrangements were completed, the attention of the whole country was directed to the experiment, and every effort was made to ensure the quickest possible delivery on the first trip. The result was that everything was in readiness at all points, and the following shows the result of the experiment:

Detention at Queenstown to transfer mails	2 h.	30 m.
Special train, Queenstown to Kingstown Pier	4 h.	34 m.
Detention at Kingstown		11 m.
Packet from Kingstown to Holyhead	3 h.	31 m.
Detention at Holyhead		9 m.
Holyhead to Euston Station	5 h.	31 m.
Euston Station to London post-office	1 h	
Total	17 h.	26 m.

A careful record of all the steamers carrying mail by the Overland Mail route between May 1 and September 5, 1895, shows that there were thirty-five eastward passages made between New York and Queenstown during that time, and that the average time between the arrival of the steamer at Roche's Point and the delivery of the mail in the London Post-office was twenty-one hours and forty minutes, and that only twice during the whole of that period was the time less than eighteen hours.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that the average time between the arrival at Queenstown and the arrival at the London Post-office is not less than eighteen hours. This time can never be greatly decreased on account of the risks, uncertainties and complications of the route, and after the new long term mail contract, which the Liverpool companies have made with the British government, goes into effect in 1897, it is not likely to be shortened for many years.

In March, 1895, an order was adopted by the House of Commons, requiring a return showing the days, hours and minutes occupied by mail steamers during the year 1894 in the transit of mails between New York and Queenstown, and also between New York and Southampton. This return discloses the following facts. The shortest time made by any ship to Queenstown was five days twelve hours forty-five minutes, to which should be added the usual time consumed in carrying the mails from Queenstown to the London Post-office, 18 hours, making a total of six days six hours forty-five minutes as the steamship and rail-

way carriage time. One hour must be added to this for carrying the mails from the post-office to the pier in New York, making six days seven hours forty-five minutes as the shortest actual time from the post-office in New York to the post-office in London. It also shows that the average time for eleven trips of the "Lucania" was five days eighteen hours fifty-eight minutes, and adding the time from the New York Post-office to the pier, and from Queenstown to the London Post-office, nineteen hours, the average time was six days thirteen hours fifty-eight minutes.

The best average time for the American Line was made by the "New York," which for fifteen voyages averaged seven days one hour fifty-nine minutes from the New York pier to Southampton. The usual time required for carrying the mail from the Southampton docks to the London Post-office is three hours and twenty-five minutes. This is shown by the records of the forty-three steamers arriving at Southampton from New York between May 8 and September 12, 1895. Adding this time and the one hour necessary for carrying the mail from the New York Post-office to the pier, to the average time of the "New York," the average time from post-office to post-office is found to be seven days six hours and twenty-four minutes.

It is with these latter figures that the time which could be made by a transatlantic line, using Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven should be compared, as the other lines, being well established and having their full complement of ships, cannot afford to discard their older steamers and adopt newer and faster ones. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that for some years to come the figures given in the return to the House of Commons will afford a fair standard for judging of the time which the established lines will take in making the passage from pier to pier. *The new route, therefore, would show the following gain over the best average time, which is now being made over the Queenstown and Southampton lines:*

Average time, Queenstown route, by Steamer "Lucania"	6 d. 13 h. 58 m.
Estimated time, Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, *adopting present schedule railroad time*	5 d. 22 h. 11 m.
Total gain by proposed route	15 h. 47 m.
Average time, Southampton route, by Steamer "New York"	7 d. 6 h. 24 m.
Estimated time, Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, *adopting present schedule railroad time*	5 d. 22 h. 11 m.
Total gain by proposed route	1 d. 8 h. 11 m.

The gain of a very few hours would be of the utmost import-

ance in the matter of mail service. Granting that all existing mail steamers could make the ocean voyage fast enough to deliver the mails in the same time which the "Lucania" takes, it would rarely be possible to get a reply by the return steamer sailing a week later, except during the summer months. Even then it is by no means certain, and little, if any, opportunity is afforded for inquiries and investigation. Nothing is really gained, therefore, by the present fast steamers of the Cunard Line, for before the second return mail is due to leave, the slow steamers of every line are able to deliver their mails so as to enable a reply to be sent by the same return steamer. *The saving of a few hours would completely change this, and make the exception the rule. Steamers starting from Fort Pond Bay, on receipt of mail which had left New York on Saturday morning, would be able to deliver their mails in London the following Friday evening at the latest, so that a reply could be sent on Saturday's returning steamer, which would reach New York on Thursday night or Friday morning. The return letter would in these cases be nearly across the Atlantic when the reply, under existing conditions, is posted in London. By this route, passengers would be able to be in telegraphic communication with the rest of the world at least fifteen hours longer than by either of the other passenger routes.*

In no way can these immense advantages be secured except by a gain of several hours in the delivery of mails at the London and New York post-offices. This can only be accomplished by increasing the speed of ships—a very expensive method—or by shortening the length of the ocean voyage, and substituting as much railway travel as possible. The saving of time by shortening the distance, calls for the selection of the Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven route. It is universally admitted that passengers will go by the shortest route. This has been shown by the fact that the rivalry of Southampton has already made serious inroads into the Liverpool traffic. The British steamers now cover all the short routes except that from Milford to Fort Pond Bay. This should induce the American people to adopt this route, and thus secure to themselves the shortest possible means of communication between the continents which would control all fast mail and express matter and all passengers to whom quick transit is of importance.

In discussing the different ocean routes it was stated that the shorter mid-ocean route was usually selected at the cost of increasing the dangers of the voyage. In selecting Milford Haven and Fort Pond Bay, however, the route is not only shortened, but all dangers are reduced to a minimum. The chief dangers Atlantic liners have to encounter, when in the vicinity of the English and Long Island coasts, are collision and stranding. The risk of collision in a run from Fastnet to Milford is certainly much less than in a run from that point to either Liverpool or Southampton, with the further advantage that when nearing the port the risk is reduced to a minimum, whereas in the case of Southampton the risk increases as the port is approached. In the case of Milford, an approaching steamer would, before passing the Smalls, cross the up-and-down traffic of the Irish Channel, and having passed the Smalls, would be out of all that traffic, and the risk of collision would be gone. The Southampton steamer would, besides crossing the Irish Channel traffic, like the other two lines, have the large and dangerous English Channel traffic and the many fishing fleets to avoid through the entire distance to the pier. Liverpool is, of course, in a similar position. In the matter, therefore, of freedom from the risk of collision, the Milford course has a great advantage. As to stranding, it may be assumed that, with the careful navigation exercised on board such vessels as we are considering, a run of 100 miles can be made with great accuracy. The distance from Fastnet to the Smalls is not much over 100 miles, and in the thickest weather a well-navigated steamer would not, at the end of that run, be more than two miles out of her course, probably less. If this be so, the Smalls would be easily picked up, and from these to Milford Haven the way is clear. In fog it would be dangerously reckless to attempt to approach Southampton at anything like the speed at which Milford might be approached; and the same may be said as to Liverpool.

The question of this proposed transatlantic route is not a mere local one between New York and London; but it concerns all Europe and America, including Eastern Asia as well. The British Government is determined, if it lies in its power, to control the transcontinental mail. In May, a deputation waited on Lord Rosebery for the purpose of formally submitting the scheme of constructing a fast Atlantic and Pacific mail service, passing wholly between British ports, in British boats and over British

rails, the object of the line being to develop and strengthen the commercial connection between the British Colonies and the United Kingdom. The success of such a scheme would require a liberal subsidy from Great Britain, and the generous policy of that government in subsidizing its mail lines is shown by the fact that in recently awarding the Irish mail contract *it raised the annual subsidy to* £100,000 *for a decrease of one-half hour in the time between Kingstown and Holyhead.*

There is only one way to prevent the establishment of a Canadian route which would divert much local and all through mail and traffic to the Dominion, and that is for the United States to promote and secure a through direct route, which will put the mails into New York and all Pacific ports in less time than can be done by any other route. This can be accomplished by the Fort Pond and Milford route. Canada is offering to pledge many times more money to obtain this advantage than would be required from the United States to secure and make certain for all time the intercontinental mail and passenger traffic.

The advantages of Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven have been stated, but the adoption of the former port does not require the selection of the latter. Fort Pond Bay is open to all steamship lines and the Long Island Railroad, with its bridge over the East River, will be at the service of any steamship company which wishes to save the time at the American end.

While it is true that the present North-Atlantic companies have constructed, at vast expense, the finest and fleetest steamships afloat in any waters, and are maintaining a most magnificent ocean service, it is equally true that they do not make the quick time which might be made over this better route, and unless some one of them shall utilize the manifest advantages of this new American harbor, it is only a question of time when a new line, with at least equally good ships and service, will be established.

The problem of quick transit between New York and London has been stated. Here is what *can* be done at both ends or at either end. It remains for the American people to say what *shall* be done. To the traveller it is a question of convenience, economy, saving of time and lessening of danger; to every American citizen it should be a question of high national importance.

AUSTIN CORBIN.

THE PLAGUE OF JOCULARITY.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR H. H. BOYESEN.

SOME years ago, at an annual examination in Columbia College, I requested my students to write in German a brief account of their lives. To my astonishment more than half of the class took this request (though it was printed on the examination paper with the regular questions) to be a joke. Of the thirty-two responses which I received, seventeen were in a more or less jocular vein. One youth informed me that, as he had his eyes fixed on the White House, he did not like to handicap his future biographer by pinning him down to any unyielding framework of biographical facts which might prove embarrassing to the manager of his campaign. It was so much more advantageous to leave one's biography in a state of convenient fluidity, until the time came when one could know for what purpose it would be needed. One could always invent a far more serviceable biography than circumstances were apt to provide. Another embryonic president (from Brooklyn) stated that he was strictly a self-made man, having been born in the slums, of poor but honest parents, and, after having practised the honorable profession of a bootblack, had reached his present exalted position by sitting up at night, studying by the light of a two-penny tallow dip, and modelling his conduct on such worthies as Dick Whittington (*minus* the cat), Benjamin Franklin (*minus* the lightning rod), and George Washington (*minus* the veracity). He had never smoked, tasted ardent spirits or used profane language, and he attributed his rise in life to this heroic abstemiousness, in connection with all the other copy-book virtues of which he was so shining an example.

A third young gentleman declared that he had from the cradle been a monument of goodness and stupidity, and related

several touching incidents of his childhood which parodied with inimitable drollery the good boy of the Sunday-school story. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that, in view of his moral superiority and his intellectual limitations, I would mark his paper one hundred, without reference to its shortcomings, as he was the sole support of a widowed mother, a drunken father, and nine orphaned children.

Among the remaining more or less fictitious "lives" there were some that were even funnier than these; and there were some clever and good-natured allusions to my own foibles, not one of which had apparently escaped those keen-witted critics of twenty. But what impressed me more than anything else in connection with this unexpected burst of jocularity was that, with two exceptions, all the names of the jokers indicated American parentage, while, with three exceptions, the names of those who gave serious, matter-of-fact responses indicated foreign, principally German and Jewish, origin.

As an exhibition of the national character, I regard this result as exceedingly striking. I had observed, many times before, the tendency of Americans to take a facetious view of life, and extract the greatest possible amount of amusement out of every situation. But I had never quite believed that the tendency was so pronounced and universal as the above-cited proportion would seem to indicate. And yet, as I look back upon an experience of twenty-six years in the United States, I am confirmed in the opinion that the most pervasive trait in the American national character is jocularity. It is by that trait, above all, that Americans are differentiated from all other nations. It is apt to be one of the first observations of the intelligent foreigner who lands upon our shores, that all things, ourselves included, are with us legitimate subjects for jokes. An all-levelling democracy has tended to destroy the sense of reverence which hedges certain subjects with sanctity, guarding them against the shafts of wit.

Never shall I forget the shock I felt, the first time I was made aware of this spirit of heedless levity which spares nothing sacred or profane. More than twenty years ago, when I was introduced to a venerable clergyman—a kindly and cultivated man, but a trifle pompous in his manner—my introducer remarked that the reputed reason why the reverend gentleman had lived to be so old was that "he was waiting for a vacancy in the Trinity."

I doubt if such a joke would be laughed at anywhere but in the United States. At least a score of witticisms I can recall of the same order; and these are but a small proportion of those which have been related to me during the last quarter of a century. Of course, the people who regard this species of fun as proper and innocent will regard the man who objects to it as a prig, if not a hypocrite. Another, and perhaps better, apology might be found in the popularity of the humorous anecdotes about St. Peter, as the guardian of the gate of heaven, which abound in all the countries of Europe. But in the first place, St. Peter is not to Protestants a sacred character; and, secondly, all the jocular stories told about him are of a mythological and semi-symbolic kind, which puts them into the category of the fairy-tale. Many *naïve* and innocent tales, in which Christ and "Unser Herrgott" figure, are circulated, in their medieval versions, among the peasantry in Germany and Scandinavia; but, so far from being in their essence blasphemous, they are survivals from a period of more childlike faith and more crudely anthropomorphic conceptions. The American joke, on the other hand, is the product of over-sophistication and a reckless determination to be funny, in connection with a total want of reverence.

I have often wondered what was the primary cause of the jocularity which one encounters everywhere within the borders of the United States—and which is verily the only trait that the entire population has in common. Even the European immigrant who at home would scarcely have made a joke once a year finds himself gradually inoculated with the national virus, and surprises himself by attempts at wit which are probably more gratifying to himself than amusing to his listeners. Having observed this phenomenon in the case of several Norwegians, who were surely far from being humorists in the old country, I came to the conclusion that the climate was in some way responsible. That our dry stimulating atmosphere arouses a high degree of cerebral activity is quite obvious; and humor is a form of mentality which demands a greater complexity of brain and greater expenditure of cerebral force than a mere unvarnished statement of fact. This alone may go far toward explaining a manifestation which, if I had not so frequently witnessed it, I should have pronounced absurd. Easier circumstances, which incline one to a more cheerful view of life, may also be taken into account; and the

democratic spirit which makes every man his neighbor's superior is, perhaps, also a co-operating factor. But, whatever the cause may be, there is no disputing the fact that the national humor is infectious.

I had an amusing demonstration of this proposition a short time ago. A seedy and lugubrious Scandinavian ex-student who had battled ineffectually with an adverse fate, since he left his native land, honored me with a call and suggested that I might relieve his necessities by procuring him a professorship in Columbia College. If none was vacant, he would consent to connect himself with a less conspicuous institution. Having listened for half an hour to his atrocious English, I could not forego the opportunity to preach him a little homily, reproaching him with having neglected his opportunities to become Americanized, and demonstrating the absurdity of his aspirations. He then told me a highly romantic, dime-novelish autobiography, and ended by requesting a loan which would enable him to go somewhere, where I knew he had no intention of going. Looking at my countenance, and seeing that I did not believe a word of what he had been saying, he exclaimed in his native tongue:

"If I have to lie in order to make an honest living, why, you ought to thank your stars that you are so situated that you don't have to. If I were inadvertently to lapse into veracity, I should starve. No fellow would give me a d—— shilling."

I laughed, of course, and apologized for insinuating that he was not Americanized. I assured him that his humorous acceptance of his lot was thoroughly American. It furnished me with additional proof of the close kinship between the Anglo-Saxon and the Norseman.

It is, to my mind, a highly significant fact that humor is the only literary product which we export. Occasionally, to be sure, an American novel is translated into French and German; but, generally speaking, our serious literature is in no great demand in any European country. The only contemporary American authors who have really an international fame are Bret Harte and Mark Twain. Their books, in atrocious flamboyant covers, are to be found on every railway news-stand in England and on the Continent. The Queen of Italy was reported, some years ago, to have asked an American if we had any other living authors than Bret Harte and Mark Twain. In 1879, during a prolonged

sojcurn in Paris, I had the pleasure of introducing the latter to Tourgueneff and receiving the Russian author's cordial thanks for having brought the famous humorist to see him.

"Now, there," he exclaimed, "is a real American—the first American who has had the kindness to conform to my idea of what an American ought to be. He has the flavor of the soil. Your other friends, Mr. A. and Mr. G., might as well be Europeans. They are excellent gentlemen, no doubt, but they are flavorless."

One evening, during the same year, when I went with Tourgueneff to a stag party at the house of a renowned *littérateur*, the conversation turned upon American humor. Several Frenchmen present, among others Alphonse Daudet, declared that the excellence of American humor had been greatly exaggerated. It seemed to them grotesque rather than funny.

"There appeared some American stories, a short time ago, in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*," said Daudet, "they were by Mark Twain; I could see nothing at all humorous in any of them."

"What were they?" I asked.

"There was one named 'The Jumping Frog,'" he replied, "a pitiful tale about two men who made a wager about a frog, one betting that he could jump to a certain height, the other betting that he could not; then, when the time comes to test the jumping ability of the frog, it is found that he has been stuffed full of shot, and of course, he cannot jump."

"Well," I queried, determined to uphold my friend, Clemens, "isn't that rather funny?"

"No," Daudet replied decidedly, "I feel too sorry for the poor frog."

All the rest, except Tourgueneff, joined in this verdict. He thought the story had been so badly translated, that its real flavor was lost in the French version. He thereupon told an incident from *Roughing It* (I think), in order to prove that American humor was not lacking in salt. It was the story of an inundation on the plains. A party of emigrants have encamped in their wagons on a little hillock, while the water keeps rising round about them. Days pass and starvation stares them in the face. Every one has to eat the most dreadful things. "I," says the author, "ate my boots. *The holes tasted the best.*"

"Now," cried Tourgueneff, "isn't that delightfully funny?"

All agreed, though with some qualifications, that a point had been made in favor of Tourgueneff's contention.

"But," objected a well-known editor, "how is it possible for a civilized man to live among a people who are always joking? In Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* there is a perpetual strain of forced jocularity, which at last grows to be deadly wearisome. The author tortures himself to find the jocular view of all things, sacred and profane. Now, what I want to know is this: Is this attitude typically American? To me it is essentially juvenile and barbaric."

I took up the cudgels, of course, for Mark Twain, and declared unblushingly that the jocular attitude toward life was not typically American. But since then I have changed my mind. I have come to the conclusion that nothing is more "typically American" than this more or less forced jocularity. In the Western States, and largely also in the East, the man who does not habitually joke is voted dull, and is held to be poor company. Entertainment, at all social gatherings, consists in telling funny stories, and every man who has a social ambition takes care to provide himself with as large a fund as possible of humorous sayings and doings, which he doles out as occasion may demand. Even public speeches have to be richly seasoned with jokes, which (if they do not illustrate anything in particular) are dragged in by the hair, and are made the real *points de résistance* of the discource. The non-humorous portions of an after-dinner speech are merely the mortar which fills up the intervals and furnishes the needed transitions to the jokes. Our most popular orators, both in the East and the West, are, as a rule, mere encyclopædias of funny stories. Their discourses are apt to be abundantly interlarded with "that reminds me"—and then comes the anecdote, which may or may not have any obvious relation to the text.

I verily believe that the startling decay of eloquence in the United States, since the days of Webster, Calhoun and Clay, is largely due to our inability to be serious about serious things. We laugh now at the magnificent perorations of the great rhetoricians of the first half of the century; and a man has to have a very great name, indeed, in order to secure attention for a non-humorous oration on a matter of public concern. I am aware that the late George William Curtis, the last representative of the

splendid old school of American oratory, did secure such attention; and Carl Schurz, another great citizen, has happily not yet outlived either his fame or his usefulness. But apart from these, I cannot recall the name of any renowned American speaker of the last decade who is not primarily a humorist.

Though I should be the last to deprecate a fair seasoning of humor in our toilsome and troublous lives, I can not but think that the seasoning with us takes the place of the dish and the dish of the seasoning. We invert the proper relation. And this inversion entails some serious and disadvantageous consequences. In the first place, it kills conversation. Instead of that interchange of thought, which with other civilized nations is held to be one of the highest of social pleasures, we exchange jokes. We report the latest jests we have heard, and repeat the latest comic stories. At a certain season certain stories and jokes have a particular vogue, and you hear them at every dinner table and at every club you enter. They get to be, at last, an intolerable bore; and yet, whether you hear them the tenth or the hundredth time, your sense of politeness compels you to feign merriment. You have to know a man very well before you can venture to "ring the chestnut bell on him." No observation I made on returning from Europe in 1879 was to me more startling than the discovery that in the United States there is, properly speaking, no conversation, *i. e.*, conversation of the kind that you enjoy in the best French and Italian salons. It is so much easier—it entails, in fact, no effort whatever—to rehearse ready-made anecdotes and *facetiæ*; and to a hard-worked commercial people it is, I doubt not, a great relief to be able to fall back upon this conversational coinage, already stamped and polished, which makes no draft upon our intellectual capital. An author with whom I recently discussed this curious phenomenon offered me, however, another and highly plausible explanation. Intellectual capital, he says, is to the American too valuable to be expended in mere talk which brings no financial return. The merchant expends it in his counting room, and is tired, if not cross, when he returns to the bosom of his family. The lawyer expends it in his office, and the author at his writing desk. We have no class of people here who can afford to squander their best powers on conversation; first, because we do not, like France, supply the social atmosphere in which the

conversationalist thrives, and accordingly do not make it worth while for anyone to aspire to eminence in that line; and, secondly, we should probably vote him a bore and laugh at him behind his back, if we had him. But the habitual joker we do appreciate; the hoarder of funny stories is mistaken for a wit; dinner invitations are showered upon him, and his path is strewn with roses.

I fancy that the social condition presented on our side of the Atlantic has had no exact or even approximate parallel in the lands where civilization is older than it is with us. The more or less uproarious debate on political or religious topics which may be witnessed in every corner grocery throughout the Western and Southwestern States is, to be sure, of common occurrence in the corresponding social strata in every country where free discussion is not prohibited by law. Though as an intellectual exercise such a trial of wit is wholesome and diverting, I should scarcely dignify it by the name "conversation." The radiant serenity of soul, the bright clarity of thought, the genial tolerance of views opposed to your own, which are the essential conditions of that happy exchange of winged felicities which I call conversation, are, indeed, not unknown, either in Boston, Washington, or New York, but they are so rare as to justify the assertion that the social man, in his higher evolutions, is as yet practically unknown in the United States. The sweetness of tone which often pertains to ancient things, matured and seasoned in sunny repose, is not a frequent ingredient of the human soul in this land of crude self-assertion and mightily wrestling energies. How could it be? It would be a miracle if it were.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

OUTLOOK FOR REPUBLICAN SUCCESS.

BY THE HON. CHARLES T. SAXTON, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

LAST fall the people had an opportunity to express their opinion upon the policy and record of the party in control of our national affairs. That opinion was expressed with a great deal of vigor and positiveness. The verdict of 1892 was completely reversed. The Republican party won a decisive victory in nearly every northern state. Those states which had left the Republican column two years before swung back into line, bringing with them many Democratic strongholds both in the North and in the South. There were 217 Democrats and 121 Republicans in the last House of Representatives. The Republican vote in the present house is more than twice as great, while the Democratic representation has shrunk to less than one-half of its former proportions. Never was a more stinging rebuke given to any political party in this country. The utter rout of the Democracy can only be construed by reasonable men into a sweeping condemnation of the present administration; nor has anything since occurred to shake the general belief in the entire justice of that condemnation.

The causes that brought about the Democratic victory of 1892 have been discussed from every possible stand-point until the subject is worn threadbare. Republican workingmen were deceived by the false cry that protection benefits capital at the expense of labor. Republican farmers listened to that siren voice which promised them dollar wheat in the event of Democratic success. Republican consumers were deluded by statements, continually sounded in their ears, that the McKinley tariff had materially increased the cost of living. Some manufacturers may have seen the mirage of more prosperous business reflected from the Demo-

cratic promise of free raw materials. They have all had their eyes opened since to the false pretences that were practised upon them. But the efficient cause of Mr. Cleveland's election is to be sought for in that socialistic movement, known by the name of Populism, which had suddenly developed remarkable strength in some of the Western states. The result of the last presidential election was not really a Democratic victory, although it was unquestionably a defeat for the Republican party.

At the time of that election we were enjoying a prosperity almost, if not quite, unparalleled in this country or elsewhere. That is a fact within every man's knowledge—a fact as indisputable as the sunshine upon a cloudless summer day. We realize this more fully when we look back upon it from the depths of the business depression in which we have been floundering for the past two years. During 1892 we produced more and consumed more than ever before in the same period of time. Capital was profitably employed and labor was well paid. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. The volume of foreign trade was greater than in any preceding year. The same statement can be made as to the value of our exports; while the balance of trade in our favor was greater than it had been since 1881. The McKinley tariff bill was in successful operation. That "culminating atrocity," as it was picturesquely styled by our Democratic friends, gave us a larger degree of free trade than we had enjoyed for thirty years, and at the same time afforded ample protection to all American industries. Although it had reduced the amount of revenue from customs, as its framers had designed it to do, it supplied more than enough, with what came in from other sources, to defray all the expenses of government. There was discontent as there always will be, because no matter how good our condition is we generally want to make it better. There was poverty as there ever has been, because the misfortunes of some and the faults of others have borne the same bitter fruit since the beginning of time. The silver question was a source of uneasiness to business men, but there was no lack of confidence in our ability to escape any serious danger from that direction. Taking them for all in all, the "Harrison times" were very good times indeed, and the Harrison administration was one of the cleanest, strongest and most successful administrations in the history of this republic.

This great prosperity that we have glanced at was followed by

a greater adversity. The panic of 1893 which scattered destruction broadcast through the land ended in business prostration and industrial paralysis from which we have hardly yet begun to recover. We are told by the administration organs that better times are in sight. Every patriotic American is anxious to believe that is so, no matter what the effect may be upon the fortunes of this or that political party. But there is no reliable promise of such prosperity as was ours at the close of the last administration. It is true that some industries, especially the iron industry, are very active just now, and that many manufacturing companies have increased the wages of their employees. But it is not true that the general business of the country is in a satisfactory condition ; and as for wages the average increase is no more than one-half the reductions that were made two years ago. The prices of most farm products are lower even than they were last year and that was the worst year the farmers of this generation had ever experienced. It is evident, however, that we have touched the lowest point, and we have every reason to expect a gradual improvement in business conditions ; but it is equally evident that the brighter outlook comes from the assurance given by the election of a Republican House of Representatives last fall that there will be no more free trade legislation enacted during the remaining life of this administration.

The cause of the panic has been the subject of endless controversy. The theory of those who appear in the role of apologists for the present administration is that all our recent financial and industrial difficulties were a legacy from the preceding administration. They insist that the clouds which burst with such devastating fury had been gathering for years. They point out that the ship of state had long been drifting toward the breakers. The most significant thing in connection with this theory, at least to those who are considering the chances of the parties in 1896, is that the people do not accept it for the reason that so far as they can judge it has no foundation in fact. The sky was, to their view, clear and serene, without a shadow to obscure its brightness, until after the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. The breakers, if there were any before that time, were effectually concealed from their vision. There was no trouble about the currency. The gold reserve was maintained at the proper figure without any trouble. The revenues

under the new tariff bill, which had fallen off at first, were beginning to increase very considerably. The deficiency of 1893–4 is abundantly explained by the depression in all kinds of business. With these facts in mind the suspicion naturally arises that the clouds and breakers were only discovered by those who were looking backward for some explanation, besides the obvious one, of the hard times that followed so closely upon the heels of Democratic victory.

The Democratic party has never in this generation had the genuine confidence of the people. For nearly half a century it has been on the wrong side of every great national issue. It has shown an amazing capacity for committing political blunders, some of which were equivalent to political crimes. "How shall a man escape from his ancestors," exclaims Emerson, "or draw off from his veins the black drop which he drew from his father's or his mother's life?" There has always been an irresistible tendency in the Democratic party to do just the thing it ought not to do. Speaking of it as of an individual, we would say that there is a taint in the blood, a taint of weakness and incapacity if nothing worse. For some years past it has masqueraded as the party of economy and reform. There is no doubt but that Democratic leaders are always in favor of honest and economical government *by the Republican party.* For illustration, we remember that in 1890 the "billion dollar Congress" was denounced by every Democratic orator and newspaper in the land. The next Congress, which was Democratic in both branches, went far beyond the billion-dollar mark, and there has been an impressive silence ever since upon the subject of retrenchment in national expenditures. There are some leaders of the party who have a genuine desire to reform those abuses which in their judgment need reformation. They are as a rule of the mugwump variety and their number is not large. Their delusion is the belief that they represent in that respect the masses of the Democratic party. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Reform is a profession and not a practice with the Democracy. When we hear about it from Democratic leaders we may be sure it is *vox et praeterea nihil,* a promise that will never materialize into performance.

There is one exception, however, to this rule. The Democratic party is thoroughly committed by precept and practice to

tariff reform. That means, according to the latest definition made by a Democratic National Convention, the destruction of every kind of protection to American industries. The "tariff for revenue only" of 1876 and 1880 has finally developed by a perfectly natural process into the dogma that the very principle of protection in a tariff bill is a fraud, a robbery, and a violation of the constitution. This is certainly as near an approach as can be made to the doctrine of absolute free trade without abandoning entirely our system of raising revenue by duties upon imports.

The Wilson bill was an effort to embody this doctrine in a statute. It started out as a vigorous attack upon protection, but, fortunately for the country, the attack was not so vigorously supported in the Senate. When the House bill emerged from the darkness and secrecy of the Senate Committee it had lost much of its beautiful symmetry, but what it had lost in beauty it had gained in wisdom and strength. Looking at it from a Democratic standpoint, it was very far from being a radical measure, although we will do the free trade leaders the justice to admit that they got all they could and gave fair warning that more would be demanded at the first favorable opportunity. In fact, the bill as finally passed was a protection measure, although wholly illogical and unsystematic in its construction. It was a protection measure in another sense when considered in its relations to the sugar trust.

There never was a more disastrous failure from any point of view than the Wilson-Gorman tariff law. Having for its central idea free raw materials, it placed coal and iron on the protected list. Having for its main purpose a sufficient revenue, it has brought about an annual deficiency of fifty or sixty millions of dollars, and reduced the government to the necessity of borrowing money with which to pay its current expenses. Having in view an increase of foreign trade, it has accomplished its design, if at all, only by increasing the value of our imports and diminishing largely the value of our exports. It has crippled many industries, and reduced the wages of thousands of our workingmen. It wrought the destruction of the valuable reciprocity relations we had with several foreign states. One of its most prominent features is the discrimination it made in favor of southern productions. So pronounced was this feature that the President was

moved to utter a protest and a warning, which, it is needless to say, were unheeded by Congress. "How can we face the people," wrote he, "after indulging in such outrageous discriminations and violations of principle?" The scandals that clustered around the bill are still fresh in the public mind. Well might President Cleveland declare that it meant "party perfidy and party dishonor," and refuse it the sanction of his signature.

It is important to have the tariff question settled right, but it is even more important to have it settled in some way, right or wrong, so it will stay settled. If the Democratic party has any organic will at all, and that is by no means certain, that will is to destroy our American system of protection. The real leaders of the party will never be satisfied until that result is accomplished. The Hon. Lawrence T. Neal, who was the author of the tariff plank in the Chicago platform recently opened the campaign in Ohio. He said in the course of his speech that the Wilson bill is to be followed by the enactment of other laws "making still further reductions and bringing us nearer to the standard of a tariff for revenue." This is but the echo of what has been said in substance time and again by Democratic orators. It reflects the views of a large majority of the party, and that is the chief reason why the party will not succeed next year.

The issue is clearly defined. It is not a question of schedules but of principles. The great mass of the Northern people believe in the principle of protection. That belief is gaining ground even in the Southern States, several of which are beginning to feel the strong pulse of a new industrial life. The result of the last presidential election was not a verdict against the protection system. The people looked to the letter of the candidate, rather than to the platform of the party, for a declaration of principles upon the tariff question. When it began to dawn upon them, as it did soon after the election, that the triumph of the Democracy was a severe blow at protection they became alarmed and indignant. This feeling found vent in the elections last year. The revolution which then took place was not caused so much by the hard times as by the general conviction among the people that the hard times were brought about by the threat involved in Democratic rule. There is no danger now that the "tariff reformers" will carry us any further along the road that leads to free trade,

for the simple reason that they will not again have the opportunity, at least for some years, to meddle with the delicate machinery of our industrial system.

Nor is it likely that even with the tariff question out of the way the people would intrust that party with the settlement of our financial difficulties. When the panic came the administration tried to place the responsibility upon the Sherman act. It is a favorite boast of Democratic leaders that their representatives in Congress unanimously opposed the passage of that measure; but they are careful not to state that the reason for the opposition was that a large majority of those representatives wanted free coinage and nothing less. When Mr. Bland moved, in June, 1890, to commit the Conger silver purchase bill to the committee, with instructions to report back a free coinage bill, 100 out of the 116 affirmative votes were from the Democratic side. Only thirteen Democratic votes were recorded against it. When the bill afterwards came up in the Senate twenty-eight out of the thirty-seven Democratic Senators voted for the Plumb free coinage substitute, and but three of them were recorded against it. The President is entitled to great credit for setting his face so resolutely against the fifty cent dollar, but in so doing he turned his back upon his party as represented in Congress. There is about the same comparison between the danger threatened by the Sherman act and that to be apprehended from the free coinage of silver as there is between a mild gale and a western cyclone. When that act was passed there was a well grounded hope that its effect would be to stay the downward course in the price of the white metal. Unfortunately that hope was not realized and it was time that the law should be repealed. The Democratic Congress was powerless even to do that without the aid of the Republican minority. There is every reason to believe that no evils would have flowed from the law, except the loss sustained by the treasury in buying silver on a falling market, but for the profound and widespread distrust of the party in power.

Business men have but little confidence in Democratic financiering. They remember, among other things, that in 1868 the party was in favor of paying the national debt in depreciated currency, and that in 1876 it denounced resumption of specie payments. They know that it has always shown a willingness to embrace any financial heresy, and that its very last deliverance

upon the money question was in favor of the "wild cat" currency of the old State banking system.

The last Congress demonstrated its incapacity to deal with financial matters. It lacked both the wisdom and the will. Nothing was done for the relief of the treasury. Secretary Carlisle has been compelled to sell bonds to maintain the gold reserve and provide for current expenses. The revenues now are wholly inadequate for the purposes of the government. The national debt has been increased to the extent of $150,000,000, or much more as some claim. But Congress adjourned in the midst of these difficulties without making an effort to relieve the situation.

The people like to see a party have a policy and a purpose. They expect those who are intrusted with political power to know what to do, and how to do it. We are confronted with some very troublesome questions. They can never be settled by a divided party. The Republican party is always able to agree with itself on important matters. It may make mistakes, but it never makes the unpardonable mistake of doing nothing in the face of a great emergency. The Republicans in Congress will soon have a splendid opportunity to show the quality of their statesmanship. They should embrace that opportunity without hesitation. In such a case, as in all cases, fidelity to the public interests will be the surest road to party success.

The average American has a strong feeling of pride and affection for his country. He is even so prejudiced and narrow minded as to think more of his own country than of any other. He expects the national government to uphold at any cost the honor and dignity of the American name. He would promptly resent any insult to the flag, and firmly repel any attack upon the integrity of the Monroe doctrine. Furthermore, he believes that this country, as the great power of the western world, owes duties to its neighbors; and that, while it should do nothing rash, or quixotic, it should manifest in a proper way its sympathies with those in every land who aspire to liberty and struggle against oppression. To this extent he is a jingo, and he accepts the name as a title of honor.

Americans of this class, and they are largely in the majority, feel humiliated beyond expression by the foreign policy of this administration. They look upon it as weak, cowardly, and un-

patriotic. They contrast it with the firm and vigorous policy of President Harrison and his cabinet. They point to the Hawaiian affair as the most disgraceful chapter in our diplomatic history. They refer also to Samoa, and the surrender of the Japanese students, and the Waller incident, as illustrations of the fibreless character of our State Department in its dealings with foreign nations.

There are other counts in the people's indictment against this administration, but it is not necessary to mention them. The weakness of the Democratic party is structural. Its fatal defect is the absence of anything like unity of purpose. The platform upon which its various factions can agree is one which means all things to all men. About the only unequivocal declaration it has made for years was the tariff plank of 1892; and its leaders have spent most of their time since in explaining that away. It is not so much a party as an association of opposing elements formed for the single purpose of getting and keeping control of the government. There is no intention of charging that individual Democrats are actuated more than individual Republicans by selfish motives; but the purpose above indicated is the only real bond of union that holds together the heterogeneous collection of persons that goes by the name of the Democratic party. One is reminded by it of the old copy-book line, "Many men of many minds." No Democratic leader can be named, unless he be a free trader, who reflects the opinion on any considerable portion of his party on national issues.

The circumstances above recited furnish the strongest reasons for the belief that the Republican party will succeed in the coming elections. The people understand the matter very thoroughly. They may not all be able to grasp the theories of the economist, but there are not many among them who do not readily comprehend the meaning of facts and the logic of conditions.

President Cleveland received less than forty-six per cent. of the popular vote in 1892; a smaller portion than he received in 1888, when he was defeated. The Republican States of Wisconsin, Illinois, North Dakota, California, Indiana and Ohio cast sixty-one votes for him; and the states of Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon and Idaho gave twenty-two votes for Weaver. That result was chiefly due to the twin delusions, Populism and Free Coinage, both of which reached high water

mark that year. If those states had been where they belong Harrison would have been elected. Nothing is more certain than that nearly, if not quite, all of them will choose Republican electors next year. The people of the West have had enough of Populism, which brought them nothing but anarchy and financial disaster. The free coinage question will not cut much of a figure outside of the silver producing states. It was pointed out by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for April, 1894, that a change of 27,426 votes, properly distributed in California, Delaware, Idaho, North Dakota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri and West Virginia would have given those states to Harrison and secured his election. The Republican party succeeded last fall in every one of those states, except California, by pluralities, aggregating 240,000; and even in California there was a large Republican plurality upon the vote for Representatives in Congress. The Democratic party cannot properly succeed next year without the vote of New York State. Judging from present appearances, that vote will surely be cast for the Republican candidates.

In fact, viewing the situation from any standpoint, the prospect of Republican success is of the most encouraging character. The party is thoroughly united on all matters of national policy. Its achievements shine with a brighter lustre than ever against the dark back-ground of Democratic incompetency. The people know that it can be relied upon to protect their highest interests at home and abroad. They have confidence in its ability to rise above every difficulty and settle in a statesmanlike way every question that may arise.

CHARLES T. SAXTON.

WHAT BECOMES OF COLLEGE WOMEN.

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS closed his memorable address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Vassar College with these words: "We have left woman as a slave with Homer and Pericles. We have left her as a foolish goddess with Chivalry and Don Quixote. We have left her as a toy with Chesterfield and the club; and in the enlightened American daughter, wife, and mother, in the free American home, we find the fairest flower and the highest promise of American civilization."

The classic phrase of the orator is an expression of a simple fact. That fact is that about fifty-five per cent. of the woman-graduates of our colleges marry. The fact is a happy one—happy for the wives and husbands, and happy also for the homes. For most women prefer to marry. The fears early expressed that the college women would prefer a public to a domestic career, have proved to be false. Women have resigned exalted public places to become heads of simple American homes. The fact that most women prefer to marry is also a happy one for life itself. The home is the center of life; it is the source of life's best influences. No contribution for its enrichment is too costly. All that learning and culture can offer, all that the virtues can achieve, all that the graces can contribute, all that which the college represents and embodies, is none too rich for the betterment of the home. The college woman, therefore, as embodying the best type of womanhood, is bringing the best offering of herself to the worthiest shrine.

Twenty per cent. of all women who become of a marriageable age do not marry, and it is apparent that about forty per cent. of

college women, who have become of a marriageable age, have not married. The question, therefore, is, what work are the unmarried women doing? Are they doing a work of value sufficient to justify the time and money spent in securing an education? Are they doing a work of the highest educational or ethical or civil value?

About 4,000 women are graduates of the principal colleges for women in the United States, and among these principal colleges may be named Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard, and the College for Women of Western Reserve University. Besides these colleges there are many co-educational institutions. There are probably another 4,000 women graduates from reputable colleges which are open alike to women and to men. Of this great number of well-trained women it is probable that about 5,000 are at the heads of homes, or will finally find their career to be a domestic one. Of the remaining 3,000 it is to be said at once that they are found engaged in almost every employment.

The most popular, however, of all the fields of work for the college woman is that represented in the school-room. It is probable that at least two-thirds of all college graduates teach for at least a short time after their graduation. Surely no work is more important than teaching in the public or the private school, and no woman is better fitted to do the duties constituting this work than the well-bred and well-trained college woman.* The American school-room needs good manners, good breeding, instruction beyond the text book and the lesson, and, more than all, it needs culture and sympathy in the teacher. These are needs which the

* I am indebted for certain facts about the proportion of women who marry to Miss Millicent W. Shinn. But the marriage rate of college women is a very involved question. President Taylor, of Vassar, writes me as follows: "One of the puzzles, it seems to me, in gathering statistics regarding the women's colleges, and especially on the points bearing on graduate work and on marriage, grows out of the fact that women enter into both of these spheres much later than men do ofttimes. That is to say, a young woman teaches very often several years before she undertakes her graduate work. That seems to me much truer in regard to them than in regard to young men, and certainly it is true of marriage, if I have observed with any accuracy, that in estimating the statistics, or the average number of marriages among a body of alumnæ, it is unfair and misrepresents the truth to state the matter without regard to the recent graduates, by far the most numerous classes, who are not likely to marry for two or three, and sometimes more, years after their graduation. Of course there are exceptions. We have had a large number of marriages lately among our recent graduates, but after all, the suggestion that I make will hold. . . . I know that in this matter, in which the public seems to be very largely interested, statistics are constantly misleading." So also Miss Mary Caswell, Secretary to the President of Wellesley College, writes me in reference to that college that "the percentage of alumnæ who marry is 17⅓. The estimate is easily made, yet it is in a manner misleading, since in the sum total are included the later and, on the whole, larger classes, which represent possibilities of marriage not yet realized. Taking out the class of 1895, for instance, I get a higher percentage, 19 per cent."

college graduate is best fitted to fill. The public schools in every grade have this need, and it is a happy thing to be able to say that in hundreds and almost thousands of high schools throughout the country are found graduates of our colleges, not only doing the routine work which belongs to the teachers' profession but also contributing to this work the richness of culture and the breadth of sympathy which produce results far more precious than the ordinary routine of educational service. The college woman has not yet gone to a large degree into the schools of the grammar grade; but there are many reasons for believing that the grammar schools and the primary schools are soon to have the advantage of her presence and her work. It will be a happy time for American schools and American life, when every teacher's place is filled by a collegian. The normal school, in certain respects, gives an excellent training, but the best teacher is one who has first had the general training and the culture of the college to which is added the professional training of the best normal school.

It is to be said that women are found, though in less numbers, teaching in the colleges for women as well as in the high schools and other schools. To a slight extent they do teach men in colleges which are open to both men and women. Yet the time is not far distant when we may find women teaching in men's colleges. I was recently approached by one of the most distinguished scholars of the United States, herself a teacher in a conspicuous college for women, asking me in the most gracious way whether, if she accepted a position as teacher in the College for Women of Western Reserve University, she would be allowed to be a teacher in Adelbert College for men, which is a part of the same University? There are in the United States, according to the census of 1890, 735 women who are professors in colleges and universities. A large proportion of these women are to be found in colleges and universities which are hardly of a high collegiate grade, and not a few of them themselves are not graduates of any college, but among them are many eminent scholars, who teach branches as erudite as the highest mathematics and as advanced as the most refined philology.

Of the ten most conspicuous women who are graduates of Vassar College, and of the ten most conspicuous who come from Cornell University and from the University of Michigan, more

than half are teachers in the colleges for women. They hold chairs of social science, of English, of botany, of chemistry, of Greek, of astronomy, of history, and of political science. They are giving to the cause of education, of culture, and of a higher civilization the same contribution which men in similar positions in the colleges for men are giving.

The last census of the United States shows that the number of women who are preachers is now 1,235, who are lawyers 208, and who are physicians and surgeons 4,555 ; but in these numbers are to be found only a few who are college women. A lamentably small proportion of the physicians of this country are college-bred. Out of the more than 4,000 women who are physicians it is probable that not more than 200 have had a college training. Out of the more than 1,800 women who are members of the Collegiate Alumnæ Association are only 34 physicians. The law, the ministry and journalism command a far smaller proportion, for, in the same association of college women, there are only half a dozen lawyers, preachers and journalists.

As one reads over the names of the graduates of the colleges for women of the last twenty-five years he is impressed with the fact that only a few of these women have attained distinction, or have held conspicuous positions. One is reminded of the remark which Sydney Smith, writing in 1810, made, though not with absolute correctness, that up to that time no woman had produced a single notable work either of imagination or reason, in English, German, French or Italian literature. Three quarters of a century after Sydney Smith wrote, Mrs. Fawcett showed that there were at least forty women who had left a permanent mark in English literature alone; and yet, one can not fail to be impressed with the sad and glad fact that so few of college women have become famous. I have recently had an examination made of *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography** to discover the nature of the early training and also the character of the employment of the persons therein named. The work contains between fifteen thousand and sixteen thousand names, of which only 633 are names of women. Of these 633 women 320 are authors; seventy-three are singers or actresses ; ninety-one are sculptors or painters ; sixty-eight are educators ; twenty-one may be called philanthropists ; fourteen are missionaries ; thirteen doctors ;

* The Cyclopædia was published 1886-1889.

twenty-eight may be described as having their places in this article because of heroic deeds. There are also three who are described as engaging in business, one in nursing and one in following the profession of law. Of these 633 persons only nineteen have had a college training; of the 320 women who are named as authors, only nine are college women; of the ninety-one artists only one; of the actresses also one; of the educators seven; of the missionaries one only is college-bred. It is evident that the college woman has not become famous. This result is not strange, for the time since the college woman has been at all possible has not been long; and the time since the college woman has existed as an important part of American life has been very much shorter. Usually longer periods of time are necessary for doing that work of which the result is fame.

The effect of marriage upon the winning of distinction is not so great as first thought would lead one to believe, for of the six hundred and thirty-three women named in *Appleton's Cyclopædia* one-half are married and one-half are unmarried. Some of the most distinguished women of the country have been married, and some women who have not been married have gained hardly greater distinction. Half of the women named in Appleton's work won fame through their books, and it is known that writing is one of those arts that can be carried on at home. The number of women who enter public employments is increasing, and these employments are usually inconsistent with the life of a wife and mother. We therefore shall find an increasing proportion of the distinguished women, who are college graduates, unmarried.

I have recently made two lists, one of the distinguished women who are not graduates and one of distinguished women who are graduates. The two lists manifest a striking difference in that nearly all the distinguished women who are not graduates are distinguished for their writings, and they belong to the older order of women. In the list of graduates I notice that the more distinguished women are distinguished for their work as teachers or scientific investigators. They do, at any rate, represent services to the cause of scholarship of the highest value. They are to be found, these women, as presidents of colleges, at the head of great philanthropic movements, as teachers of history, literature, philology, mathematics, Greek and chemistry. There are

names that suggest erudite thinking in the mathematics and in abstruse scientific investigation, and also in the application of scientific investigation to the problems of practical house-keeping. They and their work represent the high water-mark of our civilization.

But one induction of a nature somewhat startling is made evident. It is that from the great field of literature the college woman has been absent as a creator for the last twenty years. The number of books, of every sort, written by college women is very few. No college woman has yet arisen whose work is to be put into the same class with the works of Miss Wilkins, Miss Murfree, or of Miss Phelps, or of several others whose greatest works have appeared in the time since the first college was opened to women. The American college has given us great scholars, great philanthropists, great administrators, great teachers. It has given us Frances E. Willard and Lucy Stone. It has not given us great writers. It has given us no great novelist. It has given one or two, and only one or two, essayists, and, without doubt, the most conspicuous is Miss Vida Scudder.

It is possible that one may say that the American college for men has not given us great writers. The remark is partially true and partially false. Of the great historians, all, with one exception, are graduates. Of that generation of poets who have helped to render American literature illustrious, all, with the exception of Whittier, are graduates. Some of the greatest essayists are not indeed included in the list, but Emerson is there. Of our novelists, a part, and a part only, are graduates. One does not forget that Howells is not a graduate, neither is Aldrich, but one does not fail to remember that Hawthorne was trained at the college of Longfellow.

But all exceptions aside, it is certainly true that the graduates of the colleges for women have not made that contribution to literature that they have made to scholarship, or to teaching, or to administration. To consider the cause of this condition would carry us too far afield for the present discussion.

It would be somewhat bold in anyone to say who are the most distinguished women of any college; but one who knows the University of Michigan intimately and has known it for years, and another who has had a hardly less intimate acquaintance with Cornell University, send to me the names of ten whom they

regard as the most conspicuous in the history of these two great colleges. In the Michigan University they are as follows:

Dr. E. J. MOSHER, Class of 1875, now an eminent practitioner in Brooklyn, N. Y., who was professor in Vassar College, and for some time had charge of the Massachusetts Prison for Women at South Framingham.

Dr. L. A. HOWARD KING, '76, Tientsin, China. Miss Howard became eminent as a missionary physician by her successful treatment of the wife of the great Viceroy, Li Hung Chang. He became so interested in her work, that, with the aid of some of his mandarins, he erected a hospital and equipped it for her use. She afterwards married an English missionary named King. She did more to introduce Western medicine and surgery into China than almost any other person.

Dr. LUCY HALL BROWN, a practitioner in Brooklyn, New York, and also for some years a Professor in Vassar College. She graduated in 1878.

MARY SHELDON BARNES, '74, wife of Professor Barnes, of Leland Stanford University. She was for some time Professor of History in Wellesley College. She has written historical text books.

ANGIE C. CHAPIN, '75, Professor of Greek in Wellesley College.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, the distinguished ex-President of Wellesley College. Graduated in the class of '76.

LUCY M. SALMON, '76, the head of the Department of History in Vassar College.

MARY E. BYRD, '78, Professor of Astronomy, Smith College.

KATHERINE E. COMAN, '80, Professor of History and Political Economy in Wellesley College.

From Cornell graduated the following women:

Mrs. JULIA IRVINE, President of Wellesley College.

MARTHA CAREY THOMAS, who holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Zurich, and is now President of Bryn Mawr College.

RUTH PUTNAM, author of "William the Silent Prince of Orange, the Moderate Man of the XVI. Century."

Mrs. SUSANNA PHELPS GAGE, scientist and illustrator.

Mrs. A. W. SMITH, in 1895 Assistant Professor of Social Science in Leland Stanford University.

EMILY L. GREGORY, Ph. D. (Zurich), Professor of Botany in Barnard College.

Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY, now Chief Inspector of Factories for the State of Illinois, and well-known as an author upon social problems.

Mrs. ANNA BOTSFORD COMSTOCK, entomologist and wood engraver.

KATE MAY EDWARDS, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Greek at Wellesley College.

ELIZA RITCHIE, Ph. D., Instructor in Philosophy at Wellesley College.

Mrs. MILA TUPPER MAYNARD, formerly pastor of churches at La Porte, Ind., and at Grand Rapids, Mich.

Among the most famous graduates of Vassar College, one cannot fail to make mention of Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who

has for twenty years been an eminent student and teacher in applied chemistry; of Christine Ladd Franklin, mathematician and logician; of Mary A. Jordan, Professor in Smith College, and whose services have been a great power in the building up of that popular college; of Heloise E. Hersey, formerly professor in Smith College, and now at the head of a successful school for girls in Boston; of Mary Whitney, worthy successor to Maria Mitchell at Vassar; of Frances Fisher Wood, a physician in New York; and of Mrs. Elizabeth W. Champney, the author of several popular books.

The record of the graduates of the Bryn Mawr College is one less distinguished than these names just suggested make, for the college was founded in 1885, and no graduate is of a standing longer than six years. But the following facts are most promising of useful and distinguished careers:

Number of A. B.'s to 1895	145
Have taken degree of Ph. D	2
Have taken degree of A. M	10
Engaged in graduate study	43
Dean of College	1
Lecturers, demonstrators, etc., in colleges	11
Private tutors and school teachers	35
Secretaries	6
Librarians	1
Literary workers	1
Philanthropic workers	3
Married	15
Doing no special work	52
Dead	2

Surely such a record as is herein suggested is tremendously significant. Whether it is better, or not so good a record as men would have permitted the historian to make it is not necessary to say, but this record does represent work which is absolutely worth doing. The result is one of absolute satisfaction to the friend of the cause of college education for women. The American college has helped American women to get strength without becoming priggish, vigor of heart without being cold; it has helped them to become rich in knowledge without being pedantic, broad in sympathy without wanting a public career, and large-minded and broad-minded without neglecting humble duties. The American college has helped woman toward doing the highest work, by the wisest methods, with the richest results.

CHARLES F. THWING.

JINGOES AND SILVERITES.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

ONE of the most subtle, and, since there is no other word so expressive, most damnable arguments which have been presented in support of the free coinage of silver by this country without regard to the action of other countries, is that it is for our interest and profit to take action on every point in reverse to the acts of Great Britain. This proposal has been carried so far by some of the attorneys of the owners of silver mines as to lead them to advocate a war with Great Britain as a means of profit and benefit to the United States. The danger in this view of the matter is that it may find a ready response in a large class of legislators who regard all imports from foreign countries as of the nature of a war upon our domestic industry. Witness the fact that in the effort to promote partisan legislation and to seek favor with the so-called silver party, the junior Senator of the State of Massachusetts has proposed a policy on behalf of the so-called silver interests in our dealings with Great Britain even more grossly ridiculous than the conception which the attorneys of the silver miners have presented.

His proposal was to attempt to force Great Britain to adopt a bimetallic treaty of legal tender by putting differential duties in this country upon the products of Great Britain. These facts distinctly prove that there is no argument so gross in its nature that it may not be employed by men of public station, otherwise of good repute, in their effort to compass party success. It is a sad commentary upon human nature, giving an example of the depravity of mind which may be brought upon a man who sinks the principles of a statesman in order to compass the success of a partisan.

The Jingo element can only become dangerous through the

negligence of the mass of thinking men. That men are negligent is witnessed by the fact that those who would promote war with Great Britain do not immediately become disgraced as they might rightly be.

There is another bad feature in the existing state of opinion. A great deal of money has lately been expended at the public cost in the construction of a new navy. We surely needed a certain type of war vessels to which no exception could be taken in the present state of the world. We required armed cruisers which could be speedily sent to dangerous points for the protection of our citizens in foreign lands and for the protection of our commerce. We may have been justified in constructing one or two so-called battle ships without waiting for their worthlessness to be disclosed; but we cannot be justified in having constructed two very costly vessels of war which are known in the navy and generally among the people as "Commerce Destroyers." That name is a disgrace to the ship, to officers of the navy and to the nation. These two ships of war cost about seven million dollars or a little more. That sum is nearly as great as the endowment of our oldest University, Harvard. The annual cost of maintaining these vessels in service is nearly, if not quite, equal to the pay roll of Harvard University. The time was when it was considered justifiable for any army to sack a city and for the officers and soldiers of an army to enrich themselves from the plunder of the private houses and other property of a conquered country. That time has long since passed. The sacking of cities is a disgrace. Private plunder is treated as robbery. An officer joining therein ceases to be a gentleman, and is regarded as a thief. Yet what would disgrace an army and its officers upon the land may be imposed upon the navy and its officers as a duty. It is now held to be among their lawful functions to do the work of pirates in ships of war built at the public cost, bearing the degrading name of "Commerce Destroyers." The nation was even represented at the recent opening of the peaceful canal at Kiel by one of these vilely named armed vessels.

What could have been more grotesque than the display of war vessels at the opening of the ship canal at Kiel—one hundred great armed vessels of different types more or less worthless in the face of the latest type of gun and shell, accompanied by twenty-five smaller vessels, sent thither from various states and

nations, at a very heavy cost, to celebrate the opening of a canal whose purpose is to carry cotton, fibres and metals to the people of Germany, in the conversion of which into finished goods for export they may be enabled to sustain the increasing burden of armies and navies. The cost of the canal was about forty million dollars. The waste upon these big and mainly worthless war ships must have represented an expenditure of not less than two hundred million dollars.

The display of these engines of destruction was mostly made by the nations of continental Europe, which nations or states maintain, within an area of European territory about corresponding to that of the United States, omitting Alaska, barriers to mutual service at the borders of separation, at which a revenue is collected by taxes upon imports, supplemented in some cases by bounties upon exports, not quite equal to the cost of sustaining the armies which, except for these barriers to mutual service, would have no reason for their existence. In this way the inherited prejudice of race and creed is maintained while the people are kept in a condition of poverty which, in respect to many of these states, is year by year becoming more hopeless.

Contrast these conditions with our relations with the neighboring Dominion of Canada. It is true that in 1866, I believe, we abandoned the treaty of reciprocity under which for many years the people of both sections of this continent had greatly thriven, and that we are now striving to recover the advantage which we might have enjoyed throughout the intervening period by making another treaty. We exchange some of the products of our agriculture with Canada, and, owing to our more southern position and greater sunshine, we are enabled to supply her with the products of our fields in rather larger measure than she can supply us. There is no antagonism between us, and throughout the long civil war not a ship was needed to watch the harbors of Canada lest an attack should be made from them upon us, and not a regiment was called for to guard our long northern frontier. On that frontier there also exists a canal, far greater in its service than the canal at Kiel can ever be. The tonnage which passes yearly through the St. Mary's Canal, which unites our great lakes, exceeds that of the Suez Canal. Yet not a fort is required to guard that canal, and not a ship of war is permitted upon either of the great lakes.

The true Monroe doctrine, so different from that which the Jingo element among our politicians so grossly misrepresents, has been applied to these lakes since 1818. After the last war with Great Britain the United States possessed the complete naval control of the lakes. The armed vessels of Great Britain had either been destroyed or were laid up almost worthless in the harbors of Canada. In 1817 John Quincy Adams, Minister to Great Britain, proposed to the English Government that neither should thereafter maintain any armed naval force upon the lakes. This course was advocated in order to "avoid the danger of collision and to save expense." The subject was duly considered for nearly a year in Washington and in London. John Quincy Adams returned to America and became Secretary of State. In 1818 President Monroe stated to the Senate that an agreement had been made permitting four revenue cutters on each side, each with one gun, upon these great inland waters. Aside from that, no armed ship was to be permitted. He asked the Senate to express its judgment upon this agreement which had not even taken the dignity of a formal treaty, and when the assent of the Senate had been given he issued the proclamation certified by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, under which peace has been maintained, collision has been avoided, and an enormous expense has been saved both by this country and by Canada. Yet it is even now considered reputable for the United States to construct "Commerce Destroyers" to exercise their piratical functions under the flag of the Union upon the open seas!

It is time for the farmers of the Western and of the Middle States remote from the ocean to give thought to these conditions. It is time that the English speaking people entered into a commercial treaty exempting private property from seizure upon the sea, with such assent from other nations as might be had. When the English speaking people unite their forces for the protection of commerce by declaring that the destruction of private property at sea by the war vessels of any nation should be held as piracy, the moral support of the world would be given to such an agreement, and no nation, however under the control of a military caste, would dare refuse assent to such an agreement.

We, therefore, have the whole moral and economic force of the community on the one side and the Jingo element on the other—the one comprising the great body of thinking people,

slow to observe, slow to make up its mind and slow to act; the other noisy, unprincipled and aggressive, taking advantage of every petty prejudice to excite animosity and to betray the peace of the country. If there be no higher motive required to arrest political depravity, let the economic side of the question only be regarded. By what nations is the commerce mainly conducted which it would be the function of our "Commerce Destroyers" to work their evil upon in case of war? Almost wholly by England and Germany, our two largest customers for the excess of our products of the field and of the farm; also by the Scandinavian nations and the Netherlands, who are the middle men among nations, bearing our products across the seas and bringing back from the tropical and semi-tropical countries the products that we need.

What would be the effect of war with either England or Germany, coupled with the destruction of their commerce? The surplus product of Western farms and Southern plantations might rot upon the field. The proportion of grain exported, or of dairy products and meats, is not as large as the proportions of our cotton export, yet if shut in and thrown upon the market already fully supplied, it would depress all prices to the loss and damage of every farmer in the land; while on the other hand, cutting off the supply of foreign fabrics would for the time being give such a monopoly to domestic manufactures as to increase the cost of everything that the farmer buys. It is perfectly logical for the advocates of a prohibitory tariff to take the position long since taken by Henry C. Carey, who said that "he would regard a ten years' war with England as the greatest material benefit that could happen to this country." People are wiser now than they were when they listened to such a false prophet, and yet there are to-day a sufficient number of ignorant persons to whom a similar appeal is made.

Again: The attorneys of the silver miners and their coadjutors urge the adoption of the silver standard and the demonetization of gold on the ground that it is for our interest to take the reverse of the policy of Great Britain, where the gold standard has been maintained for two generations and where it will be maintained. The audacity of this proposition is only equalled by its absurdity. A very large part of the foreign exports of Great Britain and Germany are to the silver-using nations of Asia, Africa and South America. The exporters of Great Britain have,

in fact, been exposed to a good deal of hardship and difficulty in adjusting the terms of exchange with their principal customers. What could be a greater relief to Great Britain than for the United States to sell her the cotton, the corn, the dairy products and presently the coal and the ores which she must have for conversion into finished fabrics, giving her the opportunity to convert them into these finished goods and then to sell them to the silver-using nations on silver payments? Once give Great Britain the opportunity to put that silver upon us under a treaty of bimetallic legal tender by which we should deprive ourselves of any choice as between silver and gold, and we should at once relieve British manufacturers and bankers of all the difficulties which have grown out of the change of the ratio of silver to gold, taking all these difficulties upon ourselves. If any argument could be invented giving greater evidence both of audacity and imbecility I have yet to find it. The destruction of a fool is his own folly, and when the advocates of silver monometallism, at the ratio of sixteen to one, venture into this last ditch in their effort to stay the rising tide in support of sound money, they disclose both their audacity and their imbecility.

Again: The unscrupulous Jingo element of the opposition to President Cleveland have attempted to create a prejudice against his administration of the Hawaiian question by alleging that England is waiting to seize these islands. It is utterly false. No nation seeks the responsibility for taking these islands, subject to the enormous expense of arming and defending them both upon the land and upon the sea. What is needed again in this case is an agreement among the great naval powers "to avoid collision and to save expense" by neutralizing the islands and the waters adjacent thereto, giving all equal opportunity to land cables, to conduct their trade and to keep their stores of coal wherever they choose, while protecting the people of the islands in their rights.

We may regard the parcelling out of barbarous or semi-barbarous continents like Africa among the powers of Europe with perfect equanimity, and yet we may regard it as being to our great interest whenever or wherever the power and protection of the English speaking people is extended over barbarous countries. Wherever Germany and France gain a hold their effort is to keep the sole control of commerce, and so it has been with the Dutch in the Philippine Islands. Wherever England establishes her control or

protectorate it is to the benefit of the masses of the people of that land, even though they resist the somewhat rough and tactless methods by which they themselves are benefited. The French may have tact; but they use that tact for private gain and plunder. The Englishman may lack in tact; but, in these latter days, he uses his power to establish justice in the administration of semi-civilized countries. Witness the fact that the Egyptians are no longer spoiled. For the first time in history, the fellahs in Egypt are beginning to enjoy the fruits of their own industry. Wherever England exerts her control the purchasing power of the people is increased, a demand for goods made by machinery begins, and England attempts to make no discrimination, but gives to all an equal chance to supply these wants. Contrast her policy with that of the Spaniards. Contrast the condition of her colonies with the condition of those which were under the control of Spain and Portugal. Witness the present conditions of South America as compared to any English colonies or settlements. What a boon it would be to the world if systems corresponding to English law, English administration and the English regard for personal rights, could be extended over the continent of South America.

A paramount position in that international commerce through which men and nations benefit and profit each other by serving each other's needs is passing to this country. The people of the United States constitute the only nation among the machine-using nations of the world who possess within their own limits the power of producing food, fuel, iron, steel, copper, timber and innumerable fabrics far in excess of their own wants. They are subjected to the lightest burden of national taxation as compared to any and every other machine-using nation. Holding these advantages, their products are made at the highest rates of wages in every branch of industry, except mere handicrafts, as compared to those of any other country, and yet at the lowest cost of production measured by the unit of product. There has never been a period in this country when economic questions were being so exhaustively studied by great numbers of people. Let them but turn their attention to the facts which I have given in this paper and the Jingoes among our politicians will be stamped out of political existence in company with the advocates of the debasement of our unit of value.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

OUR ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

SOON after our forefathers had planted their little colonies along the Atlantic Coast, their children ascended the Hudson, the Mohawk, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and other valleys, penetrated to the Ohio, and at length invaded "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky, and swept along the region of the Great Lakes.

A little later they passed over the rich prairies, and to-day their descendants have transformed the treeless plains, mountain valleys and gold-fields of the Pacific Slope and of the Rocky Mountains into refined and prosperous communities. Long before the day of the Anglo-Saxon, adventurers of other races had passed lightly over much of what is now the United States. Except in a few isolated spots they left behind no enduring trace. Pressing closely in the footsteps of the hunters and trappers, the Daniel Boones of the frontier, the American has always founded homes, established schools, and organized permanent industries.

The favorable termination of the French and Indian wars, waged for more than two generations, gave the English colonists the great lake region and northwestern territory west of the Alleghanies, and put an end forever to the Frenchman's dream of empire in this quarter; the Louisiana purchase gave us a vast area in the South and West, while the Texas revolution and the war with Mexico gave us New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

What has long been called our great Western Empire may be roughly described as including the country lying from north to south between the Dominion of Canada and the republic of Mexico; and from east to west (with boundaries less definitely fixed) between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean.

It is remarkable that when the great Corsican had exhausted

his treasure in the desolation and destruction of homes in Europe, he was willing to dispose of his vast area of territory in North America to the United States. Seventy-five million francs at that time was a great boon to the French conqueror, and one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand square miles of the productive territory of North America upon which could be built prosperous, happy homes, was a great boon for millions of free people. The treasure exchanged for the land purchased the equipment and munitions of war that carried mourning and desolation to thousands of homes in Europe. The territory received in exchange for the treasure has produced millions of homes in our own country.

President Jefferson desired a more perfect knowledge of the vast country which was acquired by what is known as the Louisiana purchase from the French government, and it was under his direction that the expedition of Lewis and Clark was projected. In 1803 an expedition under the leadership of Lewis and Clark was organized at St. Louis, to explore a route through the wilderness to the Pacific coast. Their company was composed of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter, and a negro servant of Captain Clark.

In the spring of 1804 the villagers of St. Louis assembled on the bank of the Mississippi River to bid adieu to the fearless and hardy explorers. The history of that expedition is one of the most interesting ever written. Their first winter was spent with the Mandans in what is now North Dakota. Dragging their boats for two thousand miles up the Missouri River, and leaving them in charge of a band of savages, the Shoshone Indians, they obtained from them horses for crossing the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia, and there made other boats and floated down the beautiful Hudson of the West to its junction with the Pacific, at the site of what is now the town of Astoria, where they spent their second winter; and in the following spring commenced their toilsome return journey to the upper Columbia, where they found their horses safely cared for by the friendly Nez Percé Indians. They continued their journey back over the mountains again to the headwaters of the Yellowstone, passing down the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, and, after two years and four months' absence, and after having been

given up as lost, they were welcomed home by the villagers of St. Louis.

A few years later a party sent out by John Jacob Astor for the purpose of extending the fur trade, also crossed the continent, passing over a portion of the route followed by Lewis and Clark. After the discovery of gold in California, immigrant routes across the continent were established, but there still remained vast regions between these routes almost unknown up to a much later date. This is illustrated by the fact that the large and magnificent tract now known as Yellowstone Park, so full of natural wonders, was practically unknown until several years after the war. The same may be said of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado.

Much of the region under consideration had been at a comparatively early date penetrated by men of the Latin races. French traders and missionaries in small parties had from time to time entered the present States of North and South Dakota, Montana and Idaho, before the tide of Anglo-Saxon immigration set in. They made no systematic exploration, however. Their scattered trading posts, built of logs, soon rotted away; they made no effort at colonization, and except for a few picturesque missions, and French names for certain streams and localities, all trace of their presence has disappeared.

Coronado from the south ascended the Gila River early in the sixteenth century, and other Spanish adventurers, fired by the twin zeal of religion and avarice, made desultory expeditions into what are now Colorado and Utah. They erected here and there rude arrastres side by side with the cross and to some extent colonized portions of what is now New Mexico and Arizona. But the civilization planted by them languished, and in some localities even disappeared, either from inherent weakness or from the hostility of the fierce savages, rendered more formidable by the possession of fire-arms and horses.

That eminent statesman, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, for years had urged the construction of trans-continental railway lines which he believed were destined to become "The road to India." His ability and influence did much to attract attention to the importance of establishing this great avenue of commerce and communication, and it was chiefly through him that the expeditions of the "Path-finder," Fremont, were authorized and equipped.

John Charles Fremont was a native of Savannah, Georgia, an accomplished officer and engineer, whose romantic wooing and winning of Jessie Benton, now his widow living in Southern California, will still be remembered by those who were living at the time. Fremont's expeditions were organized with great care at the mouth of the Kansas or Kaw River, at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas, and at various points west of St. Louis. He penetrated the central zone, passing over the Rocky, Sierra Nevada, and Cascade Mountains, and along the entire Pacific Coast, from the Columbia River to Southern California. He had with him a corps of scientists, and his discoveries were valuable contributions to the knowledge of the country. He had several encounters with hostile Indians, and was in a position to establish our right of domain at a critical time on the Pacific Coast.

In 1844 Congress authorized a survey for a trans-continental railway, and an expedition was fitted out by Fremont, at private expense, for the purpose of making those preliminary surveys. He wrote a history of his explorations which attracted great attention, not only in this country, but in Europe.

The close of the war gave a great impetus to the settlement and development of this region. The causes of this impetus are not far to seek. The discharge from military service of such large bodies of men, mostly young, vigorous, and intelligent, was also a powerful stimulus to every kind of achievement, material and intellectual. The tremendous volume of energy and ability, which had been engaged in mutual destruction, when suddenly released, found its most natural and congenial field of expansion in the West, to which many thousands of young men from both armies soon found their way. Before the war the border troubles in Kansas, and the prospect of similar trouble in other sections, while attracting perhaps a certain small class, might well deter the peaceful farmer or peasant seeking a quiet home for his family. The vexed question as to whether free or slave labor should possess the fair and virgin fields of the West, was now settled for all time. The Homestead Law gave to each settler in fee simple 160 acres of land, which to the rack-rented toiler beyond the sea must have seemed a princely estate.

Among the results of the war as connected with the West, the acquisition of Alaska, that magnificent pendant to our territorial area, is worthy of mention. The undisguised sympathy

shown to us by Russia, aggravated the strained relations already existing between her and Great Britain, while drawing more closely the bonds of friendship between her and the United States. Soon after the war, rather than endanger these friendly relations by the complications that seemed likely to arise from the presence in Alaskan waters of our whalers and fishermen, and perhaps willing also to perform an act showing her independence of Great Britain, Russia departed from her traditional policy and sold the territory to our government for $7,200,000. Within a few years after the purchase considerable American capital and several thousands of our citizens were engaged in the mines and fisheries of that territory.

The construction of the trans-continental railways was inaugurated during the war for political reasons. At one time there was apprehension lest California and the Pacific Coast should secede from the Union. California, particularly in the southern portion, was largely settled and dominated by men of Southern birth and sentiment, and in 1861 great sympathy was manifested there with the secession movement. California was, in fact, seriously in danger of being lost to the Union cause, and was saved largely by the efforts and eloquence of Senators Baker and MacDougal, the Rev. Starr King, Leland Stanford, and their compatriots, and by the timely action of the Government in sending General E. V. Sumner in 1861 to command the Union forces on the Pacific Coast. The danger that the communities of the Pacific Slope, so far from the population of the East, and separated from it by a vast tract of wilderness, should become alienated from the Union, was plainly seen by the statesmen of that day, and the building of the first trans-continental line was expedited in order to establish connection between the Pacific States and the Eastern portion of the Republic.

Since the war powerful states have sprung into existence; practically six lines of trans-continental railway have been built, inseparably linking the Pacific States to their sisters of the East; resources hitherto undreamed of have been discovered; and a volume of development, marvellous and bewildering to contemplate, has been crowded into a quarter of a century, making this the brightest period of our history.

NELSON A. MILES.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. W. C. OATES, GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA.

OMITTING statistics, which often weary rather than instruct the reader, I will endeavor to interest him by giving a brief summary of what is going on in Alabama at present as a typical Southern state.

The first consideration looking to industrial development in any country is what advantages it has of climate, soil and fertility; the second is what natural resources it has to develop, and the third is the accessibility to markets. The answer to the last proposition may be briefly stated. Navigable streams are abundant throughout the Southern states, and the railroads are so numerous that the travel and traffic in some places scarcely support them. They have been built in anticipation of a more rapid development of the country than has taken place. Railroads will penetrate every neighborhood which has business enough to pay the road to come for it. The more important problem for the producer to solve in respect to transportation is how to reduce the cost so as to enable him to realize a reasonable profit on his product. This is frequently difficult because the railroad or other carrier must also realize a profit on its business. But as soon as the abundance of products enables the carrier to realize fair profits in the aggregate from small freight charges the problem is solved.

The financial panic which began in the latter part of 1892, and continued through the greater part of the two succeeding years, suspended three-fourths of the great industries of the State, especially in the mineral section. It broke banks and business houses formerly in good repute. Mines and factories which withstood the financial storm ran on short time and reduced wages, which caused strikes among the laborers and resulted in a

further loss of employment. There was general depression in business. The products of toil commanded very low prices. No demand; no price. Those who possessed money had no confidence in any securities or any investments open to them. Values of all kinds of property shrank until it became unsaleable at any price. In the boom towns those who were rich in 1891–2 saw their fortunes wither and dry up. The farmer had plenty to eat, but no money with which to buy luxuries or to pay his debts.

Strong men, in many cases, begged for employment and could not obtain it. At the poor wife and hungry children want stared and grinned like a gaunt spectre which prided itself in tantalizing the unfortunate suffering innocents. But the generous-hearted dispensed charities, and suffering was partially relieved. There was no money, or but little, in circulation. Everything seemed flat, stale and unprofitable. The people believed that the trouble was chargeable to our financial system. They demanded more money—greenbacks and the free coinage of silver; anything for relief from the hard conditions. But how changed is the country now! It is not so prosperous nor is money so plentiful as I would like to see; but there is a wonderful revival of business.

The corn crop never was surpassed in the Southern states. All observers know *that* surely betokens plenty of "hog and hominy," facilitates stock raising and places the people of all classes above want in the way of a plain subsistence. The crops of small grain have yielded fairly well. Melons, peaches, pears, grapes, berries and garden vegetables of every variety have been most abundant and of excellent maturity and sweetness. As an illustration, a gentleman informed me that from one acre of grapes this year he had sold $100 worth of the fruit and made two barrels of wine.

The great staple crop—cotton—was injured in some states by too much rain. It is essentially a sun plant, but a fair crop is matured and two-thirds gathered. A less acreage was planted than last year, and a less amount of commercial fertilizer was used on this year's crop than on that of last year because the prices of cotton ruled so low last year that it admonished the prudent farmer to make cotton his surplus crop and to produce that, if possible, at a less cost than formerly. These causes surely make the crop of this year two and a half million bales less than that of last year.

This will, however, make but little difference to the farmer,

who is not in debt, and that difference will be in his favor. A shorter crop insures higher prices and brings him more money in the aggregate for a crop which cost him less to produce than that of last year. It is better for him. The condition of the southern farmer has greatly improved, and is well calculated to bring to him contentment and happiness. Low prices for cotton hurt none of them except such as are in debt, and are being eaten up by interest running against them. They want to realize the greatest number of dollars for their toil—any kind of dollars which will pay their debts. An understanding of the whole financial question consists mainly in a proper understanding of interest. But the number of Southern farmers, who are hopelessly in debt, is greatly diminishing, and the present good prices for cotton will bring them out.

The southern tier of counties in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia have extensive forests of yellow pine. The same may be said of West Florida. The lumber industry in these, which has been partially suspended for the last two years, is now fairly active. Turpentine orchards, distilleries and saw mills abound. They employ thousands of laborers at fair wages. The lands are light gray sandy loam and when denuded of the timber are settled and cultivated in small farms. With moderate fertilization they produce cotton, corn, oats, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, tobacco, melons and a great variety of vegetables in paying quantities.

The next tier of counties running through these States just above the first named from west to east is called "The Black Belt" not so much because a large percentage of the population is black, perhaps, as because the soil is dark, stiff and very productive. These lands were held principally by slave owners prior to the war, were splendidly cultivated and yielded great profits. The large plantations are now being cut up into smaller farms and the numerous steam cotton ginneries, pickeries, compresses and cotton seed-oil mills, to say nothing of the new cotton factories and villages formed around them, indicate that the people are appreciating their natural advantages and turning them to good account. Every man without regard to his color who is willing to labor finds ready employment at living wages.

The next or third tier of counties, adjoining on the north those last named, and embracing about one-third of the territory

of the State, is hilly and mountainous. It is known as the Mineral Belt. In the valleys are many fertile and beautiful small farms and happy homes. Within this section are vast coal fields, iron ore and a very considerable quantity of marble, limestone and other valuable minerals. Gold has long been known to exist but not yet discovered in paying quantities. Aluminum, mica, topaz and diopside are found in some of these counties.

A large number of iron furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, box-car and car-wheel factories are within this belt.

Where, during the panic, mines were closed, furnaces smokeless, mills and factories noiseless, now the mines are putting out every ton of coal possible, the factories, mills and foundries give forth the hum of engines, wheels and hammers; the glare of acres of coke ovens and the furnaces light up the country for miles around, both day and night, while their tall chimneys with their splendid plumes of black smoke ascending heavenward proclaim to the world that there are thousands of busy men there and no enforced idleness. The increased demand for coal, pig iron, cotton and other products at remunerative prices has resuscitated dead enterprises, stimulated this activity in business and has enabled employers to increase the wages of their employees. Thus it proves a blessing not only to invested capital but makes the homes of thousands of laborers happy and attractive.

The mines, furnaces, mills, foundries and factories, with but few exceptions, at Birmingham, Anniston, Talladega, Sheffield, Florence, Gadsden, Jasper, and in Bibb, Shelby and DeKalb counties, are now in active operation. The natural resources are exhaustless. On one side of Birmingham there is a mountain of iron ore over fifty miles long, on the other side a vast field of coal, and nearby another mountain of limestone for fluxing. Thus Nature placed there in touch with each other all the materials for the manufacture of pig iron, without limit, cheaper than it can be done anywhere else in the world. There are three coalfields in Alabama, the Warrior, the Cahaba, and the Coosa, which together contain coal enough to supply the entire world, at the present rate of consumption, for a period of 150 years. Accurate surveys, made by competent geologists, demonstrate that the amount is even greater than this estimate.

The success of one more experiment, which is under way at Birmingham and Bessemer, will develop an indescribable mine of

wealth, that is, the manufacture of steel from the pig iron made there. Many tons of the pig iron have recently been shipped to Pittsburg, Pa., for experiment, and the report is that it makes a good quality of steel. The greatest profit is always realized from the finished product.

The Tennessee Coal and Iron Company is perhaps the largest corporation engaged as its name indicates. It did not close operations during the panic, but its stock ran down in the market to a merely nominal figure. Now it is quoted at 46 cents in the dollar. It employs 4,000 men, and does an immense business. The Sloss Company also survived. It owns several furnaces and the coal mine at Coalburgh, and does a large and fairly profitable business. There are many smaller enterprises of similar character in that vicinity.

At Anniston, before and during the war, there was one iron furnace, known as the Woodstock furnace. Now there are two new ones and two more on the same vein of ore in the neighborhood of Talladega. A first-class quality of charcoal iron is made at Anniston and, during the war, when the ports of the Confederate government were blockaded so that we could not obtain guns from abroad of any description, this iron was shipped by rail to the foundry and gun shops at Selma on the Alabama River, and cast into cannon.

In addition to the furnaces, there is at this town a factory of box-cars and car-wheels, rolling-mills and a cotton factory which ships its goods in unbroken packages to China. There are also extensive pipe works there, which recently underbid all competitors, and obtained a contract to supply a large amount of pipe to Tokio, Japan. Business generally, after an almost entire suspension, is rapidly regaining its former activity.

Gadsden, in Etowa County, several miles further north, is a central point with many industries which were shut down during the panic, every one of them, until about the beginning of the present year. Since that date there has been located there a cotton mill of 30,000 spindles, at a cost of over a half million dollars, and will be in full operation within a few days.

The Southern Manufacturing Company, started last February, is running full time, and has more orders on hand than it can fill in six months. The Long Leaf Pine Lumber Company's mills are busy.

The Kyle Lumber Company's mills, with a capacity of 40,000

feet per day, have all the work they can do. The bottling establishment is busy. The Weller pipe works, which have been idle for two years, have just gone into operation again. This year a furniture factory has been established which now has travelling agents in several states selling its products. The old suspended iron furnace has been bought by a solvent company, and its capacity is being increased to two hundred tons, and is now about being put in blast.

The Elliott Car and Car Wheel Manufacturing Company is now running full time with a force of 300 hands, and has about as many orders as can be filled with the present force in two years.

Arrangements are in progress to reopen and to begin operations of the Crudup ore mines with upwards of 300 miners. Other industries of a smaller character are projected.

To the West of Birmingham is Jasper in Walker County. It is surrounded by coal mines and other important industries which are now revivified and active.

The fourth tier of counties in Alabama, eight in number, are properly called the Tennessee Valley, as they lie along the river of that name. The country is picturesque and beautiful, its soil very fertile and produces nearly everything grown in the South. Jackson County has but little manufacturing but is a very attractive agricultural section. Huntsville, in Madison County, is the largest town in the valley. It has a large and profitable cotton factory and other important industries. Florence, in the northwestern corner county of the State, is beautifully situated and has within it several industries worthy of note. These were paralyzed by the panic like the others already mentioned. There is a spathite furnace well adapted to the production of spathite iron which has gained quite a reputation with foundry men on account of its fluidity, which is equal to the best of that class produced in Scotland.

The Philadelphia furnace which cost about $250,000 will go into blast within a few days.

The Pump and Lumber Company, whose plant cost but $30,000, employs eighty operatives within, and 200 lumbermen outside, obtaining material, etc., and the finished product is 5,000 pumps and 3,000 veranda columns, a large quantity of moulding and other building supplies per month. The company pays good wages and realizes a handsome net profit.

The wagon factory, with an invested capital of $100,000, gives employment to about 125 laborers, and turns out 140 to 150 wagons per week, for which a ready market is found.

A cotton factory, a small stove factory, a hoop factory, planing mills and grist mills are in active operation and paying fairly well.

Sheffield, just across the river from Florence, was a boom town which the panic killed, but phœnix-like it is rising from its own ashes. Its furnaces and great industries are reviving and breathing new life. There is a great future for this beautifully located town. Tuscumbia on the south and Florence on the north within two or three miles of it are its rivals for business.

Decatur is another boom town whose growth was stopped by the panic. The limits of old Decatur were too contracted when the boom struck it, and hence New Decatur was laid out and partially built up. All the manufacturing enterprises went down before the financial gale. The shops of that great line of enterprising, thrifty and well-managed railway, the Louisville and Nashville, was about the only survivor. But what is the present condition? The box car manufacturing plant, which cost a half million dollars, is still closed and silent; but the car-wheel factory near by has resumed operations with a full force and is doing well. The Southern chair works is a small but important and prosperous industry.

The oak extract factory, a new industry, is turning out 160 barrels per day of tanning which is shipped to several different parts of the country. The same company is erecting in close proximity an extensive tannery with capacity for tanning 200 hides per day.

Near the same locality parties are projecting the erection at an early day of a starch factory, the plant to cost one million dollars. This will furnish a market for part of the surplus crops of corn and potatoes produced in that neighborhood. No country surpasses Alabama in the production of the sweet potato which contains more starch than the Irish potato, and hence is more desirable for the starch factory.

Cullman on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, south of Morgan, the county in which Decatur is, was supposed to have such a poor soil as to be worthless for agricultural purposes. John J. Cullman brought a colony of his countrymen—Germans—there after the war, and settled them in the woods. They

had to build their homes and clear up the lands. To-day that county is filled with beautiful little farms, and thrifty industrious farmers. Within the county more grapes are grown, and more and better wine made from them, than in any other county in this State.

Opelika, Union Springs, Eufaula, Columbia, Tallassee, Prattville, Selma, Tuscaloosa and many other places within the State have cotton factories and other paying industries.

At Montgomery, the historic and beautiful capital city, there are half a hundred manufacturing enterprises, great and small, in operation, and no person who wishes to earn his living by honest toil need beg, but can find remunerative employment.

At perhaps one hundred towns in the State the hum of the spindles and the clangor of the looms of the cotton factories will be heard by the close of the present year. They pay from six to ten per cent. dividends and diversify our industries. When we equal New England mills in the production of the finely finished product the dividends will be more than doubled.

Mobile, a lovely city of most hospitable people, is our only seaport and is destined to become the mistress of the Gulf. Her channel has been improved until vessels drawing 24 feet 10 inches of water can enter and depart at high tide. When the locks and dams on the Warrior River are completed coal can be delivered on board ships in the harbor for two dollars per ton or less. When the Nicaragua Canal is completed, as it surely will be, Mobile will become the great entrepôt for all shipments from as far north as Chicago to China and Japan and for a good portion of those for the California Coast. There is not a coast town in the Southern States which to-day has such a splendid commercial future as Mobile.

The frequency of elections gives the people incessant political fermentation, because ambitious men are always "laying their pipes" and maturing schemes for some preferment next year or the year after. An election once in three or four years would be better for the people. The only live political question now for the politicians to discuss is the free coinage of silver. There are many good honest people in the South who believe that the free and unlimited coinage of silver would do more to restore prosperity to the country than anything else. The politicians have so taught them.

Aspirants for office are discussing it pro and con. The people go out and hear the speeches and read the newspapers, and many of them are confused and undecided on account of the great difference of opinion among speakers, writers, and trusted party leaders. They want plenty of good, honest money to do the business of the country. They don't care what the standard is, so long as parity is maintained, and the gold, silver, and paper dollar possess equal purchasing and debt-paying power. With this state or condition of the money of the country, if the people can have prosperous times, they are content. Free and unlimited coinage of silver would not place an additional dollar in the pockets of him who has no silver bullion to coin. If a mill grinds grain free of toll for all comers it will not give any flour or meal to him who has no grain to take to the mill. No one in the Southern states owns any silver bullion. There is no silver mine within them. How then would free and unlimited coinage put any more money into circulation there? If it would cause a great quantity of silver to be coined at the present ratio it would drive gold out of circulation, in accordance with Gresham's universal law. It would thereby destroy parity and force our metallic dollars to part company and gold to go to a premium.

Our Southern people, with few exceptions, are not "gold bugs" nor "silverloons," but true bimetallists. They want all the silver that can be kept on a parity with gold, which the administration is struggling to do by means which the President believes best calculated to accomplish it.

The people, from a careful study of the question, are beginning to doubt and grow distrustful of the experiment of free coinage of silver lest it may, if adopted, beget another panic, or so impair confidence as to roll back the tide of prosperity which is now setting so beautifully towards them.

They are now beginning to lave in its placid and refreshing waters. Let the tide rise which, "taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

WM. C. OATES.

THE GIRLHOOD OF AN ACTRESS.*

BY MARY ANDERSON DE NAVARRO.

THE second child of a large family, my mother was brought up according to the most rigorous principles. Her thoughts were hardly her own; her literature was chosen for her, consisting of the *Lives of the Saints* and other pious books; while plays, dances, and the amusements generally permitted to the young, were strictly forbidden, and practically unknown to her. My excellent grandparents, though Roman Catholics, had been educated to believe that the natural tendencies of the theatre were "downward and pernicious," and their children in turn were not allowed even to think of entering such a place. However, by the aid of her eldest and favorite brother, his pardonable dissimulation, and a friendly latch-key, my mother was, at the age of seventeen, smuggled into one of those "dens of iniquity" for the first time. She was carried away by the talent and great beauty of Mrs. D. P. Bowers, and by the charm surrounding that interesting, though sensational and old-fashioned play, "The Sea of Ice."

It was probably this breath of romance that caused her to grow more and more restive under the strict discipline of her home life. At any rate, it was soon after her first visit to the theatre that she found a way of meeting, and losing her heart to, Charles H. Anderson, a young man of English birth, who had just finished his education at Oxford. Clever, scholarly, charming in presence and manner, devoted to sport, a passionate lover of the drama and all things artistic, he was the very man to win the admiration of a girl whose life had been as narrow and fettered as hers. With all his graces and accomplishments, he was, unfor-

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tunately, not religious, and his proposal for my mother's hand was met by a stern refusal from her parents. They were especially opposed to the marriage of their daughter with a man devoid of faith. My mother was therefore forbidden to see him again, though from a worldly point of view her lover had everything in his favor. For some months a secret correspondence was carried on between them. Wearying, however, of continued separation, and aided again by the favorite brother, they eloped and were clandestinely married. The young couple, after a year's sojourn in New York and Philadelphia, wended their way westward in 1859, only a few weeks before my birth.

We left Sacramento when I was still a child in arms, my mother wishing to be near her uncle, who was pastor of a small German congregation near Louisville, Ky. Her parents had not forgiven her for marrying against their wishes, and she felt the need of a friend during the frequent absences of my father in England. We took up our abode in Louisville in 1860.

New California was situated just outside of Louisville, and here "Pater Anton," as my uncle was called, had long been a great favorite. On his feast-day it was delightful to see his congregation in their "Sunday clothes," bringing their children for his blessing, the little creatures in bright-colored German frocks, laden with flowers, fruits, eggs, home-knitted socks, cotton handkerchiefs of the brightest red and yellow, cooing pigeons, quacking ducks, chickens, while a pig or two (from the richer parishioners) invariably joined in the general chorus of holiday-makers. Pater Anton was the gayest of them all, for though a man of great learning, an accomplished linguist, a fine musician, and an eloquent preacher, he was simpler than the simplest of his flock. His appearance was so striking that passers-by turned to look at him in the street. He was tall, with an habitual stoop. His features were finely chiselled, and his straight black hair, worn long, was cut like Liszt's. He had the most beautiful mouth and teeth I have ever seen, the sweetest smile, and the heartiest laugh in the world. My mother could not have chosen a better friend for herself or for her children.

"*Dans nos souvenirs la mort touche la naissance.*" My father died when I was but three years of age, and within a few months of the birth of my brother. He died at Mobile at the age of twenty-four, in the full flush of his youth, "extinguished, not

decayed." I remember nothing of his voice, look, or manner; nor have we any portrait of him now remaining.

Pater Anton ("Nonie," as I called him, "uncle" being an impossible word for me then) often came to cheer our little family. I can see him still, on his fat old lazy horse, trotting up the street, his long hair waving in the wind, his face shining with pleasure, his rusty coat, shining also (with age, for he thought it worldly to have more than one new coat in eight years), while from his large pockets, dolls, trumpets, jumping-jacks, and other ravishing toys stuck out in every direction. What a picture he was of kindness and child-like gaiety, and how we hailed him with cries of joy and clapping of hands!

My brother and I were frequently allowed to go to New California to visit Nonie. The bright little town, with its houses painted blue, red, pink and white, with meadows and pastures intersecting them, looked more like a toy town than a "real live one." Now, alas! all the quaint prettiness has vanished; large factories, ugly breweries and brickyards disfigure it. The church, the priest's house, and the school of the old time, alone remain. We always spent the great feast-days there. Especially do I remember Corpus Christi. On that day, the pasture near the church seemed to my childish eyes like an enchanted scene. Many altars were erected there, covered with lace, flowers and lighted candles. The village band played festal music, and was answered by the distant notes of the organ and choir from the little church. Three times the beautiful procession filed around the pasture. Preceded by small girls in white, scattering rose-leaves, and acolytes swinging their silver censers, came Pater Anton carrying the monstrance. Kneeling in the grass, we sent up fervent prayers, the warm summer sun shining like a benediction over all.

Nonie began to teach me the organ. He wished to train my brother and me for the lives he and my mother had mapped out for us. My brother was to study medicine and help him generally (Nonie was an excellent physician, and could soothe the bodily as well as the spiritual ills of his flock), while I was destined to care for his small household, tend the parish poor, train the choir, and play the organ on Sundays and holidays. But man proposes and God disposes.

About that time, after remaining a widow for five years,

my mother was married to Dr. Hamilton Griffin, of Louisville, a surgeon and major in the Southern army, who had gone through the entire war, having been wounded severely on two occasions. I was then eight years old, and it was thought necessary to begin my general education. They took me to the Convent of the Ursulines, near Louisville, and left me there. Who that has ever suffered it can forget the first great homesickness? I remember distinctly my utter misery when the grated door closed upon the mother and brother from whom I had never before been separated. The convent was a large Italian-looking building, surrounded by gardens, and shut in by high prison-like walls. That first night in the long dormitory, with its rows of white beds and their little occupants, some as sad as myself, my grief seemed more than I could bear. The moon made a track of light across the floor. A strain of soft music came in at the open window; it was only an accordion, played by some one sitting outside the convent wall, but how sweet and soothing it was! The simple little melody seemed to say: "See what a friend I can be! I am Music, sent from Heaven to cheer and console. Love me, and I will soothe and calm your heart when it is sad, and double all your joys." It kept saying such sweet things to me that soon I fell asleep and dreamed I was at home again. From that night I felt music to be a panacea for all my childhood's sorrows.

Owing to an indolent nature and an impatient dislike for the beginnings of things, I learned little besides music and a smattering of German, which was promptly forgotten. Thinking only of amusement, I had, with wicked forethought, begged my indulgent mother to provide my school uniform with spacious pockets. These were secretly filled with wee china dolls, bits of stuff and sewing implements, with which I made entire trousseaux for the charming dollies during the study hours, and, when the unsuspicious nun was not looking, kept the girls in a constant titter by dancing the dolls upon my desk as each new dress was donned. Our convent uniform consisted of a plain blue cashmere skirt and bodice, and a large straw scoop-bonnet, with a curtain at the back. In this most unpicturesque costume we were marched to church on Sunday, two and two, where my enthusiastic singing of the litany generally put the others out, and where, to the horror of the nuns, in my haste to leave the church, I invariably genuflected with my

back to the altar. The first year went by quite uneventfully, until the end of the term, which was celebrated, as usual, by an "exhibition," as they called the songs and recitations given by the children. An *exhibition* it was! The nuns, knowing that my mother would dress me tastefully for the occasion, put me in the front row of the opening chorus—an appropriate one, for it began with:

> "My grandfather had some very fine geese,
> Some very fine geese had he,
> With a quack quack here, and a quack quack there,
> And a here quack, there quack, here, there quack,
> Oh, come along girls, to the merry green fields,
> To the merry green fields so gay!"

This artistically poetic and musical gem contained verses enough to name all the animals possessed by that unfortunate grandfather. The long rehearsals over, the all-important afternoon arrived. I daresay that even at La Scala, on a first night, there never had been more flutter and nervous excitement than on our little stage. The house was crowded with anxious mothers, sisters, cousins and aunts—the male members of the respective families having been wise enough to stop away. At last the curtain rose. My poor mother was horrified to see me disgracing my prominent position by standing more awkwardly than any of the others, my pretty frock already disarranged, and my hands spread so conspicuously over my chest, that, in her eyes, they soon became the most prominent part of the scene. Losing the tune, I suddenly stopped, and foolishly began to giggle. My mother overheard some one remark, "What a funny awkward little girl!" Others laughed outright. The performance over, I felt very like a great heroine, and took my "consolation prize" (what an excellent institution it is!) as though it had been some well-earned laurel; only, I could not quite understand my mother's crestfallen look. That was my "first appearance upon any stage!"

During the following term the convent was stricken with a contagious fever, and I was taken away from its friendly shelter just as I had begun to love it. The serious illness that ensued was made almost pleasant by my mother's care, the companionship of that best of friends, my brother Joe (to whom, alas, I gave, with unconscious liberality, all the ills my flesh was heir

to), and by the frequent visits of our Nonie, who often improvised, or played from some favorite master, on the organ below, thus cheering my convalescence, and making the names of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven familiar to me long before I had ever heard the magic one of Shakespeare. A year of idleness followed this illness, greatly relished then, but later, when the irrevocable flight of valuable time was realized, deeply regretted. De Quincey says that by deducting time for eating, sleeping, exercise, bathing, illness, and so forth, a person of three score and ten has only eleven and a half years left for the development of what is most august in our nature. When study was recommenced, it was at a day school, the Presentation Academy. There, with accustomed indolence, I learned nothing, with the exception of reading, in which I was generally head of the class. Every day I was sent to school with a shining morning face, a fresh frock, and a tidy blue ribbon to bind my obstreperous locks. Every evening I returned home with the frock ink-stained and torn, the pretty ribbon lost, and looking about the head and hands a veritable "Strubelpëter." I was punished continually for not knowing my lessons—made to stand in a corner balancing a book upon my head, or sit on the dunce stool, which, fortunately for me, was softly cushioned. "I love sitting here," said I to Sister du Chantal—who was fond of me in spite of my mischievousness, and who always administered necessary punishment in a kindly way — "for I am nearer to you, can see the girls better, and this seat is so much more comfortable than those hard benches." Doctor Griffin's brother, Guilderoy—always a favorite with me—lived near us in those days. My brother and I were taken at his request to his charming parties, whenever any person of interest graced them. It was on one of these occasions that I saw George D. Prentice for the first time. Celebrated as a poet and wit, his caustic remarks in the journal he edited made him the object of as much fear as admiration. Having been told that Mr. Prentice was a great man, that he was not to be talked to or stared at, my terror may be imagined when he took me on his knee; for, though his heart was kind, his face, doubtless from having had many hard fights with the world, wore a stern, forbidding look, and was deeply furrowed with careworn lines. His manner was gruff, and his hands, I noticed, were soiled and ink-stained. After trotting me on his knee until I

was "distilled almost to jelly" with fear, he took me across the room to ask questions and receive answers from that uncanny little machine, La Planchette, in which he was greatly interested. The result of that meeting was a frightful nightmare, in which Mr. Prentice, with his gaunt figure, thin grey locks, and Mephistophelian brows, appeared as a magician, and La Planchette as a small grinning devil under his spell.

It was my desire to be always good and obedient, but, like "Cousin Phœnix's legs," my excellent intentions generally carried me in the opposite direction. On seeing a minstrel show for the first time I was fired with a desire to reproduce it. After a week of secret plotting with Joe, I invited Dr. Griffin and my mother to a performance of the nature of which they were utterly ignorant. It took place in our front parlor, the audience sitting in the back room. When the folding doors were thrown open, my baby sister and I were discovered as "end men." She was but eight months old and tied to a chair. Our two small brothers sat between us, and we were all as black as burnt cork, well rubbed in by my managerial hands, could make us. Blissfully ignorant of my mother's mute consternation, I gaily began the opening chorus :

"Good-bye, John ! Don't stay long !
Come back soon to your own chickabiddy."

The scene that ensued I need not describe. After being punished for some such naughtiness, I usually wended my way to the attic, that being the most gloomy part of the house, where, indulging my misery to the full, I would imagine myself dead, and revengefully revel in the thought of my mother's repentant grief over my coffin. On seeing my tear-stained face, she generally gave me a dime to soothe my wounded feelings, which it invariably did as soon as I could reach an "ice-cream saloon," and there invest in a saucer of "child's delight."

At that time, my brother and I had two farms in the hills of Indiana. Twice a year we crossed the beautiful Ohio to visit them. There we found some excellent horses, and it was not long before I learned to catch one in the paddock and mount and ride without saddle or bridle.

Years after, in London, a well-known riding-master said to me, "Why, Miss Handerson, you 'ave missed your vocation. What a hexcellent circus hactor you would 'ave made ! I'd like

to see the 'orse as could throw you now." My early training without stirrups, often without saddle or bridle, had taught me how to sit firmly.

At the age of twelve I first heard the name of him who was to awaken the serious side of my nature, and eventually shape my later career. One night Dr. Griffin, who had in his youth prided himself on his acting as an amateur, took down from the book-shelf, a large, well-worn, red and gold volume.

"This," he said, "contains all the plays of William Shakespeare, and I mean to read to you the great master's masterpiece, 'Hamlet.'" Though I understood nothing of the subtle thought and beauty of the tragedy, the mere story, characters, and above all that wonderful though nameless atmosphere that pervades all of Shakespeare's dramatic works, delighted and thrilled me. For days I could think of nothing but the pale face and inky cloak of the melancholy prince. The old red volume had suddenly become like a casket filled with jewels, whose flames and flashes I thought might glorify a life. I often stopped to look at it with longing eyes, and one day could not resist climbing up to take it from its shelf. From that time most of my play hours were spent poring over it.

One night, not long after, the family were surprised to see me enter the parlor, enveloped in one of Dr. Griffin's army cloaks. I was scowling tragically, and at once began the speech:

> "Angels and ministers of grace, defend us!
> Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned,"

my version being,

> "Angels and *minstrels* of grace, defend us!
> Be thou a spirit of health *or goblin's dame.*"

The latter innovation was made to evade having on my conscience so sinful a "swear" as *damned.* Those present, seeing the drift of my entrance, burst into laughter at the droll little figure with its much bepowdered face. Feeling this to be disrespectful, I indignantly quitted the room, falling over the cumbersome cloak in what was meant to be a majestic exit. Certainly a very unpromising first appearance in the bard's great masterpiece!

The first play I ever saw was "Richard the Third," with Edwin Adams as the crook-backed tyrant. Young, graceful, handsome, an ideal actor in romantic characters, he was hardly fitted for so sombre and tragic a part. Yet the force of his per-

sonal magnetism stamped his every word, look, and gesture indelibly upon my memory. The music and lights, the actors and actresses, whose painted faces seemed far more perfect to me then—I was but twelve years old—than anything in nature; luckless *Anne, Henry the Sixth*, who, though he is an interloper in the play, makes, through Cibber's daring, a splendidly effective acting scene; the royal army, consisting of six "scrawny" knock-kneed supers, with a very unmilitary look about them—all are as clear before me now as though I had seen them yesterday. How we always remember the first dip into a new sensation; after-impressions of things a hundredfold greater are blotted from our minds!

My mother, seeing my delight in the play, promised that, if we deserved it, my brother and I should occasionally attend the weekly matinées. With such a reward as two theatre tickets in view, any amount of good conduct was cheap in payment. I became less mischievous and forgetful.

We were blest with but little of this world's goods at the time, and, my help in the household being needed, I was taught the culinary art. In a few months I could cook an excellent dinner when called upon. I remember sitting by the stove with a basting spoon (to be used on a turkey) in one hand, and Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in His Place" in the other. "The Winter's Tale," "Julius Cæsar," and "Richard the Third" were also read as I sat by the kitchen fire baking bread. The theory that it is impossible to do two things at once did not appeal to me. I felt certain that no one could enjoy the poet's inspiration more than I, and at the same time turn out a better loaf. Thankful I have always been for the knowledge of these useful arts—which I think every girl should master—as they are wholesome both for mind and body.

When the longed-for Saturday came, little Joe and I would start for the old Louisville Theatre, then on the corner of Fourth and Green streets, quite two hours before the doors were opened. The man in the lobby, observing my singular keenness, soon allowed us, early as it was, to enter, though he was compelled to lock the door after us. We would then sit alone in the large dimly-lighted theatre, feeling the most privileged of mortals, silently watching the great green curtain, and imagining all the enchantments it concealed. To leave the Temple of Enchant-

ment and come back to commonplace realities was our only sadness. Fairy plays, melodramas, and minstrel shows formed our regular *menu*.

An announcement that Edwin Booth was to visit Louisville filled its playgoers with delightful anticipations. Times were hard, we were poor, and many sacrifices had to be made to enable us to witness a few of his performances. "Richelieu" was the first of the series. What a revelation it was! I had never seen any great acting before, and it proved a turning point in my life. The subtle cunning with which the artist invested the earlier parts of the play was as irresistible as the power, fire, and pathos of the later scenes were terrible and electrifying. It was impossible to think of him as an actor. He was *Richelieu*. I felt for the first time that acting was not merely a delightful amusement but a serious art that might be used for high ends. After that brilliant performance sleep was impossible. On returning home I sat at the window of my little room until morning. The night passed like an hour. Before the dawn I had mapped out a stage career for myself. Thus far, having had no fixed aim of my own making or liking, I had frittered my time away. Then I realized that my idle life must end, and that much study and severe training would have to be undertaken: this in secret, however, for there was no one to go to for sympathy, help or advice in such a venture. Indignant that all my people had, in times gone by, looked upon so noble an art as harmful, if not sinful, I felt no prick of conscience in determining to work out clandestinely what seemed to me then my life's mission. I was fourteen years of age, inexperienced and uneducated, but I had not a moment of doubt or fear. Mr. Booth's other performances intensified my admiration for his art,* and strengthened me in my resolution. Who can ever forget his *Hamlet*? Where shall we find another such *Iago, Richard, Macbeth, Shylock?* Surely,

> "He was the Jew
> That Shakespeare drew."

Would not Macklin himself have given him the palm for his portrayal of that great character? I am proud to owe my awakening to the possibilities of dramatic art to such a master.

* That admirable woman and artist, Helen Faucit (Lady Martin), once told me that, since Macready, few actors had approached Mr. Booth in intellectuality, perfect elocution, grace, personal magnetism, or the power of complete identification with his characters. It was a great pride to me, an American, that this gifted and severely critical Englishwoman appreciated so unstintedly our beloved actor.

His engagement over, I made a proposition to my mother, a promise rather, that I would apply myself earnestly to study, if allowed to work at home, school having grown unbearable; I agreed that, if at the end of a month she saw no improvement, I would willingly return to the Academy. After much consideration, she determined to give this new arrangement a trial, the old one having been far from successful. I selected for my study a small white-washed carpetless room at the top of the house, where no one was likely to intrude; its only furniture a table and chair, a crucifix, a bust of Shakespeare, a small photograph of Edwin Booth, and a pair of foils, which I had learned to use with some skill. Bronson, Comstock, and Murdock on Elocution, Rush on the Voice, Plutarch's Lives, Homer's Iliad, and the beloved red and gold volume of Shakespeare, were my only books; and these had been stolen by degrees from the library below. After many years in more luxurious apartments, how often have I longed for that fresh, sunshiny little den!

A few years before, I had had an attack of malignant diphtheria, which would have proved fatal but for a successful operation Nonie had been bold enough to perform. The attack left my throat very weak. Realizing that a far-reaching voice was one of the actor's most essential instruments, my first effort, on beginning work, was to strengthen mine. In Comstock there were certain instructions upon breathing which I promptly made use of. Strange it is, but very few of us know how to breathe properly. The simple method of taking a deep full breath through the nose, without strain, holding it as long as possible and slowly exhaling it through the mouth, never going through the exercise more than twelve times consecutively, and always in the open air, not only freshens one, like a dip in the sea, but, when followed by certain vocal exercises, gives control over the voice, which it strengthens and makes melodious. At the end of six months my voice was hardly recognizable, it had become so much fuller and stronger. Here was a great difficulty overcome. As a voice that can be heard is the alpha of the actor, grace is one of the requisites next in importance. Tall for my age, I was conscious of being extremely awkward. This defect was not so easily remedied, and for years, in spite of constant efforts to conquer it, remained one of my great drawbacks.

The parts of *Richard the Third*, *Richelieu*, *Pauline*, and

Schiller's *Joan of Arc* were memorized and studied in detail. Schoolroom lessons were also worked at with such good-will that in one month I had made more progress than during six at school. So satisfactory was the new system that it was allowed to continue. The real cause of this improvement no one guessed. My secret, however, consumed me. I longed to tell someone of my plans for the future, and above all to show how I could read and act, for as yet I had no proof that I was working in the right direction.

In the South most of the servants were negroes. Among ours was a little mulatto girl ("nut-brown maid," she called herself), whose chief attraction to me was her enthusiasm for the theatre. One night in desperation I went to her while she was washing dishes in the kitchen, and there unfolded all my hopes. It was to her I first acted, and it was she who gave me my first applause. The clapping of those soapy, steaming hands seemed to me a veritable triumph. Believing that a tragic manner alone would sufficiently impress the situation on the "nut-brown maid," I began with a hollow voice and much furrowing of the brow: "Juli, wilt thou follow and assist me when I quit my childhood's home to walk in the path of Siddons, Kemble, and Booth?" "Oh, Miss Manie, you kin count on dis pusson, fo' de Lor' you kin! Why, my stars, what a boss actor you is! But you mus' 'low me to call your maw;" and in a trice she was gone. A few moments later she re-entered the kitchen with my mother, who was greatly surprised by my performance in the fourth act of "The Lady of Lyons," which could not have been acted in a more appropriate part of the house. She in turn called the critic of the family, Dr. Griffin, who likewise was astonished, and made my heart beat with joy by saying, "You'll make a good actress some day. Your scene has thrilled me, and I would rather have rough work and a good thrill than any amount of artistic work without it." Spurred on by such encouragement I worked harder than ever, often staying up half the night to get some effect while trying to look into the heart and mind of the character under study. After that evening in the kitchen, I read scenes or acted them nightly to our small household, usually from "Hamlet," "Richard," or Schiller's "Maid of Orleans."

Dr. Griffin was practising medicine at the time, and happened

to be called in to see Mr. Henry Wouds,* the leading comedian of Macauley's Theatre. He spoke to the actor so continually and enthusiastically of my work, that the latter at last requested a reading from me. *Richard* was the part, I determined, which would be the best, not to read, but to act to him. The interval before the day fixed for this trial was intensely exciting, and I was painfully nervous on seeing Mr. Wouds accompanied by the stage and business managers of the theatre, coming towards our house. I had never before seen an actor off the stage; this was in itself a sensation, and I felt besides that my whole future depended on his judgment of my work. The acting began, and was continually applauded. When over, Mr. Wouds sprang towards me, and, taking both my hands, said, "Let me be the first to hail you as our American Rachel."

Mr. Wouds was soon called away to support Miss Charlotte Cushman during her engagement in Cincinnati, Ohio. He evidently spoke of my work to the great artist, for, a few days after his departure, a letter came from him saying that Miss Cushman wished to hear me read. My mother, thinking such attentions injurious to one so young, grew nervous when she saw that not only was I bent upon going but that my usual champion, Dr. Griffin, meant to aid and abet me. He urged her to make the short trip, if only to see the great actress. With much persuasion he won the day, and we started for Cincinnati.

The first character in which we saw Miss Cushman was *Meg Merrilies*, in an indifferent dramatization of Sir Walter Scott's "Guy Mannering." When, in the moonlight of the scene, she dashed from her tent on to the stage, covered with the grey shadowy garments of the gipsy sibyl, her appearance was ghost-like and startling in the extreme. In her mad rushes on and off the stage, she was like a cyclone. During the prophecy:

> "The dark shall be light
> And the wrong made right,
> And Bertram's right, and Bertram's might,
> Shall meet on Ellengowan's height,"

she stood like some great withered tree, her arms stretched out, her white locks flying, her eyes blazing under their shaggy brows. She was not like a creature of this world, but like some mad majestic wanderer from the spirit land. When *Dirk Hatteraick's*

* A few years later, wearying of the stage, Mr. Wouds entered the church, where his preaching was highly appreciated.

fatal bullet entered her body, and she came staggering down the stage, her terrible shriek,* so wild and piercing, so full of agony and yet of the triumph she had given her life to gain, told the whole story of her love and her revenge. When after her awfully realistic death-scene, she had been carried from the stage, there was perfect silence in the crowded theatre, and not until the curtain fell upon the last few lines of the play did shouts of enthusiasm break the stillness. The surprise and pleasure of the audience knew no bounds when, having washed off her witch's mask, she came before them *in propriâ personâ*, a sweet-faced old lady, with a smile all kindness, and a graciousness of manner quite royal. Indeed, I never saw such charm and dignity, until years after, at Westminster Abbey, when, celebrating her Golden Jubilee, Queen Victoria, with one sweeping courtesy, acknowledged with majestic grace the presence of the assembled multitude.

It was arranged that we should meet Miss Cushman the next day. We accordingly awaited her in the large parlor of the hotel. Presently we heard a heavy masculine tread, and a voice, too high for a man's, too low for a woman's, saying, "I am sorry to be late, but some of the actors were duller than usual this morning." She stood before us, her well-set figure simply clad, the short hair in her neck still in curling pins, showing a delightful absence of vanity, for she had just come in from the street. She looked at me for a moment with the keenest interest in her kind blue-grey eyes, then wrung my hand with unexpected warmth. "Come, come, let us lose no time," said she in her brisk business-like way. "Let us see what you can do. *Richard! Hamlet! Richelieu!* Schiller's *Maid of Orleans?* A curious selection for such a child to make. But begin, for I am pressed for time." It was trying to stand without preparation before so great a woman, but, with a determined effort to forget her, I acted scenes from "Richelieu" and "Jeanne d'Arc." When the trial was over, I stood before her in that state of flush and quiver

* An actor who played *Dirk Hatteraick* with her, told me that at this climax she struck her breast, which was like a coal of fire with the disease that was fast killing her, and that her cry was one of intense agony. Talma believed that an actor had two distinct beings in him, apart from the good and the evil we all possess—viz., the artist, who is any character he may be cast for, and the man in his own person. His theory was that the artist always studies the man, and cannot consider himself near perfection until he becomes master of the man's every mood and emotion. He describes the deathbed of his father, and the grief he felt in losing so excellent a parent, but adds that even in that solemn moment the artist began curiously to study the grief of the man. Yet he does not speak of the artist giving the man physical pain for the production of a stage effect, as did the great Cushman.

which often follows our best efforts. Laying her hand kindly upon my shoulder, "My child," said she, "you have all the attributes that go to make a fine actress; too much force and power at present, but do not let that trouble you. Better have too much to prune down, than a little to build up." My mother was troubled at hearing her speak so calmly of the stage as my future career, and protested earnestly. No one, she said, of her family, nor of my father's, had ever been on the stage, and she added that, to be frank, she did not like the atmosphere of the theatre, and could not look with favor upon a child of hers adopting it as a profession. Miss Cushman listened attentively. "My dear madam," she answered, "you will not judge the profession so severely when you know it better. Encourage your child; she is firmly and rightly, I think, resolved on going upon the stage. If I know anything of character, she will go with or without your consent. Is it not so?" (to me). "Yes," said I—and how my heart beat at the confession. "Be her friend," continued she to my mother. "Give her your aid; no harm can come to her with you by her side." Then turning to me again, "My advice to you is not to begin at the bottom of the ladder; for I believe the drudgery of small parts, in a stock company without encouragement, often under the direction of coarse natures, would be crushing to you. As a rule I advocate beginning at the lowest round, but I believe you will gain more by continuing as you have begun. Only go to my friend, George Vandenhoff, and tell him from me that he is to clip and tame you generally. I prophesy a future* for you, if you continue working earnestly. God be with you! Doubtless in a year or two you will be before the public. May I be there to see your success!" With a hearty farewell she stalked out of the room. That was our first and last interview. In her almost brusque manner, she had led me to the right path, and had, in less than an hour, fought successfully the dreaded battle with my mother. In two years' time, I had made my *début* upon the stage, and she, the greatest of all American actresses, was sleeping her last sleep in a laurel-covered grave at Mount Auburn.

MARY DE NAVARRO.

* Miss Cushman's words have been given, not because they were flattering to the writer, but because they show the quick decisiveness, insight into character, and generosity of the eminent woman.

THE MUNICIPAL SPIRIT IN ENGLAND.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER.

At this moment we have, in the problem of the government of London, questions which involve all England, and interest the civilized world. Municipal government in England is no longer confined to the details of water supply, street paving and cleaning, lighting and sewage, and police protection. Within a period covered by my own observations, the large provincial cities, and quite recently London itself, have become the scenes of the most daring socialistic experiments of the century. In consequence, the municipal life of the English people has assumed a new phase for the student of political economy, and one far more complicated than the examination of budgets, the study of taxation and expenditure, and a comparison of debt and valuation of property. Town life in the twentieth century will be as widely different from town life in the nineteenth century as the town life of the fifteenth century, which Mrs. Green describes so interestingly, differed from that of the present day. The stupendous change from country to town, which the present generation has witnessed in northern Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States, at first massed the population like cattle in the lower quarters of the great cities. The centralization of industry consequent upon changed methods of manufacturing made this necessary. It took time to adjust these centres of industrial energy to the new conditions, but it was inevitable in a country like England, which in a large measure abandoned agricultural interests for the more tempting fields of manufacture. In this, of course, her large cities took an important part. For a while no attention was paid to the condition of the people either in workshop, factory or home. Tempted from the dull monotony of rural life by higher wages than the

land afforded, the British working classes migrated to the large cities. Huddled together in the vilest tenements, burrowing like moles below the earth in noisome cellars, working hours without number in the fetid atmosphere of illy ventilated factories, subject to the frightful dangers of badly inspected mines, and falling easy victims to disease in consequence of bad drainage or poor water supply, the first step of the modern industrial system may have brought a shower of gold to the capitalist, but it left a sickening trail of human victims in the wake of the triumphant car of progress.

Bad as many of these cities are now in spots, and high as the death rate is in the lower quarters, the report of the Royal Commission of 1844 revealed a condition that, if allowed to continue, would have simply destroyed the efficiency of the working classes of the kingdom and seriously impaired the nation's vitality. Fortunately for England, the greed-driven manufacturers were brought up sharply by an aroused public sentiment, and legislation was begun which has led up to changes that will revolutionize town life of the twentieth century, forever explode the inhuman theory that pressure of competition is justification for degrading the standard of life of the whole community, and improve the condition and stamina of the English people.

The municipal spirit so common in the United States and in the large cities of the ancient world seems to have been almost dormant in England until the middle of the present century. Then it broke out in many directions. The condition of the working classes in the large towns was, as I have said, deplorable. Education, sanitary conditions, hours of labor, protection of life and health in occupation, open spaces for recreation, and rational amusements had received little attention from economists, whose eyes were fixed on the growing volume of Board of Trade statistics, and whose pens were active in the glorification of England's expanding manufactures and commerce. The dawn of better times came with the various factory and mining laws, the legislation in relation to sanitary matters and the artisans' dwelling-house acts, followed by the establishment of Board schools, and an awakening of the municipal spirit which has already brought about many important changes in the provinces, and which in six years has cemented the parishes of London into the greatest municipal experiment of the age.

In this short time the establishment of the London County Council has crystallized and humanized the heretofore discordant elements of the metropolis, and, as it seems to me, has done more to encourage what is best and most advanced in local life than all London's 120 charters running over 670 years, from William the Conqueror to George II., to say nothing of the innumerable acts of Parliament relating to the functions of the various boards and bodies which control the affairs of the metropolis.

Before dealing with London as we find it to-day it may be worth while to briefly note some of the changes that have taken place in the other principal cities, because there we shall find not only much of interest and permanent value in the discussion of the municipal problem, but much that will enable us to forecast the future of this interesting experiment in governing five millions of people.

The old aspect of municipal administration dealt with the paving and lighting of streets, the supply of water, the construction of sewers, in maintaining order and occasionally in the establishment of Parks. The new phase of municipal administration in its most ambitious form, aims to deal with every question that directly or indirectly affects the life of the people. Carried to the extent to which it has been in some British cities it is in fact nothing short of municipal socialism. Those who wish to study the details of this new order of things will do well to obtain a work recently published, entitled "Municipalities at Work," by Frederick Dolman, in which I have found much of value in relation to what the various English cities have accomplished. Another useful work on the subject has been published by Dr. Albert Shaw, of New York, who has made some interesting studies of individual English cities. The present article at the most can only touch lightly the, as yet, partially explored field of detail. A decided step in this direction would be fatal to the purpose I have in view, namely, the influence of these experiments on the social welfare of the masses of the people, for whose benefit and improvement they have been instituted.

The new school of municipal administration in England enters into the life of the people. It not only takes upon itself the unprofitable side of the local budgets, but argues very plausibly that a well-governed municipality can afford to give no privileges by which corporations may enrich themselves at the expense of the

community ; that such profits belong to the community at large or should be used to promote the general welfare.

Beginning with the municipalization of gas and water, the idea has extended to tramways, markets, baths, libraries, picture galleries, technical schools, artisans' dwellings, cricket fields, football grounds, tennis courts, gymnasia for girls as well as boys, regulation of refreshment tariffs, free chairs in the parks, free music, and last, though not least, it is proposed to invade the sacred rights of John Bung himself and municipalize the gin shops and public houses.

At Glasgow, a short time ago, I was afforded an opportunity of riding in the new and comfortable city tram cars. These cars are gaily emblazoned with the city coat of arms. The men are dressed in new and handsome uniforms, and instead of toiling from fourteen to sixteen hours per day to enrich a corporation, these men work ten hours, are paid higher wages than before, and to all appearances are treated like human beings. And yet travelling is cheap enough—one mile one cent. Instead of charging, as in London, a higher rate for long distances, working men are encouraged to seek homes out of town by a proportional reduction as the distance increases.

The municipality of Glasgow took over the tramways simply because the private company refused to agree to improve the lot of its employees. Fortunately like Liverpool and Manchester, Glasgow had wisely constructed its own tramways. They had been leased to the private company for twenty-five years, and the lease expired last year. In renewing this lease the disagreement occurred which ended in the determination of the city to carry on the business itself. The old company refused to sell its rolling stock, whereupon the municipal corporation, not to be bluffed, purchased a new and handsome outfit, lighted the cars by electricity, and is to-day carrying on the business, I hope, successfully. Meantime, the old company has transformed itself into an omnibus company and is trying to compete with the municipality. It is a pity Brooklyn was not in a position to have promptly done the same thing and ended the recent trouble.

Glasgow is also considering a plan for the extension of small bathing or washing establishments at the rear of every street of houses. It is believed from experience in this direction that such a plan would not only be self-supporting, but in time profitable.

Leeds last year took charge of its own tramways, and for much the same reason as Glasgow. The inefficiency of the service and its exactions from employees created such a widespread dissatisfaction, that the corporation bought out the company. Wages were at once increased, and hours reduced. What is the result? Loss? Not at all. An increase of half a million passengers, and a profit to the municipality. Leeds, however, has not shown the energy of Glasgow in dealing with the question of rapid transit.

Nearly all the principal cities of England, or at least those of them imbued with the new municipal spirit, have made, as it were, a specialty in some particular enterprise, and with invariable success.

Birmingham has become noted because of its great municipal improvements and the success of all its efforts in this direction. The zeal of this city not only extends to the comfort of its people, but to the encouragement of art, science and literature. More to the point, a quarter of a century of the most satisfactory work in this direction has cost the ratepayer no more than the inefficient management of old.

Manchester, among other things, supplies hydraulic power to those requiring it. The boldest scheme probably ever undertaken by a municipality was the construction of the Manchester Ship Canal. The spirit of enterprise which prompted it deserves success, though I am afraid it may prove a mistake. It is, however, the only serious mistake which I have found thus far in my inquiries. Liverpool has a tremendous fight ahead with its slums, and so, indeed, has Manchester. In furnishing municipal lectures and in bettering life and making it more attractive, Liverpool has shown some progressive spirit; though the old conservative element abounding in the great commercial city of the kingdom has hindered the progress which was practically unimpeded in the Midland centre and the manufacturing towns of the North. Glasgow, with its municipal street cars, its city lodging-houses, laundries and popular concerts, is certainly second to Birmingham; Bradford, with its satisfactory electric light system, its remodelled central part, its abolition of slums, and Leeds, with its splendid Central Library and fifty-three branch libraries, and more open space than any other city of its size, are instances of the new order of things in municipal work that must be studied separately to be fully understood and appreciated.

You cannot tabulate degrees of comfort nor work out exhibits showing the effect of all these changes upon human beings. General observation alone helps in such matters and if my general observation is of any value, I have noticed a tremendous change in all these cities since I first visited them nearly fifteen years ago. I was sent abroad in 1880 by a department of the United States government to look into the financial condition of English cities, to measure their expenditure, gauge their receipts, summarize their debts and estimate their burden of taxation. Even in those days a municipal budget was a dry sort of table to those of us who revelled in figures. The new conception of municipal government had not then made the headway it has today. The relation to social progress was not as close then as now.

The condition of the population of these large towns has undoubtedly improved. This is confirmed both by observation and statistics. A satisfactory decline in the death rate has followed all enterprises looking to the better housing of the poor, the increased area of parks and open spaces, the improvement of sewage and of water supply. Early closing and reduced hours of work, have elevated labor and improved the community. Baths, libraries, reading-rooms, art galleries, technical schools, museums, have all helped to make life better worth living in the large cities. There can be but one opinion on this side of the picture.

So far as England is concerned, the only limit on this sort of work would be, I suppose, the capacity of the assessment roll, and the amount the ratepayer is willing to pay. Democratic government we have here; to some extent the government of rich communities by poor men. In England, however, as a rule, a more responsible class of men interest themselves in municipal affairs, than with us. At the same time, outside of a few large cities, I believe nearly as satisfactory results as we find in England can be obtained in well-governed American cities. As between the contract system and the system of municipal authorities employing labor direct, I am in favor of the latter. There is less chance of jobbery, of a low grade of work, and of squeezing the man who gets the least and works the hardest.

The real, vital, debatable question, which the growth of the municipal idea or municipal spirit is forcing to the front, is: How far can municipalities go in this direction without undermining the whole fabric of free competition?

In thus becoming its own builder, its own engineer, its own manufacturer, does a municipality enter too much into direct competition with private industries? Does it not undertake work which individuals are equally able to perform? If this be so, is there not danger of those of us who applaud the Tramway enterprise of Glasgow, the Real Estate scheme of Birmingham, the Municipal Tenements of Liverpool, the Hydraulic Power and Ship Canal venture of Manchester, the Abolition of Slums in Bradford, and the grand municipal achievement of Leeds, finding some day or other enterprises not in the present catalogue taken up by municipalities. In other words, to what extent is it safe to trust municipalities in this direction?

John Morley has said: "You may safely entrust to local bodies powers which would be mischievous and dangerous in the hands of the central government." On this theory, undoubtedly true in the main, England is for the moment basing her municipal legislation, and the cities and towns of the country are rapidly becoming important factors in the adjustment of wages and hours of labor. In all advanced cities, and especially cities which have abolished contractors and employ labor direct, a regular scale of wages corresponding to the highest rate is in force. The hours of labor vary from fifty-three to sixty per week. In some of the cities, sweepers, men employed in gas works, etc., pay in a small part of their earnings, which is supplemented by the city, and at sixty-five they are pensioned. If they die before this age the money goes to their representatives.

In matters relating to labor, perhaps the London County Council is the most conspicuous example, if not for what it has already accomplished, certainly for the present and future extent of its operations.

The theatre of this experiment is an area difficult to define because of its enormous size and the complexity of the jurisdiction affecting it. The term London is at present so indefinite as to cover at least ten different areas.* The population of these several areas ranges from 37,705 for the City of London to 5,633,806, for the total area within the Metropolitan Police District. The administrative County of London, over which the County Council has jurisdiction in practically nearly all matters relating to the

*The corporation of the city, the County Council, the police, the magistracy, poor-law guardians, and asylum board, the central criminal court, the school board, the Register General, the water company, the gas company, the post-office.

general welfare of the people, except criminal matters and police, contains about five millions of people. The cost of governing this area, representing one-fifth of one per cent. of the area of England and Wales, is something like $60,000,000 per annum. This does not include either gas or water which are supplied at an annual additional cost to the inhabitants of $25,000,000 and $10,000,000 respectively. For the definite charitable organizations exclusive of hospitals, schools, and endowments of all kinds, about $12,500,000 are annually spent.

According to *Burdett's Annual* the amount spent on the principal hospitals is $4,000,000. There is no means of ascertaining this exactly, but Mr. Burdett informed me that the yearly income of the greater charities which have their headquarters in London amounts to upwards of $35,000,000, equal to the total revenues of New York city. Of this stupendous sum, London probably receives at least half, possibly $20,000,000.

London's annual budget, as nearly as I am able to estimate it, for taking care of between five and six millions of people is as follows:

Cost of Lighting	$26,000,000
Water supply	10,000,000
Police	9,500,000
Schools	10,000,000
Streets	10,000,000
Paupers	12,500,000
Private charities and hospitals of all kinds	20,0 0,000
Health	3,500,000
Fire protection	650,000
Interest on debt	5,000,000
Total	$107,150,000

As an off-set for this enormous expenditure we have an income that when compared with the rest of England is simply gigantic. The assessed rental value of houses for London is upwards of $180,000,000, nearly 30 per cent. of the total for all England; net profits of trades or professions, $265,000,000, or over 41 per cent. In the schedules relating to particular properties and public companies, London represents nearly 60 per cent. or a total of $445,000,000 and in salaries and fees nearly 70 per cent., or $115,000,000, a total annual income exceeding 1,000 millions of dollars.

Perhaps these astounding totals representing incomes may give American readers some idea of the volume of earnings that pour annually into the coffers of this great center of the world's wealth, trade and commerce.

The items of expense given in the table above only represent the more striking expenditures. It would be safe to estimate the total cost in round figures, say at 110 millions of dollars. Nearly a quarter of this goes for furnishing artificial light: another quarter for pauperism and charities. London's gas bill represents nearly one-third the amount expended for gas by the United Kingdom. Nor is the item of pauperism and charities large when we bear in mind the appalling fact that twenty-seven out of every hundred deaths in this aggregation of humanity occur in public institutions. Every fourth person you meet on the crowded, bustling thoroughfares of Living London dies a pauper, an inmate of a hospital or of a lunatic asylum.

The active industrial classes, those engaged in trades and industries, exceed a million. To furnish these and other professional and commercial classes with efficient means of locomotion from their homes to the various centres of work, is a problem hardly taken up by the municipality of London, much less solved, as is the case in large provincial cities. It is managed in an unsatisfactory manner, by a patchwork of ingeniously disagreeable methods, consisting of freezing, lumbering omnibuses, smoking, choking underground railways and tramway cars which it takes an hour's journey in some other conveyance to find. On the other hand, the cab system is almost perfect, and the charges reasonable. The proportions of this service may be realized from the fact that the total number of hackney and stage carriages at the present time is nearly 15,000.

In the ordinary course of events the London County Council, which by the way has come to stay, has some stupendous municipal problems to solve without considerable extension of the functions of municipal government—I mean without at present plunging too deeply into the labor question, the municipal ownership of the land for the common good, and the new vista of possibilities of municipal action which the more advanced advocates propose. One would think that the gas and water supply involving $36,000,000 per annum, and the improvements of transit, afford a field for the ambitions of the ablest municipal statesmen. And there are some very able and distinguished men in the London County Council, men who represent every phase of thought in politics. At Spring Gardens extremes meet. Howard of Norfolk, England's premier duke, may measure

swords with plain John Burns, M. P. and labor leader. The late Prime Minister, Earl Rosebery, will always remember with pride and satisfaction that he assisted at the birth of this most democratic of all public governing bodies in England. As chairman of the London County Council his first two annual addresses will some day become of great historical importance in the discussion of the municipal tendencies of the times. Statesmen of the first class, scientists whose names are known the world over, economists, men of letters, jurists, politicians, business men, labor representatives, are for the moment taking an active interest in administering to the comfort and welfare of the London five millions. The experiment is watched with even more curiosity and interest by foreigners who have a front view than by those at home behind the scenes.

Of the public spirit, ability and honesty of these gentlemen no one who has studied the six years' work of the London County Council can have a doubt.

The adoption of what is known as the "fair wages clause" by the London County Council and many other English municipalities is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, though the growing tendency of the Council to take upon itself work of all descriptions is used with effect by the Moderates to alarm timid taxpayers and large landlords.

The best defence of this system, and of the "fair wages clause" in all contracts may be found in an article by Sidney Webb in the January *Contemporary*. Mr. Webb is undoubtedly the ablest Progressive leader in the Council. A politician will find it difficult to answer such an argument as the following from Mr. Webb's article:

"It may be economically permissible under the present organization of industry for a private employer to pay wages upon which, as he perfectly well knows, it is impossible for the worker to maintain himself or herself in efficiency. But when a Board of Poor Law Guardians finds itself rescuing from starvation, out of the Poor Rate, women actually employed by one of its own contractors to make up workhouse clothing, at wages insufficient to keep body and soul together, even the most rigorous economist would admit that something was wrong.

"The London County Council, responsible as it is for the health of the people of London, declines to use its position as an

employer deliberately to degrade that health by paying wages obviously and flagrantly insufficient for maintenance, even if competition drives down rates to that pitch.

"What economist, now that the Wages Fund is dead and buried, will venture to declare this action uneconomic."

Shocking as it would sound to the free trade ears of Mr. Webb, this is simply a municipal form of protection. Mr. Webb would undoubtedly say that the council's policy in these matters was not the abolition of competition, but the shifting of its plane from mere cheapness to that of "industrial efficiency."

By this method it is claimed they close up to the contractor the less legitimate means of making profit by the aid of "pauper labor." We do no more than this when we ask the English manufacturer to pay a duty on his goods; goods made perhaps in the same way as Mr. Webb describes. In other words, the London County Council has established, beyond doubt, the doctrine that it is immoral to take advantage of any cheapness that is got by merely beating down the standard of life of particular sections of the wage-earner. Mr. Webb says:

"And just as the factory acts have won their way to economic approval, not merely on humanitarian grounds, but as positively conducive to individual efficiency, so, too, it may confidently be predicted, will the now widely adopted fair wages clauses."

As a protectionist I am willing to concede that industrial efficiency is undoubtedly promoted by fair wages, that cheap labor, whether in a large city or in the country districts, means a degraded population; but I fail to see that the mischief or danger in this sort of legislation, if mischief or danger there be, is incurred by placing it in the hands of the State, whereby the labor of a whole nation is elevated, instead of permitting the cities and towns to carry it on in spots. The strongest part of the protection armor has always seemed to me what may be called the political argument; that is, the conditions of the country (the United States if you please) must be protected against the lower conditions or standard of wages and of living in European countries, where the environments of the working classes are so different. Whatever views may be held on these questions of political economy it will be seen that municipal government in England is spreading its functions in dangerous economic ground, and that the battle at this moment, for control of Spring Gardens involves

questions of far greater import to England and the world at large, than a penny a month increase in local taxes, or the administration of the local budget of London.

This contest does not, as some suppose, involve the existence of the County Council, or the so-called unification of London. These questions are no longer debatable. London stands to-day one, and indivisible. As Mr. Asquith recently said, "London is not a fortuitous aggregation of a set of adjacent communities," though from a recent article by the last Lord Mayor of London in this REVIEW one would imagine that to be the case.

Mr. Leonard Courtney, surely a wise and judicious man and chairman of the Royal Commission, which recently reported on this subject, informed me that no serious objection exists in either political party to the ultimate unification of London.

Mr. Courtney is a Liberal-Unionist not fully in sympathy with the progressive majority of the London County Council. "London," he said, "will never be divided into separate municipalities —of that you may feel assured—not if the Conservative party should return to power. The only question is the division of what may be termed powers relating to the common life of the people and those which may wisely be treated locally. In these changes the corporation of London will be treated with fairness and with a full appreciation of its wealth, traditions and civic importance." Mr. Courtney is so entirely right in his estimate of English public opinion on the question, that this phase of the London municipal problem does not seem to me worth discussing in a general way.

Lord Salisbury, who poses as the friend of the old city, is barren so far as a positive policy is concerned. London will never again be split up into topographical expressions. It has realized the advantages of true civic patriotism, and will continue to increase the central power in all things that affect the common interest and raise the level of its people. The only real question, therefore, as I have endeavored to explain, is how far this policy of improving the condition of the people may be carried without encountering the danger already pointed out.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY THE HON. W. G. RICE, OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

TWELVE years ago "An act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the United States" became law. Since then this law has continued unchanged—neither enlarged by amendment nor diminished by repeal. This freedom from alteration may rightly be counted a tribute to the discretion of those who framed the statute and an evidence of their sound judgment. Certainly such stable existence is conclusive proof of the desire of the people that the plan thus formulated should have opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness.

The United States Civil Service Commission was the agency created by the law of 1883 to put the machinery for improving the civil service in motion, and to it was also committed the guidance of this machinery in the subsequent regulation of the service. The duties of the three Commissioners constituting the Board are primarily "to aid the President as he may request" in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect. The essential improvements sought to be accomplished under the act were three.

First: Fairness to all applicants and to all sections of the country. This fairness to applicants is secured by the provision for appointment in the public service after "open, competitive examinations," which "shall be practical in their character, and so far as may be shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed." Fairness to all sections of the country is secured by the requirement that "appointments to the public service aforesaid in the departments at Washington shall be apportioned

among the several states, territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population as ascertained at the last preceding census." Obstruction by any person in the public service of the right of examination, or false marking thereof, is made a penal offence.

Second: Liberty of action in political matters. This liberty is embodied in the declaration "that no person in said service has the right to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body." Dismissal from office is the penalty provided by the rules for such coercion.

Third: Freedom from involuntary political servitude and from political assessments. These are embodied in declaring "that no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligations to contribute to any political fund, or to render any political service," and by providing penalty of fine and imprisonment of specified public officers or employees who shall be convicted of soliciting or receiving political contributions "from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the Treasury of the United States." It is also a penal offense for any person to solicit or receive such contributions in any United States building, navy yard, fort, or arsenal; or for any person in the service of the United States to give to any other person in the service of the United States any money on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.

The scheme devised to accomplish these results is no longer in its infancy. Its value now can be justly measured; and while vindication of the system necessarily condemns practices opposed, it is needless to dwell, to tiresome iteration, upon "spoils," "spoilsmen," and "spoils system." These and other similar words have become the cant of the discussion; they retard rather than advance a present understanding of the broader phases of the subject. The system in operation is abundantly justified when demonstration is made that it leads in the direction of good government, apart from every other consideration based upon sentiment or moral speculation. And every intelligent advocate of the improvement and regulation of the civil service will be firm in his insistence that the chief argument must be upon this line.

To-day under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission are 55,000 positions, comprising what is properly known as the

classified civil service of the United States. While the number of these positions increases constantly and automatically by reason of the natural increase in the number of Government employees, yet the greater additions to the 14,000 originally classified by President Arthur have been made by subsequent Presidential orders. From 1885 to 1895 there were 24,000 positions thus specially added. The most recent notable inclusion is that of about 3,000 positions in the office of the Public Printer made by the President in August, 1895. The magnitude of the classified civil service as above defined may perhaps be best realized in the light of the fact that there is an expenditure of $50,000,000 every year to pay the salaries of the places comprised therein.

It is a great advance in the just administration of public affairs when a practical system has been devised by which substantially 55,000 government places are opened to all our people through the door of ascertained merit. It appears as a still greater advance when it is realized that this army of 55,000 intelligent citizens, most of them voters, cannot be used in the future either to bolster up a waning political creed nor be made a barrier to any demanded reform. And, greatest advance of all, in its bearing upon the integrity of a representative government, is the fact that no part of this total compensation can be legitimately exacted hereafter for political purposes, nor can the weight of these salaries be used by unscrupulous men to secure personal political work from public servants, whose wages are paid by all the people. The accomplishment of these things indisputably tends in the direction of better government.

The civil service law itself was the first efficient statutory movement in the improvement of the civil service; but, this beginning having been made, the improvement is now proceeding upon even broader lines than those laid down in the law. Other steps have been taken outside the law of far-reaching and beneficial importance, and these deserve attentive consideration.

It is of preliminary interest to note that under section 1753 of the Revised Statutes, passed March 3, 1871, a complete merit system of civil service could be carried out except in the matter of offences declared penal. This section provides as follows:

"Sec. 1753. The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as

may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct such inquiries, and may prescribe their duties, and establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."

Acting presumably under the latter part of this section, the President, in July, 1886, issued executive instructions addressed "To the heads of all Departments in the service of the General Government." In the course of these instructions the President said:

"Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the Government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending, by display of obtrusive partizanship, their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

"They should also constantly remember that their party friends, from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization. . . .

"Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding.

"A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easy in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity, under our form of government, of political action free from official coercion."

The issue of this letter was the second important progression in the improvement and regulation of the civil service.

These established regulations for the conduct of persons receiving appointments in the civil service have been of great value in supplementing the provisions of the act of 1883. They were subsequently included in general terms in the Postal Laws and Regulations, as follows:

"Office-holders must not use their official positions to control political movements. They should not offend by obtrusive partizanship, nor should they assume the active conduct of political campaigns. A postmaster is not forbidden to exercise any political privilege, but should make proper discrimination between what ought and what ought not to be done by a public officer. He serves all the people, who are entitled to attention, civility, and assistance. No postmaster in whom the Government has, by virtue of his

appointment, reposed trust and confidence should find difficulty in deciding as to the proper course to be pursued in the premises. This is in consonance with the order of President Cleveland of July 14, 1886."

This postal rule was confirmed by the succeeding administration in the February, 1893, edition of Postal Rules and Regulations, and the letter of President Cleveland was specifically republished as an order of the Postmaster-General in May, 1894. Concurrently with this reiteration was the establishment by the Postmaster-General of the important rule that:

"No carrier shall be removed except for cause, upon written charges filed with the Post Office Department, and of which the carrier shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defense."

This was a third admirable and far-reaching step beyond the requirements of the act of 1883. In this relation the opinion of the present Postmaster-General, as expressed in an address delivered before the National Convention of Letter Carriers at Philadelphia in September last, is specially pertinent. He said:

"No one rejoices more than I do, both on principle and on the lower plane of selfish convenience, that every free delivery post-office in the country is now under civil service rules; that the gateway to employment therein is no longer partizan influence, but the free and open road of personal merit, and that the tenure of that employment no longer depends upon anything else than individual merit and individual fidelity."

A fourth step was one upon which highest commendation should be bestowed as affecting men who had no strong voice to present their appeal. This was the order by the Secretary of the Navy in April, 1891, requiring that demonstrated capacity of the workmen, without regard to political belief or influence, should be the controlling factor in the employment of laborers in the navy yards. The system then established for navy yards has continued in successful operation ever since.

A final advance, entering into an entirely new field, is the President's recent order providing for the application of the merit principle, as ascertained by formulated examinations, to certain grades of our consular service. The uniform approval which the public press has accorded this latest progress is gratifying evidence of the widespread appreciation by the whole people of the benefits they are receiving from executive acts of this character.

These things already have been done. Incidentally, something concerning the future is of interest. The time now ap-

proaches when the inclusion of several thousand minor post-offices within some form of the merit system is seen to be a possibility. Public opinion would assuredly approve this inclusion as in the line of progressive methods of administration and as undoubtedly increasing the efficiency of an extremely important branch of government work. And the application of certain features of the merit system to laborers in navy yards having demonstrated its practicability, it is probable that some wide extension of the plan so as to include all government laborers will speedily be devised. The time also seems ripe for the general formulation and enforcement of rules to govern promotions. This regulation of promotions was an essential element of the scheme as originally conceived and enacted, and it is a feature which deserves more effective consideration than it has heretofore received.

A new function which enables the Civil Service Commission to greatly increase its usefulness has recently developed. This function is that of consultation by various State and city authorities. Municipal boards of New York and Chicago and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia have thus received from the Commission at Washington much valuable assistance in inaugurating local merit systems.

While it is assumed that the methods are well known by which the work of the United States Commission is accomplished, it will aid in forming an accurate judgment on the subject now under consideration to recall some special features of their procedure. The Commission consists of three persons appointed by the President, not more than two of whom can be adherents of the same political party. This Commission meets daily as a Board. By this Board all questions for examinations are passed upon, the places and dates of examinations throughout the United States are fixed, appeals from markings are adjudged, claims for preference on account of military service are determined, requests for reinstatement in the civil service are considered, and all allegations of political discrimination and charges of illegal political assessment are investigated. Upon the request of the President the Commission formulates rules for carrying the Civil Service law into effect, which rules, upon approval by the President, are filed with the Secretary of State, and have in many respects the effect of law. These rules, however, are subject to change at the will of the President. It is by this possi-

bility of change in the scope of the rules that all additions to the classified service, beyond the natural automatic increment, have been made. This provision, by which the jurisdiction of the law is extended to new departments without amendment of the law being necessary, is one of several admirable flexibilities of the act of 1883.

Regular examinations of applicants for appointment are held at least twice a year at convenient places in practically every State and Territory, and many times a year at Washington. Schedules of such examinations are widely distributed, bulletins are posted in various United States buildings throughout the country, and notice is published in the newspapers of each locality. Special supplementary examinations are held whenever the needs of the public service require. The endeavor is to make the questions most practical, and all departments are continually invited to offer suggestions as to the character and scope of the questions. Recently the Commission has inaugurated the plan of also asking suggestions from merchants and other private employers of large clerical forces.

It has always been recognized that no examination can be devised which will infallibly indicate the capacity to accomplish work, and therefore, after an applicant has passed an examination and has been selected for appointment, it is required that he should serve a probation period of six months before the appointment can become absolute. No matter how high an applicant may have stood in examination, if, at the end of six months, his conduct is not satisfactory and his capacity is not demonstrated to the appointing power, he shall be notified that he will not receive absolute appointment, and this notification discharges him from the service. He cannot take another examination until one year has elapsed after such discharge. It is, however, excellent testimony to the character of the examinations that dismissals at the end of a probationary period are practically unknown. On the other hand, the authority and duty of removal for any delinquency or incapacity before or after the expiration of the probation period are left undisturbed by the civil service act and rules.

Many local examinations are conducted by boards, the members of which are under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission for such purposes, but are employees of the post-offices,

custom-houses and internal revenue offices throughout the country. All examination papers, however, are now marked at Washington, and the standing of the applicant is fixed by the Central Board of Examiners there. This board is made up from the permanent clerical force of the Commission. Until standing is determined, the applicant is known only by the number appearing on his examination papers. His name, residence, and other information concerning him, are contained on a separate sheet, which does not come before those who mark the examination papers.

The Commission is authorized, but not directed, to make investigations as to the execution of the civil service act. It has no power to administer oaths in such investigations; and the limited authority conferred appears to have been with the wise purpose that the attention of the Commission should be chiefly concentrated in the direction of securing good material for positions rather than in exercising a supervisory power over the internal administration of public offices generally. The law does not declare or in any way intimate that the Commission is to be concerned in legal prosecutions. It has the same obligation as other citizens to bring to the attention of the proper prosecuting officer any violation of law of which it has evidence. Unfortunately, however, the impression seems to have been created in some directions that it is in the nature of a detective bureau organized to discover violations of the law and to ascertain why dismissals are made, having powers somewhat similar to the Secret Service of the Treasury or the inspectors of the Post-Office Department. The usefulness of the Commission in its proper sphere has been hampered by this impression. If it were generally felt that the responsibility rests not upon the Commission but upon the citizens in the several localities to inaugurate prosecutions for violations of the civil service law much greater good would be accomplished.

The punishment imposed for violation of certain civil service rules is dismissal from office, but this dismissal rests as a rule with the President, or the Cabinet officer, or other official who is the head of the department concerned. The Civil Service Commission is not in any sense a trial board. Neither has it the power to remove or reinstate any government employee except within its own force at Washington. The work actually committed to the Commission makes greatest progress in proceeding

upon the assumption that leading public officials to-day are generally desirous of securing the best public service, and are endeavoring to administer their offices in exact accord with civil service, as well as all other, laws.

Questions as to what political contributions are permitted, and as to what degree of political activity is allowed by the civil service act, naturally arise as elections approach. The condemnation of involuntary political service and involuntary political contributions has been previously discussed. Voluntary political service not partizan and not interfering with the public duties of persons in the service of the Government, is evidently contemplated by the act, and voluntary political contributions from public employees are countenanced. Section 13 of the act makes it a penal offence to discriminate, or promise or threaten to do so, against any employee because of his "giving any contribution of money or other valuable thing for any political purpose." No discussion of the right of the individual so to contribute is needed, but it is of interest to note that this section of the civil service act clearly recognizes as allowable the making of such voluntary contributions for political purposes.

As to political activity, the most recent utterances of the Commission indicating its opinion are as follows:

"Those who enter the classified service upon the ground of ascertained merit as established by the civil service rules, and are protected therein, should be quick to recognize the reciprocal obligation thereby imposed, and avoid any action which now or at any future time could reasonably be subject to adverse political criticism."

In the case of charges of improper partizan activity made against an employee of the internal revenue service, who is a member of local Board of Civil Service Examiners, the Commission said:

"While attendance at a political convention as a delegate is not in itself a violation of the civil service rules, the Commission holds that partizan activity sufficient to impair usefulness as a representative of the Civil Service Commission is sufficient cause for removal from membership in any of its boards of examiners."

In conclusion, the civil service law has shown in practice the openness of its methods, its fairness to all sections, and its adaptability to the public service. When selections were made through political pressure the work was done in a corner, the distribution of places was for the advantage of the few, and ap-

pointments were without adequate consideration of the public need. Undoubtedly the civil service law has done many things in betterment of the public service. Undoubtedly it will do much more in the future. But just as undoubtedly it sometimes prevents the appointment of the person best qualified for the work that is to be done; for under the rules the appointing power must make his selection from the three names certified to him by the Commission. Nevertheless, the competitive merit system is a vast and unmistakable improvement over the former method of selection by political or other influence, and the total results of the civil service act tend unquestionably and strongly toward better government.

But there are advances yet to be made to secure to the whole people all the benefits to which they are entitled. Therefore it is well at this time to give consideration to a principle of the law which is outside of and beyond the penal provisions heretofore discussed. This principle is the intimate relation of the President to the betterment of even the subordinate public service of the United States. Such relation is fully realized only when thoughtful analysis is made of the special act by virtue of which so much has been accomplished. The President appoints the Commissioners "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and "the President may remove any Commissioner." The President, "as he may request," has the aid of the Commission "in preparing suitable rules for carrying this act into effect," and the Commission regulates examinations "subject to the rules that may be made by the President." In brief, the affirmation of the President is the strength of the system. Such analysis makes clear where honor largely lies for the past. And what of the future? The duty is imperative to see to it that the next President also shall be a man who will take no step backward, but will compel a continuous and aggressive advance in the application of the merit principle.

WILLIAM GORHAM RICE.

TRUE SOURCE OF AMERICAN WEALTH.

BY THE HON. BEN. F. CLAYTON, PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

We have no disposition to discuss, in a magazine article, the true source of wealth from a scientific standpoint. We shall ignore the well-beaten path of political economists. The conflict between these scientific gentlemen over finespun theories and doubtful propositions as to natural laws governing mankind in their relation one to the other, and the application of these laws in the production and distribution of wealth, are no nearer settled now than at the close of the last century. Notwithstanding the many unsettled details between economic writers, we are disposed, in the main, to recognize Political Economy as a science, but we are not willing to accept all theoretical deductions as conclusive, for theory often comes in conflict with truth when confronted by practical questions growing out of our great industrial and productive interests. In fact, we think that the science of economy has had but little to do with the accumulations of the vast wealth of the American people. It is a question whether one in fifty of our progressive financiers has ever made a study of the science of Political Economy. Success is not always coupled with an abstract theory, and many of the most successful have learned more from the great book of nature and from practical experience, than they have from all the ethical deductions of the scientific writings from the days of Pliny and Charlemagne to the days of Adam Smith and Mr. Carey.

Every chapter of our eventful history, colonial and national, is intensely interesting to our own people, as well as a great surprise to the people of the old world, and yet, the results attained are perfectly natural when we consider the perfection of the two

elements that produce wealth, and their complete co-operation on the American continent. In 1820, when the act of Congress was passed for the distribution of public lands there was general dissatisfaction. It was claimed that under that policy it would be several hundred years before the government would find market for its public domain. Less than seventy years ago, in 1827, the land department reported that it would require 500 years to exhaust the public lands, and some of the states insisted that nine-tenths of it would never be sold. Since that time the government, by purchase and by conquest, has added 1,500,000 square miles of new territory, and so lavish has been the demand that the land department reports that all available lands for agricultural purposes have been practically exhausted. The Indian tribes are being forced to smaller bounds to accommodate our growing population, and when tribal lands are thrown on the market, so great has been the rush for homesteads that it has required the presence of the United States army to protect the weak from the strong, in their mad efforts for choice homes. Every tract of government land that can be utilized for farming purposes has been taken. Local and national irrigation conventions are being held. Congress has been petitioned and has instructed the best engineers attainable to investigate the feasibility of water storage and a systematic irrigation for the reclamation of the arid districts to make room for our constantly increasing requirements.

Drawing his conclusions from the United States report of 1880, Mr. Mulhall, ten years ago, gave the annual accumulations of wealth of the four great nations as follows:

United States, $825,000,000; France, $375,000,000; Great Britain, $325,000,000; Germany, $200,000,000.

He then says: "The American people gained more wealth from 1870 to 1880 than Great Britain had gained in all her previous history."

Mr. Mulhall is probably the most profound and best authenticated statistician known to our language—a man raised under a different political atmosphere from ours, with the usual prejudices of his countrymen, governed by a different policy to that of ours, and yet he is absolutely impartial. In a recent contribution to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, on the "Power and Wealth of the United States," he declares: "We find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895;" and

he further says: "The wealth of the American people surpasses that of any other nation past or present."

While the eminent philosopher indicates that our phenomenal increase of wealth has been the result of circumstances, and that the new world might have turned those circumstances to a greater advantage, he proceeds to lay before his readers the fact, verified by statistics, that: "An ordinary farm-hand in the United States raises as much grain as five men" engaged in like occupation in the old world. He seems to deplore that condition of things and attributes it to the want in other countries of mechanical appliances such as we use in the United States. This admission is discreditable to the intelligence and the opportunities of the old world, and especially so to Great Britain, possessed with ample means to develop her immediate productive resources as well as those of her boundless dependencies. It is equally complimentary to the American people that they have been able within a single lifetime to so intelligently utilize the forces of nature as to compel her soil to yield such marvellous wealth.

The census reports show that our per capita increase in wealth has been from $205 in 1820 to $1,039 in 1890. The increase in the wealth of the nation in the same time has been from $1,960,000,000 to $65,027,000,000, which has since been increased to approximately $70,000,000,000.

The civilized world stands amazed at the vast accumulations of the American people, and the query from home and abroad is from whence it came, and what is its true source?

We answer that our success is due to two agencies, both of which the American people possess in the highest degree, namely, labor and its intelligent application to the richest natural resources of any country. In the consideration of the true source of our national wealth we must combine these two elements as one and inseparable. Man must furnish labor and nature must furnish all the material upon which labor is expended. Our labor has always been of the highest type, from the fact that the people of the United States are the remote, if not the direct, descendants of a representative foreign element that had learned to think for itself, and when debarred from acting for itself, to seek a country of equal social and political rights where it could plant the banner of the largest freedom and where

it could enjoy to the fullest extent the fruits of its own labor. Our population is made up of an energetic class that is willing to leave the scenes of childhood, the home of youth, the mother tongue and native land to cast their fortunes with a strange people. The American citizen, whether native or foreign born, is quick to recognize the rights of all who would come to our shores to better their condition and to throw around them all the safe guards of protection in every social and political right. From the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers there has been a healthful growth in the spirit of freedom, morality, industry and economy. The environments that surround the American citizen are antagonistic to royal exclusiveness. They regard labor as respectable and measure men by the standard of virtue and personal worth.

This independent and industrious class of people, venturing upon our shores, found a country ready to respond to intelligent and well directed labor. Before civilization reached our continent its natural resources were as great as now. In its forest and on its broad plain, and confined within its rich soil, were found the elements to sustain the same number of people as now. It was a vast country—a country of magnificent natural resources, from which has been harvested the results that astonish ourselves. Mr. Jefferson, while President of the young republic, laid before his people, then fringing the edges of the great continent, a graphic picture of its interior resources. He transmitted to the Congress of the United States documents vindicating him from the attacks of his political enemies because of the Louisiana purchase. These papers are highly interesting, and contained the first information that civilization ever had of this new acquisition. They were printed by order of Congress and discussed by the press of the day, the sage of Monticello being unmercifully criticised.

Highly embellished as his descriptions seem to have been, they were nearer in accord with the results since obtained, than was the report of General Fremont and other government officials who placed this country on the map as an unproductive desert.

The people who made an attack upon the President little dreamed of the possibilities that would result from his action in the purchase, or that within its bounds there was a natural

territory susceptible of cultivation to a point of becoming the greatest grain and food producing country on the earth. Glowing and fanciful as the picture may seem, the results have far surpassed the most sanguine imagination of the President.

The productive resources of one state comprised in the purchase, for the year 1892, was valued at $468,878,000, or more than thirty-one times the cost of the entire tract. The Federal census of 1890 reveals the following facts with reference to Iowa products :

Oats, corn, hay and wheat	$198,869,000
Cattle, hogs and horses	184,424,000
Dairy product	37,000,000
Total	$420,293,000

For the first fifty years of our national existence agriculture in its various forms was almost the universal occupation of its people. In that time they laid the foundation for the complexities of modern life as we see it to-day in diversified labor. "The civilized man in his first beginning was farmer, carpenter, mason, merchant and manufacturer—complete, though primitive, in the individual. But he was a farmer first and foremost, and used the other avocations merely as incidentals to this first and chief employment. Less then a half century has elapsed since the spinning wheel and the loom were common and necessary in the home."

They lived entirely within their own resources, built their own cabins, and constructed the huge fire-place and chimney. A portion of the field was set aside for the flax, and when it had been pulled, bleached and broken, it was manufactured into cloth to supply the needs of the family ; the fleece produced on the farm was submitted to the various processes of preparation necessary and made into clothing without leaving the home. The skins and the furs of animals were tanned by the farmer and converted into shoes for himself and family, and all his energies were in the direction to secure the product from which his wants must be supplied. Since then the inventive genius has been called into activity and has so divided and diversified employment as to revolutionize the condition of things. "But the basal relations remain unchanged, and agriculture as an antecedent presses her claims of precedence with even greater relentless sternness."

Dotted over our vast country are the towns and cities with

the ceaseless din of factories and the hurry and bustle of trade and traffic. The quiet of every community is disturbed day and night by the busy wheels of commerce as the railways sweep in every direction over their steel trackage in transit to seaboard cities, laden with the rich product of the American farm. In the busy marts are found the employees of ship lines, the transportation companies, the grain elevators, and the clerks of the banking and shipping houses, all handling or re-working the raw material gathered from the forest or the field, and from which the world must be clothed, fed and warmed. This vast army of mechanics, the arts, the trades and the professions, have contributed to a higher perfection of our productive industries; but they are not direct producers of wealth, they are consumers. But these elements must ever remain the true source of wealth, and the solid foundation upon which rests the beautiful and magnificent temple of our success. The natural product of the soil, aided by intelligent labor, is the great creative force, the only source from which wealth may be obtained to meet all obligations. The street car fare, interest on bonds, dividends on stocks, the soldiers' pension, the fees of the professional, the dry goods and grocery bills, as well as the cost of conducting all the intricate machinery of the government, must be paid by the revenues from the soil. The product of the gold and silver mines is valuable only because of the commerce and the wealth created from the soil by the co-operation of labor and nature's fertility. One year of total failure of the products of the earth, and wreck and ruin, starvation and death would be the inevitable results. That the United States finds herself the wealthiest nation on the earth at the end of the first hundred years of her existence is a proud fact. When we consider the high type of citizenship and the nobility of labor with which the country has been blessed, we should not be surprised that our increase in wealth "can be measured at each national census with almost the same precision as that with which the astronomer indicates the distance of the heavenly bodies."

BEN. F. CLAYTON.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

XI.—THE WARNING OF SADOWA.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

"A FEW nights ago there was a scene at the Tuileries more dramatic, perhaps, than any in the most powerful of Alexandre Dumas' historical melodramas. The château was wrapt in silence, for the Empress is away in England or Scotland, and the Emperor was sitting in his own room deeply engrossed with the second volume of *L'Histoire de Jules César*, which is just out. Suddenly, one of the gentlemen-in-waiting, the Marquis de Caux, I believe, enters the Emperor's room; but the Emperor pays no attention, he scarcely looks up. 'What is it?' he asks almost impatiently. 'The Prince de Metternich, sire,' is the answer. The Emperor half rises from his chair and turns very pale, as if with a presentiment of disaster, and before the Ambassador is fairly in the room the presentiment is verified. 'I am sorry to inform your Majesty that the battle of Sadowa, which was fought to-day, has been lost by us,' he says rather more calmly than the Emperor himself. In another moment several horses, which are always kept ready harnessed at night, were put in, and Rouher, Fleury, Drouyn de Lhuys and Randon sent for. The Master of the Horse and the Minister for War reached the Tuileries within a second of one another. The Emperor, who is phlegmatic enough at ordinary times, invariably loses that phlegm in Fleury's presence. 'We have gained Venice for others, we have lost the Rhine for ourselves!' he exclaimed, before the door had been fairly closed behind his most trusty adviser, handing him at the same time the telegram announcing the Austrian defeat. 'We have lost nothing yet, sire,' remarked

Fleury, glancing at the paper, 'On the contrary; now or never is your chance to reconstruct the map of Europe.' The sentence had barely left his lips when the door opened once more to admit Randon. He had heard what Fleury said. 'We are not ready,' he remarked, addressing Fleury directly and summarily saluting the Emperor. Then turning to the sovereign, 'Your Majesty is well aware that I have not got thirty thousand troops fit to take the field at such a short notice.' 'Thirty thousand troops!' repeated Fleury with his usual dash; 'thirty thousand troops! That's more than sufficient to mask the absence of those that are not ready.' The Emperor shook his head. His eternal want of decision at the critical moment came strong upon him. 'Ah,' he sighed, 'if the Empress were but here.' For once in a way I agree with him; if the Empress had been there, she would have counselled a headlong war with Prussia there and then, and I fancy it would have been the right thing to do. In three months, in six months, in a year, or a couple of years—for that struggle must inevitably come now—it will be too late. Nay, the longer it is delayed the worse it will be for France in the end, for those who know best aver that Prussia is gaining strength every day. Sadowa has effaced the glory of Solferino, Prussia has proved her single-handed superiority over Austria in Bohemia, just as France proved it seven years ago in Lombardy. If anything, the proof is in favor of King Wilhelm's legions, for Victor Emmanuel's troops did, after all, count for something. Practically, though, the two nations stand confessed equals on the battlefield with regard to one adversary, and that one the military power hitherto deemed too strong for attack by her latest victor who for years submitted to great humiliations at her hands.

"Unless I am greatly mistaken in the temper of the French, they will not relish that real or supposed equality; it will rankle in their minds, and they will hold Napoleon III. directly responsible for it. There, I feel, lies the rock ahead. The French will not be satisfied until they have proved to the world at large that Jena and not Leipzig or Waterloo was the test of their military supremacy to Prussia. They will not rest until they have measured conclusions with the descendants of the armies of Frederic the Great once more, and that rather than the prospect of the acquisition of territory on the banks of the Rhine will be

the real cause of the next contest between them and the Teuton. I feel convinced that no diplomatic skill will avert that contest, unless Prussia would submit to the most extravagant demands on the part of France. Sadowa, to my mind, has put an end to the probability of such concessions, if ever they were seriously entertained by King Wilhelm since he has had two such men as Helmuth von Moltke and Otto von Bismarck by his side.

"I like and admire Napoleon III. as much as any man, but I am not blind to the fact that it would want a Richelieu and a Jomini to co-operate with him in order to withstand successfully the combination arrayed against him. There is not a Metternich or a Talleyrand in the whole of France, let alone a Richelieu; if there be a Jomini, he is carefully kept away from the Court by the dancing and swaggering clique who maintain that *le courage fait tout.* And worse than all, Bazaine is in Mexico. I am told by those who are competent to express an opinion, that he and Niel are the only two among the marshals who can lay claim to the name of strategists in the serious acceptation of the term; although those same informants do not hesitate to aver that there are at least half-a-dozen officers of lesser grades that are superior to both. The competent ones are, however, systematically ostracised by the Court party, which though devoured by jealousy of one another does not even condescend to be jealous of these. They are simply ignored. The jealousy, intriguing, and caballing are reserved for those who cannot be ignored; the result of all this is an all-pervading spirit of meanness which it would be impossible to describe and still more impossible to impress upon the outsider but for some startling proofs in individual instances. A lawyer would call them *pièces de conviction morales.*

"Some time after the fall of Sebastopol, its eminent defender paid a visit to France and met with a distinguished welcome at the Tuileries. When taking leave of the Emperor, he mentioned casually that on his way home he was going to spend a day at the camp of Châlons to see General Raoult, the chief of the staff. Noticing the look of surprise on the Emperor's face, Todtleben explained, 'During the late war, sir, General Raoult was my most formidable adversary.' It wanted a foreign general to draw the Emperor's attention to an officer of his army whose attainments were common talk in every war-office of Europe except that of France

herself, an officer whom Queen Victoria had delighted to honor by conferring upon him the Order of the Bath, who bore the insignia of the Medjidi, of Saint Maurice and St. Lazare, the military medals of Sardinia and England, who during the siege itself was made a Knight Commander of the Legion of Honor. Just, nay, generous to a fault, the Emperor repaired his oversight in a little while by naming General Raoult chief of the staff of the Imperial Guards.

"Did the Emperor point out afterwards to his Minister for War that it is his most sacred duty to enlighten him on the merits of his officers? It is more than doubtful, for there is nothing Napoleon III. dislikes so much as being compelled to reprimand. He generally errs the other way. He endeavors as far as lies in his power, to remove ignorance and incompetence from their active spheres, but his method is, to say the least, curious. General Forey, who wasted many months in Mexico, and showed a lamentable want of decision and an utter absence of military skill before Puebla, had to be recalled. The merest sub-lieutenant could have pointed out the flagrant mistakes he had committed. The Emperor could think of no better way of removing him from his command than by making him a marshal. Here is an extract from the Emperor's letter dated exactly three years ago, which Forey has been showing everywhere. 'It has afforded me much happiness to hear of the entry of my troops into Mexico; and now I think that all serious resistance will be at an end. By the time my letter shall reach you, Mexico will have been in our power for three months, and the military expedition may be considered as terminated. Under those circumstances, I think it useless to prolong your stay in Mexico. A marshal of France is too big a personage to be allowed to worry about intrigues and administrative details. Hence you have my authority to delegate your powers to General Bazaine the moment you think fit, and to return to France to enjoy your success and the legitimate glory you have won.'

"Of course, the non-recall of Bazaine when he was raised to the dignity of marshal is explained by Forey's friends on the plausible theory that since then, affairs in Mexico have gone from bad to worse, but I and many like me who are neither Bazaine's friends nor Forey's enemies know the difference of calibre between these two.

"And then that magnificent sentence, 'A marshal of France is too big a personage to be allowed to worry about intrigues and administrative details.' Ye shades of Davoust and Ney, who worried themselves, without being asked, about the soldiers' tin kettles and the washing of their feet. And Bismarck, as big a personage as any marshal of France, and who, Körner told me yesterday, worried himself in the thick of the campaign about his soldiers' cigars, and made his wife worry too, while he, Bismarck, was sleeping on the flagstones. The present marshals are too big for that sort of thing; they do not care a single jot about the soldier's camp kettle, or about his cleanliness. The general of division takes his cue from the marshal, the general of brigade takes his cue from the general of division, and so on, until in the end the barrack-room becomes an unspeakable thing, and the soldier, in spite of his outward smartness, a far from pleasant being to come into close contact with."

The above note or notes—for from internal evidence I came to the conclusion long ago that the whole was not written at one sitting—belongs to the collection from which I have so often drawn in these chapters.

The stupefaction produced on the Emperor by the unexpected revelation of Prussia's military supremacy over Austria—I could, if required, prove that it was altogether unexpected—was not of long duration. In October, 1866, he instituted a grand commission to examine the question of reorganizing the French army. Only those who lived in Paris in those days can conceive an idea of the formidable opposition, of the blind antagonism, the project met with from the very outset.

"Give a dog a bad name and it will stick to him." During the last few years I have been so persistently accused of systematic hostility against France both by the English and the French themselves that I have grown absolutely callous to the accusation. Nevertheless, I should be sorry to write one line of unfavorable comment on a matter of such importance as the patriotism of a nation on insufficient proof. The opposition to Napoleon III.'s scheme of army reform was, however, prompted by such mean and personal motives on the part of some deputies that silence on the subject would be more blameable to my mind than outspokenness.

The sayings and doings of the Peace Society generally inspire

me with an irrepressible desire to throw politeness to the winds and to call its members names ; yet there is no one more alive to the hardships of conscription than I. If the opposition to Napoleon's contemplated army bill had sprung from a sincere wish to diminish those hardships no one would or could have withheld his sympathy, though even then the *Salus Patriæ suprema lex* would have acted as a damper to one's admiration. But neither the *conscrit* himself, nor his mother, sisters, and sweetheart, all of whom suffer most from his enforced absence in times of peace, from his non-return in times of war, occupied the thoughts of the deputy. The relatives for whose feelings the deputy showed the deepest concern were those who suffered least, namely, the father and uncle of the ploughboy or young workman. And for a very good reason : the father and uncle could mar or make the deputy at the next general election ; that is, could deprive him of his snug stipend of at least £500 per annum, or secure him the undisturbed possession of it for so many years. I will probably return to the subject in the next chapter ; for the present suffice it to say that this hostility of the majority even while the bill was only in incubation produced the most disastrous effect outside France in regard to her hitherto preponderant influence in European affairs. To restore that preponderance, a second *Coup d'Etat* was necessary in order to show the world at large that the Louis Napoleon of 1851 had not altogether ceased to be ; but the frequent want of decision that marked the latter years of the Emperor's reign, and had already produced two formidable errors as far as France's prestige was concerned, was fast developing into a chronic disease, which the approaching opening of that "damnable exhibition" was not calculated to remove, even temporarily.

For by that time "the invitations to the feast" were out, and had been eagerly accepted by the crowned heads of Europe. Joshua would have been equally glad to get such an invitation from the kings of the land of Canaan. Twelve years before that, Marshal Vaillant had expressed his opinion on the futility of trying to promote international friendships and conciliating rival sovereigns by such means. "When the other one [Napoleon I.] gave them entertainments and theatrical performances, it was on their ground and not in France ; they paid the expenses, and not he."

Napoleon III., I fancy, knew the Parisians better in one respect than did either his uncle or any sovereign before him (the nephew). He had probably come to the conclusion that in default of incessant victories the Parisians' good will to their ruler was largely dependent on the latter's ability and efforts to provide them with magnificent public shows and court pageants. I doubt if Napoleon III., had he decided to be crowned or to crown himself, would have gone to Rheims like Charles X. and some of his forbears, or, like Napoleon I., hesitated between the capital and a provincial city as the scene for such coronation. Instead of taking the Comédie-Française to Erfurth to act before a *parterre* of kings, Napoleon III. invited the *parterre* of kings to the Rue Le Peletier, knowing that he would please his metropolitan subjects and still trusting that he might dazzle his royal and imperial visitors. The experiment of twelve years previously had been so eminently successful in that respect, and the exhibition of 1867 was to eclipse that of 1855 as well as the twelve others which had opened their portals during the nearly seven decades that had gone by since the "Temple of Industry" had been inaugurated on that same Champ de Mars.

And truly, results seemed to justify the Emperor's expectations. At no period of modern history had any capital of Europe offered its hospitality to so many exalted personages within so short a period. Three emperors (for the Sultan of Turkey is styled an Imperial ruler, I believe); seven reigning kings, three of whom were officially accompanied by their consorts; nine grand dukes; two archdukes; two dozen princes of the blood, among whom there were at least a half-dozen heirs apparent; princesses, grand-duchesses, dukes and duchesses by the score; all these were calculated to give Paris in particular, and France in general, an intoxicating idea of their Emperor's power. Did France dream at that moment that among those visitors some had come to spy the martial nakedness of the land, however carefully hidden behind a gorgeous array—an almost too georgeous array—of glinting cuirass and resplendent gold lace? Did one visitor in particular, as the French maintain till this day, have his cupidity aroused by the unmistakable evidences of material prosperity, in such curious contrast to the lack of power to guard that prosperity by force of arms? I cannot say. But here

is a story for the authenticity of which I will vouch, although the source from which it is drawn is not the usual one.

The King of Prussia, accompanied by Bismarck, Moltke, and others, arrived in Paris on June 5, 1866. The Elysée being occupied by his nephew, the Czar of Russia, King Wilhelm took up his quarters at the Prussian Embassy in the Rue de Lille.

On June 8 the Municipality gave a ball at the Hôtel de Ville in honor of the Imperial and Royal visitors, who as a matter of course were received by M. Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine. In shaking hands with Haussmann, King Wilhelm is reported to have said: "Monsieur le Préfet, I have not been in Paris since 1814. I find it very changed indeed." Next morning, Haussmann accompanied the King, Bismarck, and Moltke to the heights of Montmartre, where the whole of the city of Paris lies practically at one's feet. "That's where I was encamped in 1814, M. le Préfet," said the King, pointing in the direction of Romainville. "Yes, sire, but there's a fort there now," replied Haussmann.

This is the story in full. That those two sentences of the King would have been better left unsaid under the circumstances no one would care to deny; but to build upon them a theory of sudden, invincible cupidity or ambition which nothing would satisfy but the possession, if for ever so short a time, of the magnificent city that lay outspread at his feet, would be too extravagant. And yet, if such invincible cupidity or ambition had suddenly obtruded itself, where would have been the wonder? For years Napoleon III. had striven and plotted about that Rhine frontier, the inordinate desire for which on the part of the French had nearly led to a war twenty-seven years before Wilhelm of Prussia stood on the heights of Montmartre. Do the French imagine that Wilhelm's head was a sieve, that Jena, the humiliation of his father and mother by Napoleon I. had simply run through that head without leaving traces there? Do they imagine that Nicholas Becker wrote his *Hymne am Rhein* and Max Schneckenburger his *Wacht am Rhein* without provocation?

I myself am inclined to agree with the author who said, "The journey to France of Moltke and his royal master in 1867 was not a pleasure trip, but a downright military reconnaissance." This in itself would prove that the idea of a possible, nay, a probable war with France had suggested itself to the minds of

the three men who were mainly responsible for the issue of the struggle. I am confirmed in my belief by a scene I witnessed some seventy-two hours before King Wilhelm, Moltke, Bismarck, and Haussmann stood on the heights of Montmartre. It was at the review held in honor of the sovereigns at Longchamps on the 6th June. Thanks to my uncle's numerous friends in the army, we had two tickets; one had been given us by General Fleury, the other by the Emperor himself. We were placed on the enclosure right in front of the imperial stand, where the Empress, with her son by her side and surrounded by a brilliant suite, was seated. At two o'clock the Emperor, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, followed by their respective staffs, appeared on the ground. It would want a great word-painter to describe the spectacle, and I shall not attempt it. The Austrian and English officers in their white and scarlet uniforms closed the procession, and then about a score of yards behind them came a solitary figure, also in white and on horseback. He was riding very slowly, much slower than the rest, and seemed to scan every regiment as he passed it, as if to impress deeply on his memory its number, its numerical strength, its probable potentiality. "That's not an Austrian," said my uncle, who in spite of his strong field-glass was not able to distinguish very clearly. "I wonder who it is?" He had to repeat the latter part of his sentence, for I, too, was watching the figure closely. It was the second time I had seen it within a twelvemonth. The first time was on the evening of Friday, the 29th June, 1866, at a window in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin. At the very moment it appeared at that window, a clap of thunder rent the air and a flash of lightning made the sky lurid. "This is heaven's salvo in honor of our victory, boys," it exclaimed, its voice being distinctly heard above the roar of the crowd.

"I wonder who it is?" repeated my uncle, nudging me in the side with his elbow. "That," I answered; "that's Bismarck."

"—" remarked my uncle, lowering his glass for a second. He did not say another word for at least an hour, but I noticed that he kept watching the white figure.

"I wonder," he said very slowly on our way home, "whether the sixty thousand troops assembled to-day have hidden the nakedness behind them. Fleury averred that it only wanted half that

number. I wonder whether that white figure is to be hoodwinked in that way."

He scarcely spoke for the remainder of the day, but seemed lost in deep thought. The reader may remember that on his return from that review, Alexander II. was fired at by Berezowski, in the Bois de Boulogne. The bullet only struck the mouth of the horse of M. Raimbaux, the Empress's equerry, who was riding by the side of the Imperial carriage. The jury of the Seine made the would-be assassin a present of his life. It has been stated, not once, but a hundred times, in print that this act of clemency, perhaps, deprived France of Russia's alliance in 1870.

To those who knew Alexander II. best, the statement constitutes not only an insult to his memory, but is ridiculous besides. It marks the same train of thought that credited Wilhelm of Prussia with nothing but cupidity at the sight of Paris in all her glory.

But on that June 6th, and for two months afterwards, such thoughts found no crevice in the minds of the majority of Frenchmen. The intoxicating idea of their power as attested by the presence of all those exalted guests left no room for any other. I said the majority. My uncles were not French, and if they had been they would not have belonged to the majority.

On the evening of that day, when the papers came out with their glowing accounts, my younger grand-uncle, who, as I said, had scarcely opened his lips since our return home, quietly got up and walked to a bookcase, from which he took a Shakespeare. He slowly turned the leaves until he came to *Macbeth*. "That's the future quotation for the King of Prussia, Bismarck, and Moltke," he said. Then in an impressive voice he read the first line of the second scene of Act II.—"That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold."

He spoke no more that evening until he bade us "good night."

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR DUTY IN THE VENEZUELAN CRISIS.

BY REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH WHEELER, OF ALABAMA, AND REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, OF OHIO.

I.

THE expressions which have passed into history as the Monroe Doctrine were contained in the message which was delivered by President Monroe to the Eighteenth Congress, December 2, 1823. We were then a weak republic of about ten and one-half million people and at that time the nations of Europe were enjoying profound peace.

More than eight years had elapsed since the close of the terrific wars which had shaken that continent during the quarter of a century which preceded the battle of Waterloo. The European powers had reorganized and improved their military and naval establishments, strengthened their financial conditions, and were better prepared for war than at any former period. Great Britain, France, Spain, Denmark, and Holland were governments which took special pride and interest in extending and building up their American colonies. In addition to this the strongest nations of Europe had agreed to "lend one another on every occasion and in every place assistance, aid and support," and it was soon apparent that these nations intended the subjugation of the Spanish colonies in America.

It was in the face of this menacing attitude of powerful European nations that President Monroe announced "that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

He further declared: "That we should consider any attempt on

their part to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

If under such conditions this doctrine could be maintained by a comparatively weak power of ten million people, should it not be enforced in the strictest sense by the same nation which now contains a population of seventy millions, and has become the richest and most powerful sovereignty on earth. The American people have always abstained from any interference in the internal concerns of any European powers, but I believe they are practically unanimous that a nation like ours should maintain such a policy upon this hemisphere as is dictated by our best interests. To do less, would be at the sacrifice of our dignity and the loss of the respect of the nations of the earth.

Through her aggressive colonial policy England already possesses dependencies on this hemisphere which comprise territory containing 3,541,505 square miles, about equal to the entire area of the United States, and including numerous islands, some of which are within a few hours' sail of our shores. We have always carefully abstained from any interference with these possessions of Great Britain, but to allow that nation to extend her territory on this hemisphere, either by treaty, or purchase, or conquest, or by the insidious encroachments which have characterized her dealings with Venezuela, the people of the United States should resist with all the power they possess. England fully understands that the principles announced by Mr. Monroe have become a settled policy of the United States, and as such must be considered and accepted as principles of international law.

Venezuela, originally a dependency of Spain, was acquired by that nation by the right of discovery about the year 1499. A year later the Spanish explored the Delta of the Orinoco, and in 1531 extended their explorations up that river to the mouth of the Meta. This, by virtue of the rule laid down at that time and always acquiesced in by European nations, gave Spain an unquestioned title to this territory.

Many years later the Dutch established a settlement east of the Essequibo river, near the site of the present city of Georgetown. By the treaty of Munster in 1648 it was stipulated that Spain and Holland were to remain in possession of the territory then "in actual possession of each," and sixty-five years later Great Britain agreed to aid the Spaniards to recover their ancient

dominions in America, the treaty stating these to be the same as in the time of Charles II.

By the treaty of recognition by Spain the provinces were ceded by name to the new republic.

England's title to Dutch Guiana was derived in 1814 from the United Netherlands, the treaty simply designating them as the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, but in none of the treaties are the geographical boundaries designated. It is therefore clear that the dividing line must be that which was recognized as the boundary between the Spanish and Dutch settlements at the time they existed as such. This is all Venezuela has ever demanded, and for England to contend for more than this would be an attempt to violate the Monroe doctrine by the extension of European colonies in America.

Our government should, therefore, by a frank and manly communication, demand that England agree that arbitrators shall determine, by such evidence as can be produced, the boundary lines between the Spanish and Dutch colonies prior to the cession of 1814, by which England first acquired title.

If this request is not acceded to, it will show conclusively that England has decided to dispute the right of the United States to maintain the doctrine laid down by President Monroe in 1823. It will also prove that Great Britain has determined by force to extend her colonies in America, and we cannot be too prompt in meeting and resenting any such purpose. More than fifty years ago, Venezuela entered a most earnest remonstrance against encroachments then being made by England, and from that date that republic has been pleading for some conventional agreement, some plan of arbitration or some method of compromise. She has been answered by evasions and delays, during which England has gradually but steadily enlarged her pretensions, until now that nation claims the entire Orinoco Delta and twenty-nine miles of territory to the west of that river. To understand the importance of this claim, we must consider that the Orinoco floats the largest ships for four hundred miles, and many of its hundred tributaries are navigable far into the interior, so that the control of the mouth of the Orinoco carries with it almost a monopoly of the trade and commerce of nearly a third of the South American continent. Upon a question somewhat similar to the one now presented, President Polk recom-

mended the occupation of territory in Yucatan, declaring that "we would not consent to a transfer of this domain and sovereignty to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."

Our population at that time was about 20,000,000, and certainly a policy we then boldly asserted can now be firmly maintained. So far from receding from the strictest construction of the doctrine laid down by Monroe, my views are that the United States should extend its policy and look to the establishment of depots and naval stations around which American colonies would locate, sufficiently strong to encourage and protect our trade and commerce. England's success in extending her trade and commerce is largely due to her first establishing colonies or footholds in countries the trade of which she sought to secure. American toil now produces substantially 30 per cent. of the staple products of the world; we have but four per cent. of its population, and foreign trade has become an essential outlet for American products. The principle of the Monroe doctrine did very well in 1823.

President Polk advanced a step in 1848. We must take another step forward in 1895. I would deplore any action which would endanger our amicable relations with England, but we must realize that they are largely due to our allowing that nation a practical monopoly of the most valuable trade and commerce of the world, and Americans must understand that friction will certainly follow any material invasion of English markets by American products.

JOSEPH WHEELER.

II.

THE United States should plant itself immovably upon a just and intelligent definition of the Monroe doctrine in defining its attitude toward the Venezuelan situation. The position taken by our government at the time of the occupation of a part of Mexico by Maximilian, acting as the agent of the French Government, re-affirmed the Monroe doctrine in unmistakable terms, and our position was accepted as the true one by the nations of the world. But recently the course of our government has, upon several occasions, cast doubt and uncertainty over our probable

future attitude, and the time has now come when the United States should make clear and unmistakable the purpose to maintain the position taken in the Mexican case; or we should cease to discuss the subject and abandon the Monroe doctrine permanently, and give public notice thereof. To temporize is cowardice, to equivocate dishonor.

That England has violated the Monroe doctrine, or in other words, that England has done acts which challenged the opposition of the United States, is plain and undeniable. It may be said that she did not seize any territory at the time of her controversy with Nicaragua; that is, she did not attempt to acquire and annex Nicaraguan territory. But it is true that she committed acts of oppression, based upon a technical claim, and punished an inferior American Republic with brutality. The United States should have protested then and have demanded explanation and satisfaction. That we did not, has encouraged the subsequent aggressions in Venezuela.

The original declaration of the Monroe doctrine, as made on behalf of our government, contained this important statement: "But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." The levying of an unjust assessment is in the nature of blackmail upon a helpless State. The seizure of her ports by an armed force was an invasion of the principle of the Monroe doctrine, and it was weak and cowardly on the part of our government to submit to it without protest. The action of the United States amounted to a waiver of our position hitherto, and it may be well urged by Great Britain as amounting almost to an estoppel if we reassert the doctrine.

The proposition of England, as recently announced by Sir Julian Pauncefote that England will arbitrate the question of her right to territory which she admits she holds by doubtful tenure, but will refuse to arbitrate questions in regard to territory which she is pleased to say she holds by indisputable title, is a simple repudiation of all recognition of arbitration what-

ever, and it indicates the hypocrisy of the movement by which a member of the British Parliament paraded himself across the ocean and came to Congress in the last session with his arms full of petitions in favor of an international system of arbitration. We have lost standing among the nations of the earth by the course we have already taken, and in the failures already manifested, and we had infinitely better surrender all pretence of adherence to the Monroe doctrine and abandon the American Continent to the ravages of European aggression than to any longer pretend to uphold it and yet be guilty of the failures of the past two years.

Our attitude should be that of unflinching and unfaltering devotion to the principles and practices of this government hitherto, and in so doing we shall not bring war upon the United States; but we shall protect ourselves against war by securing respectful recognition of our national purpose by all the nations of the world.

At this time England seems to have special interest in South American affairs. Her efforts to secure trade belonging legitimately to her commercial rivals, have been supplemented by an interference in the Mosquito country which clearly manifests a disposition to control, if possible, the ownership of the great trans-Isthmus Canal. England should not be permitted to succeed in this scheme. The building and control of that gigantic artery of international commerce should be the dearest object of American statesmanship.

The attitude of the United States towards the Venezuelan question should be that of determined opposition to any movement of England, the result of which would impair or weaken our ancient declaration of support of the Monroe doctrine. Our construction of the scope of that doctrine should be proclaimed and adhered to. Once proclaimed, a faithful adherence to and recognition of our construction by the nations of the earth should be the conditions upon which alone friendly relations with us can be maintained.

CHARLES H. GROSVENOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A PRACTICAL USE OF VERSE.

THE impracticability of using telegraph lines for communication between Army Posts in a rugged country which was the seat of continual warfare between the United States troops and so cunning and daring a foe as hostile Indians, must be apparent to any layman; and taking a lesson from the enemy, who for ages had been skilful in long distance signalling through a line of stations, the government decided upon the experiment of sending messages by means of heliography, or the transmission of letters forming words by means of the flashes of light from mirrors.

Colonel Wm J. Volkmar, Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief Signal Officer of the Department of Arizona, was put in charge of this work and had occasion to congratulate himself upon the hearty support of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Brigadier General H. W. Greely, and the cheerful co-operation of the regimental officers.

On November 1, 1889, instructions were given to the officers commanding the various posts on the proposed line from Whipple Barracks, Ariz., to Fort Stanton, N. Mex., together with all branch stations, to prepare for the work. The result was that early in May, 1890, signals had been flashed and successfully read between all contiguous stations.

The total distance covered was 2,544 miles, and was taken from a table showing the stations occupied, their connections and minimum flash distances as estimated by horizontal projections measured by scale upon the map.

About 2,000 miles were operated connectedly during the two weeks' practice immediately following the completion of the lines.

During this practice all former records of communicating between two points by flash signal were broken.

On May 13 signals were successfully interchanged between Mts. Reno and Graham, Arizona, a distance of 125 miles. Lieutenant Wittenmeyer, Ninth Infantry, was in command of the former, and Lieutenant Dade, assisted by Lieutenant Peterson, both of Tenth Infantry, of the latter station. All were under the immediate direction of Captain Murray, Fourth Cavalry.

In referring to the remarkable and satisfactory results following the order of November 1, 1889, Colonel Volkmar says in his report of May 31, 1890: "To all the officers and operators praise is due for patient, untiring work in face of difficulties involving privations and hardship. The burning heat of the deserts, the cold and snow of lofty mountain tops, the painful daily climbing and descent of rugged peaks by stony trails taxing physical powers to the utmost, were all borne without complaint.

"Filled with zeal, each enthusiastic in performing his own part in what the Chief Signal Officer of the Army unreservedly styled 'the most comprehensive and best planned scheme of the kind ever devised,' the enterprise, skill, and daring of American Signal Officers, shown by this work, will command the admiration of soldiers everywhere."

General Greely, lately returned from his terrible experience in the Arctic region, manifested his deep interest in this enterprise by joining Colonel Volkmar at the seat of operations, Fort Bayard, N. M., and on May 10th a "through" test message was sent to Whipple Barracks, Ariz.; Fort Stanton, N. M.; and all intermediate and branch stations.

In preparing this message Volkmar was determined that the test should be a trying one—that words should not suggest their followers—and to this end concluded to send the message in verse.

Some lines occurred to him that he had read years before in the album of a lady visiting one of the official family of Gen. W. T. Sherman, and as the number of words was about the number desired, and a compliment to the Chief Signal Officer of the Army was happily implied, he called upon his memory and gave the message to the transmitter.

It consisted of 159 words, body of message, and 27 words address and signature, total 186 words. The report says:

"It was transmitted creditably, and at Whipple Barracks the copy received through seven repeating stations contained few, if any, more 'bulls' than would be found ordinarily in any message of such length and peculiar description transmitted by the public telegraph lines."

The verses are given here to show how carefully the message had to be transmitted and received in order to give such excellent results. They were written by Lieut. Thos. H. Stevens, of the United States Navy.

"The World's a mighty book upon whose pages
Each man is sternly bid to place his name,
And there, recorded through enduring ages,
We mark the loved and honored ones of fame.
Some touch with trembling hand the stylus fateful,
Some write invisibly in tears the word,
While those there be with spirits dark and hateful
Write small their names among the coward herd.
But, with a mighty purpose filled, the Chosen
Spurn idle pleasures back to idle hands,
And, striding swift through torrid zones or frozen,
Stamp high their names on peaks of distant lands.
And others come, godlike in conscious power,
Who with far-reaching eye see bright reward,
And eager rush to meet the slow-paced hour
In which to carve their names with naked sword.
And here, perchance, within this flexile cover
Where men have writ in ink, then passed away,
Time may recall as friend or reverent lover
Great names illumed by Glory's fadeless ray."

ROWAN STEVENS.

REGULATION OF THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

THE sale of liquor at retail is a subject that has been probably the cause of more legislation in the various states of the Union than any other. In some of them it is entirely prohibited by law under severe penalties, in most of them it is permitted under restrictions. As yet, no effort apparently has been made looking to any uniformity of the restrictions imposed, each State providing its own laws regardless of those of the others.

That the sale of liquor is virtually a necessity is shown by the fact that, no matter how stringent the laws may be, it has been impossible totally to

stop it in any of the States, the United States internal revenue returns showing the payment of licenses in States where the sale of liquor is absolutely forbidden by the State laws. It seems proper then, as the sale of liquor cannot be wholly suppressed, that the effort should be to regulate business in such manner that it will be satisfactory to the community wherein it is allowed.

The principal points about which the greatest difference of opinion appears to be are the amount of the license fee and the regulations regarding the same. The amount charged for a license, to be fair, should be so regulated that the charge would not be oppressive or exorbitant. It is well known that the profits of the liquor business depend largely on the locality wherein it is carried on; the license fee, therefore, should be somewhat in proportion. As to the regulations, under our present system of society, it is apparent that what would be proper in one locality might be considered unreasonable or tyrannical in another; in certain localities of some of our large cities it might be necessary to allow a privilege for selling all night; in some other localities it might be proper to allow a privilege, under certain requirements, for selling on Sunday, but in such cases it is only reasonable that the privilege extended should be paid for in accordance with the value thereof.

That the above propositions are not unreasonable and would meet with the approval of a large majority of the people seems evident, especially if they were embraced in a law which could be general and apply with equal force to villages, towns and cities.

Have a law passed making the license fee for selling liquor a moderate amount—for instance, $25 a year; let the law provide for a properly constituted authority for each village, town or city, such constituted authority to be a part of the governing power of each village, town or city, and to be styled a Board of Excise. The Board of Excise of each village, town or city should have the right to fix the number of licenses to be issued, and to establish the regulations regarding the sale of liquor in their several localities. The Board of Excise of each village, town or city should once a year district their several localities, and fix the number of licenses to be issued in each of the several districts, the number not to be increased during the ensuing year. At the same time the Board of Excise should establish such regulations as to the sale of liquor in the several districts of their respective localities as they may deem just and proper. There should be some provision in the law whereby the residents of the several districts might be entitled to a hearing before the number of licenses and the regulations pertaining thereto, for the several districts, were fixed. Immediately after settling the number of licenses and the regulations regarding the same, the Board of Excise should advertise for proposals for the privilege of securing a license, the license fee in all cases to be the same. Parties offering proposals should designate the location proposed in any district and the amount of bonus offered, which bonus must be paid on the procuring of the license, and the amount paid both for the license and the bonus should be turned into the treasury of the several villages, towns or cities.

Any party violating the regulations as formulated for the privilege which he may have procured, shall forfeit the license and cease to have any privilege for the sale of liquor, and no re-issue of any forfeited license shall be made until the beginning of the next year. The law should provide penalties for selling liquor without any license therefor.

In putting such a law into operation, it would be only just that for the first year as many licenses should be allowed as were in force in any district at that time, but the regulations should be made plain, and the law should provide for their strict enforcement, and in case of any violation the forfeiture of the license should be imperative. It is more than probable that at the expiration of the first year, there would be a large reduction in the number of licenses to be issued, for the simple reason that the strict enforcement of the regulations would in many cases remove the glamour that apparently surrounds the business of selling liquor in the estimation of so many of the community, and the business would have to be conducted in a more conservative manner than at present, and would tend to make the parties engaged in it better members of society.

The people of this country are naturally in favor of good order and willingly obey laws that are fair in their nature, and as the above ideas embrace the principles of Home Rule and high license, it might be possible to frame a law based on them that would be satisfactory to the general community.

FRANCIS GOTTSBERGER.

THE RULE OF THE MOTHER.

THE record of primitive man, whose evil propensities still survive in the brutal and lawless elements of society, shows how humble have been our social beginnings and how slowly the more delicate and beautiful relations of family life have been evolved. It would be ungracious, however, from our comparative elevation, to look down with contempt upon the representatives of our more lowly estate, for the gorilla who is depicted as patiently sitting, armed with a club, at the foot of the tree in which mother gorilla nurses her young, was perhaps the first in the series leading to man who held himself responsible for the safety of the family, and who inspired respect for parental authority.

There was a time when what seems to us the most definite of all human ties was the most shifting and imperfectly defined. In the first instance it was believed among primitive men that the child belonged to the tribe in general, secondly, to the mother only; thirdly, to its father and not to its mother; and finally, that it was related to both. This last recognized truth is the basis of the family in modern society, but so far as the spiritual life of the child is concerned the man holds himself far less responsible than the woman for its maintenance, or for the higher ideals connected with the home.

There are many reasons why this should be so. The natural forces at play in the organic world early conspired to subject women, by means of her sympathy for the child, to the reign of love and to the practice of the domestic virtues. On the other hand, the burden was thrown upon society, or perhaps more especially upon woman herself, of winning man by indirect means to this same theory of existence. It has been suggested that nature could not afford to leave the development of motherhood to chance. In the case of the father, however, her methods have been less insistent, and his evolution, in the highest sense of the word, has been a difficult and somewhat retarded task.

In addition to nature's carelessness, society also has neglected its opportunities for cultivating the theory of paternal responsibility. The Greeks

and Romans, by whose ideas modern society has been so largely dominated, taught that a man's duty to the state was the first and most urgent claim. Cicero said that the love owed by a citizen to his country was holier and more profound than that due by him to his nearest kinsman. The Roman father, it is true, maintained absolute control in the family, holding even the power of life and death over his children, as seen in the condemnation of his sons to death by Brutus, who sentenced them without judicial forms, and not as a consul, but as a father.

In modern times the patriotic sentiment has become largely qualified by other considerations. It is now believed that the state is of importance in proportion to its power to guarantee the security and promote the well-being of the family. This belief, however, has been only slowly attained, as well as many others essential to ethical progress. Even Plato struck at the root of paternal obligation in making the woman the property of the community rather than the faithful wife of one man. Furthermore, in the life of the Greeks, outside of the theoretic republic, we find that the legal guardian of the hearth was not well fitted to win a man to the higher motives of family life. Grote tells us that "owing to the almost Oriental seclusion, Greek wives, as a rule, were uncultivated, limited, dependent, and without charm." On the other hand, the freedom permitted the courtesan class was favorable to mental development as well as to the cultivation of social attractions; therefore these women became the companions the most sought after by men, and the ones who lent charm to life.

The modern ideal is to combine the integrity of the Greek wife with the varied attractions of the less restricted class. There can be no doubt that under these conditions there is a better outlook than ever before for the intelligent direction of the life of the child. There is, however, the risk that the new intellectual movement may cause women to forget that progress has not been due to the intellect alone. The emotions have played even a more important part than the intelligence in lifting mankind from the pit of animalism; and love and persuasion, rather than logic, must still be the principal agents in winning man from the "gladiatorial theory" of life, from his aberrant and centrifugal tendencies, to greater helpfulness in promoting the ideals of the home.

In America the tendency is to hold the mother responsible for the spiritual tone of the household. This unformulated theory has been pushed to so great an extreme that at length society is threatened with what has been designated a *matriarchate* or a return to that primitive state when the child was supposed to belong to the mother alone. Every teacher can bear testimony to the fact that the direction and oversight of the child's education are largely under the control of the mother. Even after the youth has entered college it is she who keeps in touch with his success or failure. Admirable as this interest may be, wife and child nevertheless suffer from the want of closer sympathy on the father's part in all that relates to the things of the spirit. Besides, however praiseworthy their intentions may be, mothers are not always the most judicious advisers. The father in many instances is an infinitely better guide; at any rate, his broad contacts with life and his natural force of character make him an ally that cannot safely be dispensed with.

All through the ages man has endeavored to dominate and impress his personality upon the world at large, until this form of activity has rendered irksome any more limited field of exertion. He has believed himself

compelled to sing to the wide world so persistently and copiously, in such resonant praise-eliciting accents, that he has become fascinated, not only with the public deed, but with the oratorical utterances he finds so pleasing to the collective ear. As a result of these outside allurements it is difficult for him to subdue his voice to individual and immediate teaching. Furthermore, it is hard to persuade the politician and the philanthropist that the reforms needed in the state are first needed in the home, and that solicitude about other people's progress might in a measure be spared if men were primarily solicitous about those immediately dependent upon them.

The transference of paternal responsibility to institutions, and more especially to the mother, shows that there is a widespread conviction on the part of fathers that, however it may be with other people's children, his own, at least, live by bread alone. Acting upon this belief he is generous beyond compare in supplying his family with physical luxuries. He is, however, far less lavish with his time and companionship. Indeed, he refuses to be bothered about such petty details as the formation of character, the discipline of the child, and the general conduct of the home. Even in the pursuit of his pleasures he often sets an example of independence which serves to strengthen in the average American household the proclivity shown by its members to fly off in a tangent. Like billiard balls they carrom against each other, are *pocketed* in the home for a season, and then start off on independent careers. As a disintegrating force a certain amount of quarreling is insignificant compared with this cultivated indifference and the state of mind which finds expression in the "do as you like" theory of family life.

The decline of paternal authority is widespread, but nowhere has there been so great an abandonment of control as in America. In compensation there is, however, a growing belief that "*Le pouvoir paternal est plutôt un devoir qu'un pouvoir.*" In recognition of this principle the cost and care of bringing up a child properly have become so great that there is an increasing sentiment in favor of small families, not only on the part of those who pride themselves upon their enlightened selfishness, but among conscientious people who realize the difficulties of bringing up a child in the way he should go. Save in agricultural communities, children seldom render any efficient service to their parents, and a young person adequately fitted for a profession, in most cases, has cost his parents and institutions of learning, not less than fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. This excessive tax upon the head of a household and upon the state suggests the possibility of mistaken zeal in inducing young people to abandon the field of manual labor.

The commercial theory of the division of labor is doubtless responsible for the withdrawal of the father from the concerns of the house; but this practice in the home as well as in the manufactory has been pushed to an extreme. It is an evil day in any civilization when other interests and duties are postponed to the making of money, and when wealth becomes the chief standard of success. Absorbed in the world of action, stimulated by its gains, and desirous of appearing successful in the eyes of his associates, it is easier for a man to pay bills and ask no questions, to give money rather than time or thought to the ways of the household.

Although there is much room for the improvement of the mother, she is, in a measure, constrained to the fulfilment of her duties. The means for evolving the perfected father are, however, more uncertain owing to the

existing impediments to the operation of *selection*. The greater number of eligible wifes among well-to-do people as compared with desirable husbands, so far reduces the range of choice that there is no guarantee that the noblest, strongest, or handsomest men will marry refined women. The difficulty here arises in part from the fact that men of this class, if poor, are apt to go into remote and uncultivated regions, and become the husbands of inferior women, while the rich often satisfy the claims of affection without incurring the obligations of the marriage tie. Thus the absence of healthy competition diminishes the chance of developing the best husbands and fathers.

Since the influence of woman for good does not appear to be in proportion to her numbers it is to be regretted that the birth rate does not show a greater proportion of males than is actually the case. The Jews, with whom there is a larger preponderance of males than any other race, are, according to Lecky, remarkable for their domestic virtues, and especially for the care of their children.

C. P. SELDEN.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXIX.

DECEMBER, 1895.

THE WORK OF THE NEXT CONGRESS.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE: AND REPRESENTATIVES THOMAS C. CATCHINGS, OF MISSISSIPPI; JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER, OF IOWA; GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK, OF NEW YORK; AND JOHN C. BELL, OF COLORADO.

I.

On the meeting of the new Congress it will be the duty of the President of the United States to make known what steps he has taken to comply with the resolution passed by the last Congress desiring him to urge upon the British Government a reference of the boundary controversy between British Guiana and Venezuela to arbitration. Should it appear that the suggestion, though promptly and earnestly made, has been rejected, and that, either by distinct avowal or by implication the United Kingdom has signified a purpose to occupy by force an extensive tract of land alleged by the republic of Venezuela to constitute a vital section of her territory, it will devolve on Congress to consider whether the Monroe Doctrine is defied by the course of Great Britain, and whether under all the circumstances the United States should enforce that doctrine by deed as well as word.

There are, clearly, several questions which ought to be separately looked at. First, do the arguments for the view of the Caracas government regarding the right line of demarcation between British Guiana and Venezuela present a *primâ facie* case

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so strong that in the judgment of onlookers the frontier ought to be defined, not by the arbitrary act of one of the parties to the controversy, but by an impartial international tribunal? Assuming that the reply to this preliminary inquiry is in the affirmative, shall we hold that by repelling arbitration in this matter, and by forcibly detaining a part of Venezuela's territory, England would ignore and set at naught the Monroe Doctrine? If to this question also the answer should be "Yes," we shall have to make up our mind, whether upon the whole, it is expedient to renounce the principles put forth by President Monroe, or whether the actual and prospective consequences of acquiescing in Venezuela's dismemberment are so serious that the firm upholding of those principles should not be left to diplomacy alone, but must, in the last resort, be secured by other means. Of merely secondary and negligible interest are the Yuruan incident and the ultimatum relating thereto, said to have been sent by Lord Salisbury to Caracas; for here the merits of the boundary controversy are manifestly involved, and if Venezuela's territorial claim is well-founded, she has done nothing for which reparation can be demanded.

I.

As regards the boundary controversy we scarcely need to say that Venezuela and Great Britain are respectively the representatives of Spain and Holland. The Caracas government claims all the land possessed by Spain east of the Orinoco in 1810, the date of the assertion of Venezuelan independence. The British Foreign Office claims all the land in that quarter which belonged to Holland in 1814, when "the settlements of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo" were ceded by the Dutch to England. The texts of the treaties and diplomatic agreements or admissions, from which the several rights of Spain and Holland may be ascertained, are accessible to every student of international relations. The first document in the case is the Treaty of Münster, by which in 1648 Spain and the United Provinces undertook to define their respective possessions on the north coast of South America. Some misunderstanding having arisen, the treaty between Spain and Holland, which was signed in 1691, stipulated that the Orinoco colonies should belong to the Spanish, and the Essequibo colonies to the Dutch. From the outset of her independent existence Venezuela has insisted, as she still insists, that

by the "Essequibo colonies" was meant the Dutch settlements on the Essequibo River, and that the boundary intended by the treaty of 1691 was the east bank of that waterway. The counter position originally taken by the British was that what was contemplated by the treaty just named was not the Essequibo River itself, but the entire watershed draining into it. Were the latter interpretation of the text sustained by arbitrators, Great Britain's possessions would receive a considerable extension westward, but the Essequibo watershed could not possibly stretch beyond the Maroco River, which also flows northward and into the Atlantic ocean, fifty miles to the west of the Essequibo. We should note further that, should an impartial tribunal declare that the term "Essequibo colonies" means the Essequibo watershed, a like interpretation would be applicable to another crucial phrase in the treaty of 1691, and by "Orinoco colonies" we should have to understand the Orinoco watershed. In that event England would be obviously constrained to abandon her present claim to Point Barima, which adjoins one mouth of the Orinoco, lying in fact between that river and one of its eastern affluents. From this preliminary stage the course of the boundary dispute has been outlined by the Hon. William L. Scruggs, formerly United States Minister to Caracas. He has shown that the so-called Schomburgk line, drawn in 1841, has no binding force on any one, because, first, the line was drawn without authority, concurrence or even knowledge on the part of Venezuela, and, secondly, eighteen months after the line had been run, Lord Aberdeen, then British Premier, distinctly disclaimed it, and ordered it obliterated by the Demerara colonial authorities. In addition to this disavowal of the Schomburgk line, Lord Aberdeen repeatedly assured the Venezuelan Minister in London that Great Britain had no thought of claiming or attempting to occupy Point Barima or any of the estuaries of the Orinoco, or even any portion of the coast west of the Maroco River. Amazing, indeed, is the difference between the position of Lord Aberdeen, who proposed a boundary line beginning at the mouth of the Maroco River, and the attitude now taken by the British Government which claims west of the Maroco a territory larger than England, and refuses to submit to arbitration any part thereof lying east of the obliterated Schomburgk line, which gives her Point

Barima at the mouth of the Orinoco and access to the gold fields of the interior.

But, it may be said, the title to domain may rest on other than documentary grounds. There is such a thing as rights gained by prescription. Is it not possible that in the region under dispute, which once at all events was a "No man's land," citizens of British Guiana may have acquired title through long occupation conjoined with an absence of protest on the part of Venezuela? There is no doubt that British colonists have gradually made settlements in parts of the debatable tract, but the other condition requisite for the acquisition of a prescriptive right has been wanting. Venezuela has never waived her claim to any part of the territory, which, as she holds, can be proved by documentary evidence to have been inherited by her from Spain. No such waiver could be legally made, for the Venezuelan constitution debars her government from alienating any portion of the national domain. Venezuela has always contended that the western boundary of the Dutch settlement of Essequibo, acquired by England in 1814, was the east bank of the Essequibo River. Not only has she never acquiesced in any encroachments of British subjects on the land west of that waterway, but she has incessantly protested against such encroachments. While the position of Venezuela, however, has been consistent and unwavering, that of England has been shifted, as earth hunger and reported discoveries of gold have impelled her Guiana subjects to push their frontier westward.

II.

In view of the facts recited, which are believed to be incontrovertible, it seems plain that Venezuela has a strong *primâ facie* case preëminently suited for arbitration, since it cannot be pretended in this instance that the outcome of an impartial interpretation of treaties and other diplomatic documents should be deemed neutralized by the upgrowth of prescriptive rights. We do not hesitate to say that the *primâ facie* case is stronger and more suitable for arbitration than was that of the United States in our controversy with England regarding the boundary of Oregon. Here we may point out that the British Foreign Office cannot consistently aver, as Sir Edward Grey averred not long ago, that "England cannot submit to arbitration her claim to

any territory which has been long occupied by British subjects." England can do this, because she has done it. We have the authority of George Bancroft for asserting that England no fewer than six times offered to submit to arbitration the question of the northwest boundary of the United States, although British subjects had long occupied part of the territory south of the Fifty-four Forty line claimed by our State Department. With this precedent before us, shall we be told that England has outgrown her liking for arbitration? How, then, are we to account for the presentation to the last Congress of a memorial signed by 354 members of the last Parliament, urging that an agreement should be made whereby all controversies between Great Britain and the United States should be referred to arbitrators? Is it strange that some persons should explain a glaring inconsistency on the theory that England's refusal to submit the Venezuela boundary dispute to arbitration is based, first, upon the consciousness of being in the wrong, and secondly, upon the knowledge that Venezuela is a weak power, which, it is assumed, can be plundered with impunity?

III.

Can Venezuela be plundered with impunity? Or is it rather the duty of the United States to interpose, and insist that the disputed boundary shall be defined by an impartial tribunal? Is that duty imposed on us by a logical deduction from the Monroe Doctrine? Taking the latter question first, let us recall for a moment what that doctrine is, as it was expressed by its propounder. The message sent to Congress by President Monroe on December 2, 1823, contained the following words: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." It is true that with the development of the United States into a power of the first magnitude and with the diffusion of parliamentary government on the other side of the Atlantic, the apprehension of danger to our free institutions from the contiguity of monarchical systems has in large measure disappeared. But that, outside of any terrors on their own account, the people of the United States conceive that they have special rights and

special duties in the two Americas, rights and duties which might be obstructed by the extension of European dominions within our sphere of influence, is explicitly declared in the ensuing words of the message of President Monroe: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, *we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*" It is the words which we have underscored that render unmistakable the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the Venezuela boundary dispute. Scarcely will any one, we fancy, argue that the forcible dismemberment of an American republic's territory is distinguishable from an attempt to subvert its liberties or to control its destiny. To an attempt to draw such a distinction Venezuela could reply that "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live;" and that, should England assume a commanding position at the mouth of the Orinoco, she would in the strictest sense control the destiny of the Venezuelan commonwealth; she would, in truth, have set her hand upon its throat. Much the same thing may be said of England's apparent determination to take possession of the remarkably extensive and rich auriferous deposits on the banks of the Yuruan River in the Venezuelan Territory of Uruary. The tremendous significance of the double wrong inflicted may be measured in a sentence. It is as if Great Britain during our civil war, making a vantage ground of proximity and believing us incapable of self-defence, had undertaken to rob us, on the one hand, of California, and, on the other, of the control of the Mississippi.

It seems, then, a logical deduction from the words of President Monroe, that we ought to defend Venezuela from arbitrary dismemberment by insisting on a reference of the boundary question to arbitration. Before inquiring, however, whether what is logical is also expedient, let us glance at two curious statements about the Monroe Doctrine which are occasionally heard from English writers and speakers on the subject. We are

told, in the first place, that the doctrine can have no application to England, because England was an established American power at the time it was promulgated. The argument evidently proves too much. Russia, France and Spain were all established American powers when the memorable message of President Monroe was written; yet these were the very powers most deeply interested in the reactionary projects of the Holy Alliance, against which the message was directed. *Reductio ad absurdum.* We are also now and then requested, with an air of irony, to name the authority on which the Monroe Doctrine has become incorporated in the law of nations. We have never met an American who imagined the doctrine to be a part of international law. The Monroe Doctrine, as Senator Lodge has pointed out in this REVIEW, is not a law but a fact. It is a deliberate and outspoken declaration of the principal American republic's policy or programme with reference to political conditions on the American Continent. It is a declaration which we have every jot as good a right to make as England has to announce her policy or programme touching the maintenance of her commercial preponderance in the Far East, or of her naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean, or regarding the partition of Africa, or concerning the Ottoman Empire. The Monroe Doctrine not being a law, Englishmen are under no legal obligation to obey it; but from the view-point of expediency and wisdom it may behoove them to consider whether they will treat the doctrine with contempt, just as it behooved Russia in 1878 to decide whether she would spurn England's Eastern programme and face the consequences, or would submit the treaty of San Stefano to a European Congress.

IV.

There remains only the inquiry whether in the situation presented by the Venezuela controversy it is worth our while to adhere stiffly to the Monroe Doctrine even at the risk of war, should Great Britain persist in withholding the boundary dispute from arbitration, or whether we should do better to abjure the doctrine altogether. One thing or the other we must make up our minds to do; and the precedent now to be established will be big with safety or with peril to many weak commonwealths in the New World. Let us mark not merely the actual and immediate but the ultimate consequences of our renouncing the principles formulated by Monroe, and of our leaving the

Caracas government at the mercy of British aggression. The first point to be noted is that there are five great river systems in the habitable part of the American Continent, namely, those of the St. Lawrence, of the Mississippi, of the Amazon, of La Plata, and of the Orinoco. Of these England already possesses one, that of the St. Lawrence; unless we now interpose to shield Venezuela from violent encroachment, a second, that of the Orinoco, will inevitably fall under British sway, and a great monarchical power may be built up in the southern half of this hemisphere, a counterpart of that already erected in British North America. We call the Dominion of Canada a monarchy, and unquestionably the term may be applied to it, as properly as to the United Kingdom. Only the name is lacking, and even that was forthcoming in the original draught of the British North America Act. We know on the authority of the chief author of that measure, Sir John Macdonald, that he proposed to call the new confederation a "kingdom," and to bestow upon the English sovereign the title of "Queen of Canada."

Even more wide and ominous than its bearing on the fate of the Orinoco basin is the scope of the question raised by the controversy touching the Venezuela boundary. A glance at the map will show that the same game of successive encroachments which is being played to-day at the cost of Venezuela may be practised to-morrow to the detriment of Brazil. On the south British Guiana is bounded with convenient vagueness by the Brazilian Republic, and the east fork of the Parima River, one of the most important northern members of the Amazon River system, takes its rise in British territory. If, under color of frontier disputes, which she refuses to refer to arbitrators, England is now allowed to deprive Venezuela of the Orinoco basin, what is to prevent her from depriving Brazil hereafter of the vast valley of the Amazon? Then, again, why should not a precedent, once established for South America, be followed in Central America as well? If, proceeding from Guiana as a basis, England is suffered to absorb a large part of Venezuela, why should she not, starting from the territory of Belize, manage gradually to swallow Honduras, Guatemala, and Yucatan?

V.

We add that, were it conceivable that the next Congress could repudiate the Monroe Doctrine and refuse to back Venezuela in

her boundary dispute, there is still one expedient to which in its extremity the Caracas government might have recourse. It would have but to follow the course actually taken by the republic of Texas, and subsequently proposed by Yucatan, the course, namely, of applying for admission to the American Union. The position of Venezuela, indeed, at this juncture is in many respects analogous to that which Texas occupied in 1845. The latter commonwealth, which then had been independent for eight years, was confronted by the harsh alternative of suffering the loss of its great river, the Rio Grande, and of much valuable territory, or of engaging, single-handed, in a hopeless war with the vastly preponderant power of Mexico. It shrewdly avoided impalement on either horn of the dilemma by becoming one of the United States. Venezuela has no present advantages to lose, and immense future advantages to gain, by following the Texan precedent. Within twenty-four hours after her admission to the Union she would witness a striking and gratifying change in the attitude of the British Foreign Office, which would show itself as eager to invoke a decision by impartial umpires concerning the Guiana frontier, as it did in the matter of the Oregon boundary controversy, when, as George Bancroft noted, it proposed arbitration no fewer than six times. In truth, the mere agitation in Venezuela of the question of annexation to the great American republic would in all likelihood bring the English government to terms. One of the last things that Englishmen desire is to have American citizens for neighbors of their lucrative possessions on the mainland of South America and in the Antilles. They are quite sufficiently worried by our proximity to Canada.

M. W. Hazeltine.

II.

If the Congress about to assemble reads aright the signs of the times, it will recognize its chief work to be such revision of our currency system as will relieve the Treasury of the tremendous and hurtful strain put upon it by the necessity of maintaining the current redemption of the greenbacks, amounting to $346,000,000, and the Treasury notes issued in the purchase of silver bullion under the requirements of the Sherman law, amounting to about $150,000,000. It is the judgment of the Secretary of

the Treasury, as it was of his predecessor, which judgment I am sure is concurred in by an overwhelming majority of all who have given thought to it, that our various forms of money cannot be kept at a parity except by the exchange of gold for these demand notes whenever it is asked for.

Inasmuch as the law requires them to be reissued as fast as they are received, their payment in gold when presented is in no just sense a redemption of them, so that the burden upon the Treasury is never lifted.

Except through taxes or the sale of its bonds, the government has no means of acquiring gold. The enactment of the Sherman law, under which about $50,000,000 of demand notes were required to be annually issued, excited apprehension that the obligations of the Treasury were likely to exceed its ability to maintain their current redemption, that we would be forced to a silver basis whereby the parity of our several forms of money would be destroyed, and that a disastrous collapse of credit would ensue.

Prior to that law so large a proportion of taxes was paid in gold that the Treasury had no difficulty in meeting the demands upon it, but thereafter gold payments began to fall off, and in less than three years ceased altogether. The government was thus compelled to choose between letting the collapse come, or replenishing its gold reserve by selling its bonds. The latter course was pursued with results of inestimable value to the country.

Apprehension has been allayed, it is true, but the state of the gold reserve continues to be a source of constant solicitude.

Exports of gold, no matter for what purpose, beget uneasiness necessarily harmful, and that may at any time develop a threatening condition. This is not through fear that the country may be denuded of its gold stock, for under given trade conditions, exports of gold have always occurred, and will always occur, so long as commerce between nations continues.

Under our system exporters of gold, more easily and economically than by any other method, can procure it from the Treasury by presenting these demand notes for redemption, and it is the apprehension, which will not down, that the day may come when such redemption cannot be made, that creates this solicitude.

It is insisted by some that the trouble does not indicate vice in our system, but that it arises wholly because of insufficient rev-

enue. The answer to this contention is obvious. The demand notes amount in round numbers to $500,000,000. So long as any considerable volume of them is outside of the Treasury, they can and will be used to withdraw whatever gold may be needed for export or otherwise. No revenue would suffice to remove the difficulty, unless ample enough to enable the Treasury to lay these notes aside as they are redeemed or otherwise come into its possession, and defray the expenses of government without paying them out again, for, if reissued, the necessity of providing for their current redemption would remain. Taxation adequate to produce revenue of such magnitude would be intolerable, to say nothing of the dangerous contraction of our circulation that would result. The evil is radical and so must the remedy be. Nothing will answer that does not take from the government the duty of issuing and redeeming demand notes intended to circulate as money. Provision should be made for the gradual retirement of these obligations, and the substitution of bank notes, and this can be safely done, with great advantage both to the government and the people. We have been so long accustomed to government issues that many have forgotten to what extent bank notes formerly figured in our currency. In 1861 very nearly one-half of our circulation consisted of State bank notes, and they continued in use until taxed out of existence in the interest of the National Banks. It would not be difficult for Congress to devise a scheme under which bank notes could be safely allowed to any extent required by the business of the people.

The tax on the issues of State banks should be repealed. The repeal, if deemed desirable, might be accompanied by such conditions as would satisfy the public that their notes would be safe and in all respects entitled to credit. The cost of government bonds is such as to practically preclude the possibility of any material enlargement of the circulation of National Banks. Indeed, they have already become little more than banks of discount and deposit. The National Banking laws might readily be remodeled so that all of their features that are so objectionable to many would be eliminated, and their monopolistic tendencies eradicated. This done, the capacity of National Banks to serve the people by supplying them with a sound and abundant currency would soon place them beyond the reach of criticism or complaint. The Republican party, being now in control of Con-

gress, is charged with the work of rescuing the country from the dangers threatened by existing currency conditions, and should it fail to do so, it will deserve and receive the severest condemnation.

It should rejoice at the opportunity now afforded it of performing this task, inasmuch as the grave evils to be remedied spring from unsound and ill-conceived laws improvidently, if not recklessly, imposed by them upon the people. Let them now "bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."

The gold reserve could then be abolished and the Treasury confined to the simple function of collecting and disbursing the revenues. When conditions required it, gold would still be exported, but the exporter would procure it as best he could, and the operation would neither disturb business nor excite comment.

The decision of the Supreme Court that so much of the Wilson bill as sought to lay a tax upon incomes is unconstitutional, has greatly curtailed the revenue contemplated by that law. It cannot as yet be definitely foretold whether or not that law, as it stands, will yield sufficient returns to meet the necessities of the government. So little time has elapsed since it was enacted, and during a considerable part of that time such business depression has prevailed, that no fair judgment can yet be formed of its efficiency. As conditions improve, and as the process of readjustment becomes more complete, it may reasonably be expected that it will yield greater revenue.

It would seem to be the part of wisdom to test it fully in this regard, and, if in the meantime the necessity for larger revenue should manifest itself, to make some temporary provision to supply it. Certainly the business of the country needs assurance that for the present the tariff will not be disturbed.

The question as to whether the government should construct or aid in the construction of the Nicaragua Canal will doubtless be pressed for consideration. Public sentiment has of late years been rapidly crystallizing into a profound conviction that the building of the Canal would in many ways greatly facilitate and advance our commercial interests, and it will not be satisfied unless the project shall receive fair and sympathetic consideration. The question is environed by many difficulties, but it is believed that they are all capable of removal.

The relations between the government and the Pacific rail-

roads ought to be adjusted in some way. The indebtedness of these roads to the government is great, and the time has arrived when Congress should determine definitely what steps, if any, can or should be taken to secure it. Many difficulties surround this matter also.

It is contended by some that the government should acquire these roads and operate them on its own account; by some that a compromise should be effected by which a definite sum should be accepted in final settlement of all claims; and by others that the indebtedness should be arranged so that through a long period of time it would be gradually paid in full.

At all events it would seem that a definite settlement of the controversy can no longer be safely postponed.

While it is scarcely probable that any serious quarrel with England will grow out of the Venezuelan dispute, yet if it is not in the meanwhile satisfactorily adjusted it may become necessary to cause inquiry to be made as to whether the situation calls for intervention by the United States.

It is quite likely that Congress will take occasion to reaffirm with emphasis our fixed determination to uphold under all circumstances the principle enunciated by the Monroe Doctrine.

It may also become necessary to take into consideration the situation in Cuba, with the view of determining what the duty of this government is in the premises.

The foregoing are the matters, aside from the regular work of Congress, that seem to be of the greatest importance.

T. C. CATCHINGS.

III.

THE Fifty-first House of Representatives showed what a united party is able to accomplish under intelligent leadership. The Fifty-third Congress, with a party management in both houses, broken by the rivalry of contentious factions, illustrated some of the infirmities of party government without party leadership. In the present condition of national affairs we have a Democratic President, a Republican House, and a Senate in which no party has a majority, and in which on important questions an influential section of each party appears ready to form a coalition against

sound policies. The average citizen is likely to look with suspicion on any proposition in which these three divisions of the legislative function are agreed. The House will experience great difficulty in giving effect to the policy put forward by the administration. A year ago, when the blind spent the winter leading the blind, the Scriptures were literally fulfilled in the fall of both into the ditch. In our present case, if the Secretary of the Treasury again comes forward with a little squad of eastern Democrats in charge of currency reform, we are apt to see the spectacle of the blind trying to lead persons who can see, and the result, so far as the House is concerned, is easy to predict. From the Republican point of view nothing is needed to restore normal business conditions except a full treasury, and a speedy return to favorable trade relations with the world. No possible system of currency can hold out long against a shortage of revenues and an increasing adverse trade balance. If the administration should come forward with some simple proposal to increase the revenue, and some obvious changes in the Act of 1894 looking to a larger patronage of home industries, the Republican party would meet the Secretary of the Treasury more than half way. If we may judge from experience there is little prospect of the present House offering a very hearty indorsement to the elaborate schemes of finance which appear to kindle the imagination of the Secretary. The integrity of his purpose, of course, is not questioned; but there is no extraordinary confidence in the Secretary's career as a popular leader, dealing with the intricate problems of finance. The obligation of the business community to the administration for saving us, albeit in an awkward, humiliating and costly way, from a total wreck of the public credit, incident to the Democratic management of our affairs since 1892, may be admitted. It is a curious commentary on our shifting human affairs, that the maintenance of the specie basis should have been committed to a statesman who declared in the House in 1878, that resumption itself was "a destructive scheme of the bullion dealers"; that the gold reserve has been administered and from time to time replenished, as a general asset of the Treasury, by the doubtful virtue of the act of 1875 through an official who in 1878 declared that it was "a special fund for a special purpose, the redemption and retirement of the legal tender currency," and that the coin collected under it "by the issue and sale of bonds

is dedicated to that one object"; that the same statesman who declared in 1878, that the dropping of the obsolete silver dollar from the list of our legal coins, was a "conspiracy against the human race" and the "most gigantic crime of this or any other age," should have become the confidential adviser of the President and the most active agent of the extreme enemies of silver; that the party leader, who in 1878 announced his purpose to pass one silver bill after another, over the executive veto, even if the House had to suspend its rules, to attach the obnoxious measures to the general appropriation bills, and to starve the government into submission to the free silver movement, should be called upon, as Secretary, to retrace the steps he had advised, and pull the Treasury out of the bottomless pit which his own followers had prepared for it. These things are adverted to not to disparage what the administration has done, but to indicate some of the grounds for Republican hesitation in following a leadership now grown somewhat arrogant and impatient with the slow movements of Congress. The Republican party, being solemnly convinced that the national safety requires Congress to retrace every recent step in the direction of free trade, and that no financial repose is possible without abundant revenues and an adequate protection of domestic industry, is not likely to spend its strength in the House trying to overthrow a system of banking and currency which for fifteen years before the election of 1892 gave the country neither trouble nor anxiety. It would undoubtedly be a good thing to rescue the Treasury from the hands of the gold exporters. It is a better thing to rescue the country from unfavorable business relations which require gold exports. This nation has grown accustomed to a statesmanship that is able to prevent the disease as well as to recognize and treat the symptoms. It would doubtless be a good thing to modify our banking laws, so as to encourage the issue of bank notes, and to otherwise enlarge the commercial usefulness of the National Banks. But nobody, with a history of the United States at hand, expects Congress, under Republican auspices, to join with Mr. Carlisle in a scheme of bank reform, the ultimate effect of which would be to bring back the half-forgotten promissory note factories of the last generation.

It might as well be understood now that whatever money we have in this country shall bear the image and superscription of

the nation of America, and not the mere authority of a State legislature. The American dollar must be as national as the American flag. In whatever the administration proposes, having honestly in view the credit and solvency of the Treasury, it will have the united assistance of the Republican party in Congress. It is not too much to hope that a law may be passed giving the Secretary the power to use the public credit to protect the reserve and to meet the current deficiencies of revenue. It is a national disgrace that the recent Treasury operations, not entirely creditable in themselves, should have been burdened by doubts and disputes as to their legal authority. No nation, which occasionally indulges in the luxury of a Democratic administration, should be without an emergency loan law on its statute books. It is likely to be needed only about once in a generation, but its enactment ought not to be neglected by this Congress. In addition to legislation for the orderly and economical use of the public credit, it is reasonable to expect Congress to provide for the immediate increase of revenue by such modifications of the Act of 1894 as will bring in money enough to pay the current expenses and have a little left over for the sake of the public comfort. Unless the spirit of party and of party faction has made Congress totally helpless, these remedies for an uneasy Treasury will be provided.

It is probable that a general disposition will be manifested in both Houses, not strictly within party lines, to give a substantial expression to the patriotic aspirations of the American people. In all our borders there is a noticeable revival of patriotism—a new sense of the size of the republic, the glory of the American flag, and the dignity of citizenship in the United States. These sentiments have been greatly stimulated by the failure, so far as the public is advised, of our State Department to deal in an influential way with the violation of American rights in distant countries, or to assert the traditions of our fathers in matters which concern the safety and territorial integrity of the struggling little Republics of Central and South America. It is not likely that a nation, which did not withhold its sympathy, more than seventy years ago, from the Greek revolutionists in their effort to cast off the despotism of Turkey, will now find itself entirely without a voice of neighborly good-will in behalf of the people of Cuba, now engaged in defending themselves against the government of Spain, even if the Secretary of

State publishes his proclamations of neutrality, warning the American people to do nothing, while the Attorney-General, following at an humble distance, in an official interview, exhorts them to say nothing. It must always be borne in mind that whatever is attempted by the Congress must be so obviously prudent and patriotic as to escape the rocks of partisan debate, for while the House of Representatives, through the historic public service of Thomas B. Reed, is now able to do what a majority of its members wish to do, the Senate is still at the mercy of the rudest parliamentary weapons of obstruction. The public can count with certainty on no legislative action to which any considerable group of Senators, in the enjoyment of a fair state of health, is really opposed. For that reason the Republican party, being in no position to put any scheme of partisan legislation entirely through, cannot be expected to spend the winter splashing in the water. On the other hand, except the current routine of legislation prepared by the Appropriation Committees, it is not certain that anything will be done. The net result of the election of 1894 is therefore not the enactment of new laws, in harmony with the principles of the Republican party, but rather the grateful sensation, now everywhere felt throughout the business community, that the opportunity of the Democratic party for mischief in national legislation is at an end.

J. P. Dolliver.

IV.

The failure of the Wilson-Gorman tariff act to supply the national government with sufficient revenue to meet current expenses is responsible for the principal problem which will be presented to the Fifty-fourth Congress.

Three issues of bonds, aggregating over $162,000,000, have been made during the past three years, nominally for the purpose of restoring the gold reserve but actually in order to supply the money required for pressing necessities of the Treasury. This cannot long be permitted to continue. Uncle Sam is not accustomed to running into debt in a time of profound peace. Indeed, such a contingency was so far from the thoughts of modern statesmen that no provision was ever made for it; and, instead of a short term emergency bond bearing a low rate of inter-

est, the Secretary of the Treasury has been forced to resort to antiquated laws and issue long term and high interest bonds. This position of the Treasury of the United States has been positively humiliating to the average American and has suggested the financial status that obtains at Madrid, Rome, Constantinople and other capitals of bankrupt European powers. Moreover, the history of the bond issue of 1895, when American capitalists were not permitted to bid and the bonds were turned ever *en bloc* to an Anglo-American syndicate, at an enormous profit to the coterie of Wall and Lombard Street bankers so fortunate as to be within the charmed circle, carried with it a suggestion of scandal, which should never again be permitted to attach to the operations of the Treasury of the United States.

Furthermore, the condition of the Treasury sustains intimate relations to the finances of the nation; and, by reason of the gold reserve being considered a portion of the Treasury's assets available for current expenditures, as well as for the one especial purpose for which it was established, every time the reserve has been impaired below the traditional hundred-million mark, apprehension regarding the ability of the government to maintain the interconvertibility of its different forms of money has been aroused, to the detriment of all business and industry.

How shall the present revenue laws be modified in order that the current deficit, which has amounted to about $130,000,000 during the past two years and four months, may be done away with and the government provided with sufficient revenue for current expenses? On that question, of course, the two great parties will divide; and, with a President committed to the tariff ideas which found at least partial expression in the Wilson-Gorman act, with a Senate of uncertain disposition, and with a House fresh from the people and containing an overwhelming majority of Republicans who believe in the American industrial system of protection for home wage-workers, producers and manufacturers, the outcome is uncertain. That the President will urge an increase in the internal revenue tax on beer and ale, if not on other articles which are now or were formerly objects of internal revenue taxation, seems to be accepted on all hands. In this manner he doubtless hopes to make good the loss of revenue which the Supreme Court's decision of unconstitutionality against the income tax provisions of the Wilson-Gorman act involved.

The preliminary estimates of the revenue which the proposed tax on income would have yielded were in the neighborhood of $30,000,000. The internal revenue derived from beer and ale taxation last year was approximately $31,000,000; and, as there is little reason to apprehend any material falling off in the consumption of beer and ale, by reason of the proposed increase in the internal revenue tax from $1 to $2 a barrel, probably the expectation of $30,000,000 additional revenue would prove to be well founded.

But, while the Democratic scheme of taxation justifies the proposed increase in the internal revenue tax on beer and ale, Republicans will unquestionably oppose it to the bitter end. They look upon internal revenue taxes as essentially "war taxes," to be reduced or repealed when the revenue emergency which called for their enactment has passed away. Both tariff duties and internal revenue taxes, which were levied by Republicans "for revenue only," have repeatedly been reduced or repealed, when the condition of the Treasury permitted such a reduction in taxation to be made. The pending session of Congress will not witness any departure on the part of Republicans from their historic policy. Undismayed by the result of the popular verdict of 1892, and the enactment of the Wilson-Gorman bill, in which the Democratic party has sought to reduce or repeal tariff duties and make good the resulting deficit in the revenues, by increasing the internal tax on whiskey and levying an internal revenue tax on incomes, the Republicans have steadfastly appealed to the people, in behalf of the American industrial system of protection; and the political results of 1895, no less than those of 1894, encourage them to the belief that the people condemn the Democratic tariff legislation of last year. As wool was the "bloody angle" at which the fight of last summer between protectionists and free-traders was the fiercest, and as the tariff reductionists held their position at that point, despite their retreat from free coal, free iron ore, and other advanced positions which they assumed to occupy, so the protectionists of the Republican House will doubtless seek to repair the damage inflicted on their lines, by restoring wool to the dutiable list.

Under the McKinley tariff act of 1890, without the income tax provision which the Democratic Congress and President sought to embody in the law of 1894, without the increase in the

beer and ale tax which the administration now proposes, and despite the reduction of $50,000,000 in the annual revenue which was brought about, the tariff duties and internal revenue taxes yielded sufficient money to meet the current expenses of the government. Republican statesmanship may be relied upon to convert the Wilson-Gorman law into an act which will at once provide sufficient protection for all American wage-workers, producers and manufacturers, and also supply the Treasury with a surplus rather than a deficit. Specific per cents are a matter of incidental importance. The Republican Ways and Means Committee of the House will frame a tariff measure, in harmony and consistency with the principles of the policy of protection, under which the American people prospered as never before in their history, from 1861 to 1893.

That a dead-lock on the tariff question will be precipitated seems altogether likely, if not inevitable. The President is a man of recognized obstinacy of opinion. However, he will have on his hands, during the coming winter, a Congress possessed of equally pronounced views and enjoying the advantage of coming fresh from the people, with positive instructions; and tariff duties, rather than increased internal revenue taxation of beer and ale, will be the plan by which Republicans will seek to relieve the pressing necessities of the Treasury. A presidential veto of the Republican tariff measure will have no other result than to transfer the fight for the restoration of the protective tariff, from the halls of Congress to the presidential and congressional campaign of 1896.

However, all men of conservative views seem agreed that the condition of the Treasury and the credit of the nation should not be imperilled by conflicting ideas regarding the principles which should be observed in levying tariff duties; and the amendment of existing laws, in a manner which will permit the Treasury Department to issue emergency bonds running for a brief period and bearing a low rate of interest, will doubtless meet the views of members who differ most radically on the tariff question.

That important financial legislation, other than this particular provision, will be forthcoming is altogether unlikely. The American people move with deliberation and care in matters of such moment. The congressional elections of 1894 and the State and local contests of 1895, so far as financial considerations

figured in political results, simply manifested popular hostility to the proposition that the mints of the United States should be opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1. That was the only definite and specific financial proposition which attracted popular attention. The election of an overwhelmingly Republican House of Representatives in 1894 dispelled the free silver menace, which had aroused apprehension both at home and and abroad regarding the stability of American finances. That was a positive advance and a pronounced gain to the cause of sound and honest money. But every attempt at affirmative legislation of a financial character in the present Congress is bound to arouse a multiplicity of conflicting views, probably with the net result that beyond the formulation of various measures designed to reform the existing currency system and their extended advocacy nothing will be accomplished.

However, it should be borne in mind, in this connection, that from the day of the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879, as long as the tariff duties and internal revenue taxes yielded sufficient revenue for Treasury purposes—indeed, until the time of Democracy's advent to power at Washington in March, 1893, the panic which followed and the Wilson-Gorman tariff act—the existing financial system worked acceptably and well. A deficit in revenue and an impairment of the gold reserve, along with many disturbing influences in financial, commercial and industrial circles, were required to reveal the defects and weaknesses in the system. These have unquestionably influenced popular sentiment in demanding an improvement which will meet recent conditions and requirements. Conservative opinion, it will probably be discovered, will favor making haste slowly in this matter. Financial legislation, on the eve of a presidential election and in the absence of any crystallization of sentiment and purpose, would hardly be of a desirable character. Gold monometallism, international bimetallism, and independent action in the direction of free silver coinage represent only the general positions and not the subdivisions of financial views, which will find expression in the present Congress.

That the Republican House of Representatives will respond to party sentiment in favor of extending all proper and permissible encouragement to the struggling patriots of Cuba, and,

likewise, in favor of the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine wherever on the American Continent foreign encroachment shall seek to infringe it, goes without saying.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, barring sensational developments in other directions, the present House will be the battle-ground where the great questions of tariff and finance will be the issues, pending the time when the contest shall be transferred to the vast field where the Presidential and Congressional struggle of 1896 will be fought and determined.

GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK.

V.

THERE will probably be a marked difference between what the next Congress will do and what the great mass of the people think it should do. The producing portion of the nation who feed, clothe and house the race, think that some of their long neglected natural rights should be declared and enforced, but no heed will be given to their convictions.

The floating signs indicate that a few bombastic assumptions of patriotism and a liberal number of Congressional bluffs at the gathering war clouds, with a profuse abuse of the State Department and the President, will usher in the session. The two great parties will play the role of King Lear's elder daughters in outvieing each other in protestations of loyalty. Their final conduct will prove that such declarations were but harmless peals of the political gong. All the necessary declarations of belligerency will be unanimously adopted, the Monroe Doctrine will be re-declared with great acclamation, and much indignation will be expressed for the neglected past. Many other such pleasing matters will be attended to promptly that will not materially affect the industrial or business condition of the country.

As long as the people can be contented with empty shadows, the substance of things will be handed over to that class which will accept nothing less than the substance of things. It is generally conceded that a Congress has been secured thoroughly imbued with the prevailing economic ideas of the New England and Middle States. This assures such an organization of the House Committees that no financial legislation can emanate from the

Finance or Banking Committee not of the "sound money" type, no tariff measure or provision to increase the revenue of the government can emerge from the Ways and Means Committee except of the high tariff order, and the organization of the Commitees on Territories will be such that no recognition of the claims of Statehood of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma will be countenanced, and a like eastern policy will be pursued throughout all of the committees.

This will be unfortunate for the country at large, as it will evince conclusively the intense sectionalism of these States from which comes a general flow of the loudest deprecations of any indication of sectionalism. To maintain the homogeneity of the people of a great country every thought and act of the representatives in Congress should be as broad as the country itself, but human nature seems to be too weak to reach this standard.

The Nicaragua Canal should be built, if the ownershi or complete control can be secured and maintained b the government. We cannot afford to subsidize any private corporation and open the doors for a repetition of the Pacific railroad frauds and national scandals.

The lien on the Pacific roads should be foreclosed at once, the government own the roads, if need be, and operate or lease them in the interest of the people. The nation cannot afford to keep this vile book of public scandal and private disgrace open before the people longer, even if its soiled lids must be closed at a loss to the government.

The real contest in the coming Congress will be the determined effort which the administration will make to retire the greenback, and increase the interest-bearing debt and the bankers' profits and privileges. On one side of this issue will be found the administration and the representatives of the great money centres of the country without regard to political affiliations. On the other side will be the great body of the non-interest-drawing but great interest-paying portion of the people.

The results of every evolution of our greenback and bonded systems have been so beneficial to the professional banker and dealers in ready money and government securities, that the people at large have logically concluded that our financial operations since the Rebellion have not been based upon broad, unselfish, patriotic statesmanship and have not been for the greatest good

to the greatest number, but have been rather built up by a narrow, selfish line of specialists who so handle money and securities as to make the largest possible private gains at the expense of the public ; the government thereby becoming financially subordinate to and dependent upon the private capitalists for its financial life and liberty.

The unprecedented number of great fortunes accumulated by bankers and dealers in ready money and securities during the past thirty years demands of the representatives of the people a critical investigation of the methods used in reaching the difference gradations leading up to our unfortunate financial condition.

The greenback system originated in and passed the House, providing for a full legal tender paper money. The Senate so amended the bill that it was not a legal tender for the interest on the public debt, or receivable for import duties. I will offer in evidence, as showing for whose benefit this amendment was made, a few lines of a speech of Thaddeus Stevens in the House, February 20, 1862, and like speeches were made by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Morton and many others. He says : "I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of people throughout this Union, except one." He declared that the people generally approved the bill as it passed the House, but that "there was a doleful sound came up from caverns of the bullion brokers, and of salons of the associated banks" that caused the Senate to so amend the bill as to "make two kinds of money : one for banks and brokers and one for the people." The passage of this bill made a forced market for the coin of the capitalist; he ran it to a premium, bought up the greenbacks at an average of sixty odd cents on the dollar, secured an act of Congress permitting him to exchange them for interest-bearing bonds at par, and obtained the passage of the national banking act built upon the bonded debt—all of which soon brought his government bonds to a premium.

The interest only of the bonds was made payable in coin; the principal was payable in any kind of legal tender money. The bank journals, the sympathizing public press and the bondholders soon started an outcry, in the name of patriotism and the public credit, that the principal of the bond ought to be paid in coin.

The National Republican Convention of 1868 resolved, among many other things : "That we denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime ; and the national honor requires the payment of the national debt in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but according to the spirit of the contract." In the subsequent Congresses the Republicans declared the "spirit of the contract" with the bondholder meant coin, but they could find no such spirit in the agreements with the soldier or everyday citizen. They soon passed a bill making all bonds payable in coin of the standard value of July 17th, 1870. In 1873 Congress demonetized silver, and the bondholder then contended that his bond was payable in gold. To settle this, Congress passed a joint resolution in 1877, declaring all obligations of the government payable in gold or silver at the option of the government.

Then the so-called "Honest Money League" appealed to the Secretary of the Treasury, in the name of the public credit, to reverse the universal law of tender, and to allow the creditor to choose the kind of money he would accept. His request was readily granted, which took away the legal tender quality of our coined silver when payments were to be made on a bond or bill, and voluntarily destroyed the right to pay in silver as provided in the Act of 1870. This last act of the Secretary of the Treasury, allowing the creditor to choose the kind of money he would accept on a bond or greenback, is the pith, bone and sinew of every trouble or annoyance that the Treasury Department has had with the gold reserve or with the greenback. This supposed malady can be removed by simply going back to the correct principle and paying all public obligations in any kind of legal tender money that is most convenient to the government. The correct principle is followed in France, and in all other governments having more than one kind of legal tender money, with a perfect success. It does seem that for the past quarter of a century financial legerdemain, that has greatly enriched the money dealer and impoverished and humiliated the government, has taken the place of good governmental financiering. Party platforms and political convictions of public men have become as "erratic as the phantasm of a morning dream."

With a Democratic administration advocating a single gold standard and an unbridled bank currency in the face of the

teachings of the party for nearly a century, viz: "We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes . . . because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency," and with the great Republican party entrenched in Congress advocating the same ruinous doctrine in the face of the teachings of the patriotic Lincoln who largely enunciated the original principles of the party, and who unerringly taught that "if a government contracts a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracts the money volume before the debt is paid, it is the most heinous crime a nation can commit against a people"—we can rely upon no past by which we can safely judge the future. However, it is to be hoped that something better than present indications portend may emerge from the chaotic elements that constitute this Congress. As the great heads of the lamb and the lion seem inclined to lie down together in harmony and in a new lair, it may be fondly hoped that, with the aid of the people and an enlightened press, the usual bombast and political claptrap in the sessions preceding the presidential elections may be eliminated, and as healthy a stimulus given to business as existing conditions will permit during the presidential canvass and election. The people out of Congress should by a forced, healthy business sentiment forestall any depression of business at the beckoning of any line of politicians or in the interest of any political combination. The crowning curse of the nation is traceable to the unbridled tread of the mere politician. With all of the confusing shuffling of the age, let the people forge to the front and direct the destiny of the succeeding years in the interest of industry instead of in the interest of the professional politicians.

JOHN C. BELL.

CRANKS AND CRAZES.

BY MRS. LYNN LINTON.

IMAGINATION is by far the strongest faculty of the human mind; and the world which each man makes for himself is more real than the things of time and sense. Hence, society has never wanted for cranks to whom black is white and the pyramid rests on its apex; and crazes, able to attract their thousands, have ever run like wild-fire through the land. We see this in the very beginnings of society, when man first endeavors to frame a theory of the universe and his relations with the unseen. In the Obi-man and the witch-finder of the savage; in his elaborate system of taboo and his fear of, because his belief in, ghosts; in his impressibility by dreams, and his idea that what is simply the automatic action of the brain is a real thing, an objective drama wherein his errant soul plays the part of audience; in his religion and his beliefs—this faculty of the imagination with the primitive man is supreme: and, working upward from him, so do we find it everywhere, graduated according to education or ignorance, strength of mind or feebleness of wit.

To reason with a crank is to carry water in a sieve. He is incapable of reasoning on any subject whatever. He has "realized" this or that, and when he has once done this, though change, with its consequent sanity, may come, it is not very likely that it will. The kink in the brain which has produced this condition of thought is more likely to be permanent than transient; and the crank with a theory, the crank with a faith unprovable by evidence, or one with personal ambition, a personal grievance or a "mission" self-evolved, is to all intents a lunatic and may be a dangerous one into the bargain. History shows this, from Ravaillac's time and before; and more than the one crime of burning the Temple of Diana has been committed by madmen as

crazily desirous of perpetuating their names as was ever that infamous Ephesian. Not so many years ago, indeed, a young fellow committed a barbarous murder, with the avowed desire of "making all England ring with his name"—this being his idea of glory and renown. Perfect mental sanity is just the hardest thing to find among men. Genius, wit, imagination, and all the intellectual faculties cultivated to the highest point, these we can find without the need of a lanthorn; but that exact mental equilibrium, that flawless self-possession, which is mental sanity—here we are like those who seek for a buried treasure, which exists, but where?

What is true of individual cranks, is true of more widely dispersed crazes. Of these each age has its special portion. Now it is the Crusades and now the discovery of the North Pole. Now it is the end of the world as prophesied by Solomon Eagle and Dr. Cumming, and now it is the Millennium which is to come with to-morrow's sun, when no eagle shall pounce on any leveret, no owl shall go a-mousing o' nights, no man shall die, and no tillage shall be necessary for the full vintage of the rich harvest. This belief in the Millennium has long been a favorite craze with many. It is on a par with that reappearance of popular leaders and heroes, which consoled the desolate adherents when death claimed his tribute and the Great Charles, like Frederic Barbarossa and our own King Arthur, *inter alia*, died the death of ordinary men to be resuscitated as the elect, when their night had passed and their day had dawned again. How those who believe in this blissful state of universal peace and joy and deathlessness and the union of lions and lambs can reconcile this dream with the stern facts of life as we know it; how they can believe that this shifting phantasmagoria, where all old things are being forever ground up into new, can become as stable and unchanging as a Heaven of brass and an earth of iron; how they can believe in the universal suspension of all activities, all changes—seems to those not influenced by that craze one of the most extraordinary delusions of Hope which Imagination ever wrought. But many do so believe it—in the rough—as a sketch. They do not care to go into details and to work out for themselves the problem of this universal suspension—this unchanging stability of condition. They leave that to the Great God who is to arrange it all, and have no doubt but that He can so order all things as to make that life which is

essentially fluid, shifting, and incessantly reproductive, as fixed and unchangeable as a crystal imbedded in a rock. That is, Law has no meaning for them, experience no lessons, and the miraculous is the only certainty.

Theosophy and all the phenomena of spiritualism follow on the same line. Their very impossibility feeds the craze ; and *credo quia impossibile* is the motto of the sect. That a set of unknown men living in the obscure valleys of Thibet and calling themselves Mahatmas, should be able to set all the laws of nature at defiance has a fascination for some which they are unable to resist. These, the Masters of Nature, are, according to some, the makers of storms and tempests and the creators of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. They are the managers who pull the strings, and the Forces of Nature are the marionettes they make dance as they list. They have conquered the difficulty of solids passing through solids, and have annihilated time and space. Their letters written on purchasable Indian writing paper—whereof "Madame" had a large store—can fly unseen from Thibet to London where they fall from the ceiling into the lap of the high priestess. They themselves appear to their believers in the gloaming, and weave turbans of nice fine Manchester cloth out of the viewless air. They live to a fabulous old age, retaining their comparative youth and good looks to the last, so that a sage of ninety looks like a handsome man of forty, and one at sixty has the flesh and skin of twenty-five or thirty. To this add the doctrine of re-incarnation, which, as with the elephant that stands on the tortoise, removes by one stage the mystery of a living soul or ever the body took shape for its habitation.

Add, too, the belief that a man can evolve out of his own body a materialized spirit which, first appearing as a nebulous mass, gradually takes the form and substance of a concrete human being who walks about the room, talks in English, sometimes of a doubtful kind, takes your hand in his—and his is as warm and substantial as your own—and finally sinks to the floor and dissolves once more into nebulosity and nothingness.

These are among the crazes which sane people believe—these, with colloquies and revelations from ghosts, and communications from spirits who can give you a world of unprovable information, but who were baffled by the mystery of Jack the Ripper, and, able to see what is passing in a private house in India, are unable

to read the number of that bank-note within a securely fastened envelope.

The craze of spiritualism, in its last developments, is perhaps one of the most astounding instances of human superstition known to us. The auguries drawn from the sacred chickens and the flight of birds, dear to the Romans, were strange enough; but that sane, wise, learned men should suffer themselves to be tricked by a few artful ventriloquists and one-trick conjurers is something that strikes those who do not share this belief as the only marvel of the thing.

This proneness to accept superstition and fancies for proved facts is as old as human nature, and has been one of the most fruitful of all the harvests reaped by the astute and unscrupulous in the garths of the credulous and imaginative. It is not a thing of to-day, nor of England only. It is older than the Eleusinian mysteries, than the serpent rods of the Egyptian sorcerers, than the advent of Oannes or the peopling of the world by dragon's teeth. It is a craze as persistent as thought, and will ever be, while we are ignorant of our true relations with the universe. For it is the outcome of spiritual desire, the embodied expression of that stretching out of our hands towards the Unknown—of that fruitless endeavor to grasp the truth which eludes us, that makes half the charm and half the pathos of thought. It is a craze all the same, and when carried to excess it is as dangerous as it is humiliating and fallacious.

Certain modern crazes fall far below this in what may be called the poetry of delusion—the dignity of hallucination—though one, at least, has an aura of nobleness, which, in some instances, redeems it from rank mischief. We mean the modern craze for missionary work in unlikely and unsympathetic countries, where the lives of the missionaries are in danger, where the converts they make are, for the most part, unredeemed scoundrels, and where the civilization of the people is older and more compact than our own, better suited to the needs of the people, and of the kind wherein morality, customs and religion are all as closely and inextricably intertwined as the fibres of a plant. Separate them and you destroy the whole structure. But this argument has no effect on those whose craze it is to carry the Bible into the far East and so turn bad Buddhists into worse Christians. Nor does it give them pause that by their rash action—self-sacrificing if

you will, but none the less impertinent and meddlesome—they may create a war among the nations wherein thousands on thousands will be sacrificed. The missionary craze has no respect for ultimates, beyond that doubtful gain of inducing a Chinaman to repeat the Apostles' creed instead of chin-chinning Joss—of substituting for the Brahmin's belief in the genesis of man from the body of the god, the story of the clay figure and the abstracted rib. For all the misery and murder that may follow his tampering with established faiths—for all the unsatisfactory nature of the conversions he may make—he goes on in the old path, and shuts his eyes to the evil he so diligently effects. He is impelled by the craze of interference, and reason is as a dumb dog while he careers over the ground mounted on the hippogriff of an impracticable and a mischievous enthusiasm.

The same kind of craze makes people take up any extraneous cause, whether they understand it in its entirety or not. The love of acting Providence is so great with some! Now we must trounce the Unspeakable Turk for his dealings with his Christian subjects; and not the biggest duck that flies about the world of rumor is too big for us to swallow. We do not stop to inquire before we condemn, and while the sager and cooler among us would hesitate before taking action on an *ex parte* statement, not sifted to the bottom, the cranks for the sake of humanity, and those who are crazy to be as a potent Providence sailing over the seas in ironclads, insist on an instant and unanswerable demonstration—on the thrusting of the hand, wrist-deep, into the pie with which they and we have no concern. That valuable doctrine of letting alone has no meaning for those cranks eager to mind everybody's business but their own; and that significant clock will certainly never be given to the English-speaking peoples while they are so intent on playing Providence and following in the footsteps of Don Quixote.

Going still a step lower, what queer crazes take possession of the public taste! Take cycling as an example. Walking, riding, skating, and dancing we can understand as fit exercise for the vigorous and young; driving is precious to the indolent and the delicate; but cycling seems to be such a doubtful kind of amusement—such a queer cross between the treadmill and the tight-rope—demanding such a constant strain of attention to keep your balance, with such a monotonous and restricted action

of the limbs as to render it a work of penance rather than of pleasure. To be sure there is the enjoyment of rapid motion through the air; and there must be something in the very lightness of the machine, the very exiguity of seat and tackle which creates a charm. But to the uninitiated the craze which has swept over England seems inconceivable; and, as a substitute for the horse and the carriage and one's own two feet, these uninitiated place the bicycle nowhere. It is invaluable as a cheap mode of locomotion for those who cannot afford to keep a horse and who want to go further afield than their own walking powers will take them; but for those who can afford horses and carriages and Pullman cars and all the rest of it, a wheeled treadmill seems but a queer kind of vehicle, and its popularity counts among the things which no fellow can understand. And those crazy cycling tours around the world, how mad they are! about as mad as the champion globe-trotter who flies through every country at express speed; as the man who undertakes to wheel his wife in a wheel barrow from the Land's End to John o'Groat's; as the man who goes over Niagara Falls in a barrel; or he who crosses the Atlantic in an open boat with only a dog for his mate.

A craze, too, when it broke out, was the sudden *engouement* for coster songs, which nothing but the genius of Chevalier excused, and which, without him, were detestable. A craze that had its graver side was the effeminate young man's passion for bric-à-brac, the worship of sunflowers and lilies, and the desire to live up to his blue china. He was a weak and puny creature when he began; when he culminated in the Yellow Book and certain illustrations he was something worse. That, too, is a craze like any other; and the sudden, the un-English apotheosis of licentious literature and art counts as one of the most extraordinary, as well as regrettable, outbreaks of modern times. And as everything has its shadow, and the swing of the pendulum to the left is in exact ratio with that of its swing to the right, the Yellow Book and all its congeners have fostered, if not produced, the corresponding craze of Prurient Prudery, when again that haunting desire to put their fingers, unasked, into pies not belonging to them, makes intermeddling cranks of honest citizens, and brings virtue into disrepute because of the unloveliness of its advocates.

Cheapness comes into the category of modern crazes—cheap things however produced—cheapness got by the sweating of the

hands and the poorness of the material, by tears and starvation here, by disappointment and untrustworthiness there. But it is a craze, and we have to go through with it. Its offset and its origin—at once cause and effect—is the craze for those huge emporia which eat up the small private tradesman in the locality even as the Lamb of the Steppes eats up all the herbage round its fatal growth. It would be interesting, instructive, and tragical, to learn how many bankrupts and how many broken-hearts and ruined lives have been made by these huge emporia—how many "hands" have been driven to suicide or to drink by sheer despair of ill-paid work and indecent poverty joined with crushing toil—how many honest workmen have been thrown on the rates because of unemployment, while Germany, France and Switzerland send their cheaper products by the shipload, and the public greedily buys for a shilling an inferior thing made abroad for which, if English, they would pay perhaps fourteen pence. The odd twopence goes in the way of rates and charities; but this is a calculation beyond the power of the craze-afflicted, and the round of wrong goes on without a break in its vicious circle.

A craze that has got to bear its ultimate fruit is our modern high-class education for the working classes, those who have to gain their bread by their handiwork and to whom, therefore, specialized and technical instruction would seem to be more necessary than generalized and purely intellectual. A lad destined to be a carpenter would surely do better if taught to handle his tools betimes and instructed in the mysteries of rabbeting and mortising, of dovetailing and planing, rather than in the details of osteology or the curiosities of botany. And a girl who has to be a cook might be taught how to boil potatoes, with greater advantage to her future, than how to play the piano or to sing in part songs. On this craze, however, it becomes us to keep a discreet silence. It is idle to prophesy, and until we see the results we cannot be sure that the thing is for good or evil.

It may raise the whole nation into a higher level, keeping the relative gradations intact; or it may throw the whole thing out of gear and into confusion, and produce a time of social chaos, destructive of all growth and good. *Quien sabe?* On the knees of the gods lies the answer to the question, and there we must leave it till Time and the Future unfold it.

E. Lynn Linton.

THE LAST GIFT OF THE CENTURY.

BY N. S. SHALER.

ONE of the most curious consequences arising from the ten fingers of man is the decimal system of notation. From this, among many other things, has arisen the division of the historic ages into centuries. At first these periods of one hundred years had no other estimation among the masses than that which came from their convenience. The passage from one of these epochs to another was practically unnoticed, but in our times the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth of these spans is awaited with a remarkable emotional as well as intellectual interest. Even among the masses of our folk we find all intelligent persons looking back over the triumphs of their time with satisfaction, and forward with much expectation to the gains which they and their successors may hope to win in the next great division of the years.

This sympathetic absorption in the affairs of their kind is indeed the greatest and the most widespread of all the triumphs which civilized man has won from his experience in the century which is passing away. There is fortunately an excellent foundation for all the gratulation and hope which men may be minded to seek in the onward march of the world during the last three generations. In this period the winnings in the moral and physical fields of social development may be well set against the thousand years which came before. The abolition of slavery, the establishment, in a great variety of forms, of personal liberty, the extension of the comity of nations, as well as the vast and swiftly extending march of invention and discovery in the material realm, justify the pride of those who have had a share in the great accomplishment, and warrant the fervid anticipation of the future which animates the millions on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is evident that the civilized world, through the review and forecast which the end of this nineteenth century has enforced, is rapidly entering upon a state of sympathetic exaltation, the like of which has not been known since the end of the first thousand years, when all Europe awaited the millennium as the time when the earth was to pass away. In that old day it was despair; in this it is an inspiring desire to achieve. Such psychological moments are the rarest things of the world; they afford to the true philanthropist the precious occasions to contrive for the effective advance of man. Properly used, this critical period may afford the occasion for remedying the greatest of all human ills, which has been left untouched by all the benefits which our age has won. This evil is war.

The historian of the nineteenth century will need to look closely if he is to understand the conditions which led to such momentous gains as it has achieved, while they left the greatest and most senseless of human ills quite without relief. It is likely that the explanation of this surprising state is to be found in the slow extinction of the ancient and therefore abiding prejudices which separate the races, the nations, the tongues, and the creeds; in the prepossessions and interests arising from the maintenance of military castes; and in the exceeding difficulty which has been encountered in forcing the public opinion of this time through the walls of tradition that encompass governments. The spiritual awakening of the moment, that promises to be the greater in the immediately forthcoming years, affords a singularly favorable opportunity to those who would work for peace. Properly used, it may be made the occasion for the creation of a motive, and a system resting thereon, which, within the days of those who take part in the good work, may practically do away with the worst of human misfortunes.

Properly to use this opportunity to make for peace, two things are evidently desirable; in the first place, those who are devoting themselves to the cause should endeavor to extend their propaganda not through vaporous congresses, which by their successive and absurd failures give an intangible air to the whole endeavor, but by means of a determined system of education, which shall bring before the youth a true sense of the moral and economic abominations of war. It should be recognized that the military motive had been fixed in the inheritances of our race by

ages of habit, and perhaps also by the process of natural selection, which in the olden days led to the survival of the most militant tribes to be the foundations of our present states. It should be perceived that our literature is as a gospel of combat to young and ardent spirits. There is scarcely a bit of good writing which is likely to meet the eyes of ordinary readers which paints war as it really is. The Old Testament is one of the worst offenders in this praise of battle. Although, in common with most sensible people, the reader is probably to be ranked with those who believe that there are sundry things much worse than the slaying of men, and that, under certain conditions, campaigns may well be waged with all the consequent loss of life and destruction of the gains that life wins, it may be assumed that he regards the present status as an abominable condition of things, where national vanity, the lust of power, or ancient hatred, keeps the civilized world in a state of continued crises, in which an explosion is always imminent. The aim of the rational element of our population should be not to reduce men to be passive lovers of mere existence, mere non-resistants; to accomplish this end is fortunately impossible, and ostensibly to seek it is to bring the movement for peace into discredit with those who estimate the possessions of their civilization at their real value. The rational and hopeful object should be to show war in its true light as a relic of savagery, which has been enabled to survive in our civilizations mainly because of the rhetorical and artistic trappings which hide its true shameful aspect from the understanding.

To make head against the influences which serve to propagate the love of war it seems necessary to begin the task in our school system. Already there is some foundation for teaching of this sort in the instruction which is now being essayed concerning the rights and duties of the citizen. It will be a simple and appropriate addition to this good work to set forth the actual nature and effects of armed contests. If the task were properly done every youth would be brought to see the nobility and dignity of civilization and the destruction that war makes in it. It would be made plain to him that the better men of his time regard it as preposterous, and in a way disgraceful, to go ever armed with deadly weapons against the remote possibility of some ruffianly assault; it is the ruffian alone who clings to this ancient brutal

way; he is not to be reckoned with in any decent society. A slight extension of the same conception will make it clear to the youth that any collection of people which maintains a vast standing army simply that it may thus better be able to assail its neighbors, is in the position of a man who goes about his peaceful occupations in readiness for slaying his fellows. There can be no doubt that the time has come for the deliberate and systematic teaching of those truths which will serve to build in the minds of the people right notions as to the relation of violence to societies. We have trusted too much to the secondary effects of advancing culture to keep down the old evil of militarism. We have relied on the absence of a great standing army and on the uses of peace to develop among our own citizens a horror of war, yet with the shadow of the greatest conflict of modern days still upon us, we find the leading representatives of a great party, even men who have been exposed to all the cultivating influences which our country can afford, who know, or who have had every opportunity to comprehend, the misery which war entails, yet who are ever seeking to embroil their own nation with others. It needs but a glance at the records of the last Congress to show that our law-givers lack all sense of what they are seeking, when they clamor for war as a means of vengeance or of national self-assertion. We need to breed up men who have a more civilized view of human relations.

While the review of this century and the forecast of the next may well lead us to determined effort toward the education of our people away from the old irrational inhuman motives which led them to look upon warfare as a natural and ready instrument for the settlement of disputes, there is another and more immediate means by which we may hope to take an important step towards international concord. To set forth this means is the main object of this writing. As before remarked, this last hundred years has mended or at least bettered the lot of man in almost every regard except in the frequency and destructiveness of its wars. There may have been centuries in which this Moloch has demanded a larger share of the people in sacrifice, but there have probably been none in which the aggregate tax on life and property has been so great, or in which there has been less in the way of profit to show for the destruction. It is assuredly most fit that we should do what we can to establish some international body which

shall at least set about the task of devising the means whereby we may hope to begin the new account of years with the prospect of bettering the conditions. This undertaking can be most fitly proposed by our own country, for the reason that while we have an unhappy history for a peace loving people there can be no doubt that, with the exception of the Mexican war, none of our conflicts have had conquests for their object. We have shown an eminent capacity for military work by waging the greatest civil war the world has ever known, and we have in the Alabama negotiations settled a dispute which in the ordinary conduct of international affairs would have resulted in an armed conflict. The policy of our government, as determined by an overwhelming majority of our people, is undoubtedly that of peace. We have no basis for quarrels with our neighbors; it is hardly to be conceived that any will arise which will not be settled in an amicable manner. These facts make it fit that our federal authorities should take the lead in the good work by extending an invitation to the leading states of the civilized world to join in an official international congress, having for its purpose the establishment of some convention to diminish the danger of war-like contests.

At first sight it may seem futile for this or any other government to undertake to promote an official gathering of delegates from the leading European powers, with the hope of restricting the exercise of that right which from the beginning of states has been held to be absolutely within the bounds of their individual judgments. In the present conditions of human nature, it is not to be expected that any nation will give to any commission a right to restrict the liberty to expend its blood and treasure in any cause which may seem to its people to justify the sacrifice. Accepting this limitation, as we needs must do, let us see whether there remains enough in the way of possible good to justify the endeavor which has just been recommended.

Let us suppose that our government, by an act of its Congress, should invite the other first-class powers, say those to which it sends ambassadors, to appoint each three delegates to meet those from this country in Washington, on the 1st of January, 1897, the object being to see what may be done to diminish the danger of armed contests. It may fairly be reckoned that the object of the movement will commend itself to the minds of all intelligent

people and that the greater number, if not all, of the states which are bidden to the assembly, will accept the invitation. It being assumed, as above suggested, that it is out of the question directly to limit the initiation in the matter of declaration of war, what are the recommendations which this commission of enquiry could possibly make that would justify the meeting ?

It seems not unreasonable to suggest that the conference might advise the institution of a permanent international peace commission, composed of delegates from the several national authorities, which should hold annual sessions and which could be called together whenever it became evident that there was danger of a warlike contest between any of the contracting parties, this permanent commission to have no actual powers except those of mediation preceding or during a conflict, and of suggestions concerning limitations or the reduction of standing armies and navies. The arrangement for the use of the influence of the commission might well be as follows : The several states might agree that, in a case of impending warlike outbreak between any two members of the association, the commission might send a delegate or delegates from its members whose efforts at mediation should be heard before the declaration of war. This commission might furthermore agree to consider the recommendations for progressive disarmament at some definite and proportional rate, or for the replacement of standing armies by an organized militia, say of the Swiss type. The considerations may extend to the point of submitting the propositions to the legislature or other bodies which have charge of the budgets of the several states, there being no guarantee given that the government concerned shall approve of the propositions as submitted by the commission. It might be well to charge the commission with the task of bettering the statement of the body of customs which is termed international law ; it is possible that in course of time something like effective codification of these usages might be brought about.

At first sight it may seem that a body of men however much weight they might have from their individual value would be without influence, because without the slightest power to make their decisions felt. But the essence of the strength which such a commission would possess would come from its having a chance to concentrate public opinion in favor of arbitration. This public opinion is now so strong that

even the most despotic of the civilized governments feels its influence in the conduct of affairs. The action of this opinion is felt not only from within; every state which may be termed civilized earnestly desires the approval of the neighbors with which it is linked in the relation of commerce. We may indeed take the amount of this sympathetic spirit as the best possible index as to the measure of civilization to which a people has attained. There would be strength enough in the commission to bring this public opinion to a distinct and authoritative form: it may be presumed that in many if not most instances it would be ineffective in preventing war, but it would certainly add much to the influences which make against the occurrence of these disasters.

We may profitably imagine the steps which the international board of arbitration would take in case there was evident danger of trouble between two of the states in the league. When the situation became critical the commission would be called together. Its assembling would be in some cases perhaps due to the suggestions of the parties in dispute, its place of meeting would be on the nearest neutral ground, say in general in Switzerland. As it may be supposed that the persons representing the several states would be men of great weight, in general distinguished diplomats, the meeting would of itself have a decided effect in calling attention to the desirability of arbitration. From the commission there would be sent to the authorities of the endangered states delegates who, by the agreement, would have to be heard. The presence of an accredited messenger of peace in a capital where the war spirit was high might not be welcome; but it would be in some large measure effective. By the contract this messenger would have a right to be heard, and his suggestions made in conference with the delegate or delegates acting at the other court would assuredly make for delay in the declaration of war. It is, of course, conceivable, in fact eminently probable, that in some cases the authorities would repudiate the contract, and send the delegate about his business, or his advice would be avoided, yet we may be sure in any probable conditions a government, however desirous of beginning a war, would hesitate to incur the odium which would arise from taking such a course; they would probably try to manage the situation; this would make for delay and and delay would make for peace. Assuming the worst possible

result, that in which the efforts of the delegates were quite ineffective, we have a burden laid upon one or both of the combatants which would be hard to bear in face of the criticism of the better people of other countries. They would be in the position of men who had fired on a flag of truce.

Supposing that nothing could be done to prevent the outbreak of war, the commission could still look forward with some hope to lessening the duration of the strife. There have been many occasions in which a neutral power has been able with advantage to mediate between combatants and to lessen the dangers of long continued conflict. This mediation, coming not from single governments, but from a congress representing the civilized world, would have singular weight, and, we may presume, a degree of efficiency which would not be attainable when essayed by any one state. As we may presume that the delegates in the commission would be in communication with the several governments, each tender of peace would represent the motives of them all. Thus before and after the declaration of hostilities, the proposed board would bring to bear on the situation the moral force of the world, a force which is now very strong for peace, and which will be greatly increased in strength whenever an efficient system for its application is established.

Although there is much to hope from the action of a peace commission in the crisis of war, it is likely that its usefulness in treating with the conditions which favor conflict may be even more important. The principal instigation to armed conflict is the continued and competitive preparation for it; it is perfectly natural that a state possessing a vast and costly war engine, ever ready to be directed against its neighbors, should desire from time to time to ascertain the strength of its cherished power. It would be beyond the limits of human nature if a body of officers containing tens of thousands of the ablest and most ardent men of this generation should not long for the opportunity to do the deeds for which their lives are a preparation. There can be no question that standing armies of the proportion which these hosts have taken on in modern continental Europe are in a high degree provocative of wars; every plan which contemplates a reduction of this danger by a systematic and mutual decrease of the permanent forces of the several states would be sure to be received with interest. So far there has been no opportunity for the prosecution of a plan for

such a reduction of standing armies; none of the governments which are concerned would be inclined to take the initiative in the process even by calling a conference to consider the question, for by so doing it would confess the seriousness of the burden which weighs so heavily on them all.

We might reasonably look to a permanent peace commission for a plan as to the reduction of standing armies and navies which would have a chance to be adopted. This project might include a scaling down of the annual levy to a determined per cent., so that at the end of a certain number of years, the men continually under arms in any one state should not exceed say one soldier to each one thousand of the population. This would leave the several governments free to organize a high grade, easily mobilized, militia, on the basis of the Swiss system, a body of troops nearly as efficient for purposes of defence as a standing army of like size, but which can be kept in a tolerably good state by a sacrifice of not more than one month of each year in camp, a tax on their time which would not deprive the men of their places in industrial pursuits. Those who have seen bodies of the Swiss citizen soldiers will, if they have a judgment in such matters, agree with the assertion that they are likely to prove as useful in protecting their country as equal numbers of the most elaborately trained men from any part of Europe. The advantage of a militia in the interests of peace is found in the fact that the men never become imbued with the war spirit; they look upon the military side of their life as an incident; they are men of peaceful callings, and have the instincts which belong to such people, but which are foreign to the professional soldier. They are willing to bear arms for the one cause which really warrants war—the protection of their country from invasion.

The burden of standing armies, directly upon the budget and indirectly upon productiveness of the people, is now so patent to all the statesmen of Europe that there is a reasonable chance for the favorable reception of a proposition to effect a proportional reduction of their permanent forces. The need is to have some tolerably independent source whence these suggestions can come, a source with the moral authority, at least, to enforce any understanding which might be entered into. It is possible that a commission such as is suggested might not be able to contrive an agreement at once, but a plan if well matured would concentrate the atten-

tion of people upon one of the means by which the risks of war could be diminished. If the board were to be given a life of ten years and should steadily endeavor to bring about the change, there would be a fair chance of its success in the endeavor.

If the change could be made from the system of standing armies to that of a true militia of the Swiss type, a long step towards enduring peace would be made. In a military system of this nature the soldier and the citizen would be identical when put in the field; the men would take with them that quality of the household which makes the Swiss soldier an admirable home guard, but not to be considered for distant aggressive warfare. In such a condition the military motive in its dangerous form would speedily die out; all danger of its leading to wars of a political nature could be left to the ever-increasing development of the domestic spirit, that humor which makes men very willing to sacrifice for their ideals, but exceedingly indisposed to die for purposes which they do not value. If the armed forces of governments should be brought to the admirable state in which they are established in Switzerland, the discreet philanthropist might well be satisfied to go no further. In the existing conditions of society, and, for all we can foresee, in any highly organized society whatsoever, there will always be need of using well organized force to restrain the large part of the population who are willing to seek their ends by violence. There is no other way to retain the good which has been won, or to win that which is before us, save by the law, and the sanction of the law is in strength. It is a sense of this truth which goes far to justify the existence of the great standing armies in the minds of many judicious persons, who fail to see that a well organized militia can be made as effective in attaining the same valuable end.

The foregoing considerations serve to make it plain that this country is of all the great nations the best placed to undertake the noble task of clearing away the worst of all the evitable evils which remain to man at the close of the century. Owing to our singular geographical position and to the well-established traditions of our government, we are the first great nation which has been able to adopt a policy of non-interference with the affairs of other states. With the single lamentable exception of the Mexican war, where, as before noted, under the influence of motives which have passed away, we broke from our path, we have steadily avoided

aggressive wars. We have at the same time shown that a people thus withdrawn from the atmosphere of conflict can apply all needed power to the maintenance of its institutions and its ideals. With nothing to fear from abroad and with a well preserved indisposition to meddle with the problems of European politics, we are surely of all peoples the best fitted to undertake a movement to free the world from the evils of war. To those who desire to see the United States having a due influence in the affairs of the world, there is no other opportunity so good as this. Far better for our good name, or for the glory of that flag which only fools desire to see over battle fields, will be the enduring and blessed memory that our country led in a campaign against the monstrous evils of battle. We can afford to make the offer of a mode in which this work may be done: if by chance the tender of good-will should fail of evident result, we shall at least have acted in a spirit which is true to our history and to the best which is in our people; by the act we shall affirm our position to ourselves and to the rest of the world.

It should be said that the project for action outlined in the preceding pages, as that which might be taken by a permanent commission of arbitration, is presented simply to meet the natural objection that there is no evident method whereby such a body could deal with the problem of war. The suggestions cover only a part of the ground which might well be occupied by such a board, so that if certain of them should prove to skilled publicists and diplomats to be impracticable, there are others ready for consideration. The admirable example of the Alabama commission shows that questions which from their nature are the likeliest to lead to war may, if there be but the spirit of peace in the contestants, by wise counsellors be quietly adjusted. That adjustment shows us that the spirit of peace is active, that it needs but appropriate means to make its way. The means may be in our hands; it is our duty to try if this be so.

N. S. SHALER.

HOW LONDON DEALS WITH BEGGARS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD NORTON, PRESIDENT OF THE MENDICANCY SOCIETY.

THE treatment of mendicity by an old and highly civilized community, in a metropolis of enormous size and wealth, is an interesting and instructive subject of study.

The wise regulation of private charity, with an inevitable supplement of legal provision and police protection from fraud and depredation, has, in London, been the result of crucial experiments and trials of every kind.

The lesson may be of various application to other localities according to variety of circumstances, but it must be suggestive of wisdom to all. The problem is of difficult solution everywhere, and good and evil principles contend in embarrassing it. There are the promptings of instinctive charity, and the withholdings of selfish stint. There is a wise charity which strengthens the lame to walk, and the assuming patronage which teaches him to lean. The one gives great benefit with little thanks, the other loud thanks with little benefit.

English history illustrates every phase of this contention. Mendicancy was even a religious profession, till necessity gave mercy the discipline of law.

The true relation between beggars and relievers, or generally between want and means, requires painstaking discrimination.

It is the wildest of socialist theories that poverty should be abolished. So long as labor is the process of production, there must be a social scale from competence to beggary. The difference, no doubt, should be means of exercise of the mutual service of interdependence instead of isolation. This is misunderstood to be the language of proud patronage, but is really the inevitable

postulate in every problem of society. The question will ever remain how best to deal with mendicancy.

In one sense all mankind are mendicant. Very few are simply making the best use of what they have for ultimate account. Most are seeking for something they have not. In fact, those who have enough and might spare for others are more than beggars. They are stealers. The chief offenders against the Eighth Commandment are those who "withhold more than is meet" of what is due from them to those who want.

But the beggars under this discussion are the criers of distress for the necessaries of life, whether the distress be feigned or true, whether self-caused, or from misfortune. Much of this mendicancy comes from mere preference of ease to labor. Much comes from a propensity to wild and wandering life, and repugnance to the restraints and obligations of society. Much is the revenge of vicious habits—*ultrices curæ*—which have incapacitated from power of self-support and industry.

Much is an organized imposture of simulated distress. But there is much, though less demonstrative, of a cry of real misfortune, and unavoidable want. The vicissitudes of industry and failure of employment, temporarily or even permanently incidental, accidents, sicknesses, bereavements, debilitating old age, and the stress of inevitable competition—all these, and other causes too, have, and will have, in every age and place, their victims crying for help.

In the great and wealthy community of London one might hope that only discrimination between the true and feigned cases of distress was wanted to meet their claims from private charity. But, alas, there are but few ready hands among the capable to help. It is said that only a few thousand names appear in repetition on all the various lists of metropolitan charities. But even the ready hands often may be too ready, and with careless bounty cause injury even to its receivers. It was a good old prayer which besought heaven to give wisdom to zeal, as well as zeal to wisdom. Sound principles of action, and painstaking care in the act are essential to useful and effective charity.

Unfortunately the claims coming from beggars of the first three kinds just specified, are the most urgent, and the most touching often, to sensitive feelings. The mendicants of idleness, wild life, and vice thrusting themselves on the support of charity

can only safely so be helped when hopeful of possibility of cure. Otherwise they require rather the correction of police, or must fall on the last resource of hopeless destitution, the public charge. The mendicants of professional imposture—the most ingenious and insidious interceptors of the relief due to poverty—are criminals of greatest danger to private morality and to the public welfare. To such simulators of distress, when detected, the severest punishment is the only due, in the interests not only of humanity but of justice. Such imposture has become a fine art in London. Not a benevolent scheme of any kind is ever started there, but the harpies of imposture fasten on it as fresh material for fraudulent gains. Professional "begging letter" writers, and the service of "valiant" importunity in the streets, and the manufacture of fictitious signs of suffering constitute a trade which draws a very lucrative income from deceived or intimidated charity. The beggars from real need have, in London, large provision of well regulated charities, checked and supplemented by a laboriously perfected poor law.

In Norman times the wayfarers were left to the charity and hospitality of religious houses. The poorer class were much provided for simply by their dependance on feudal relationship. The Monastic fraternities made mendicancy almost a sacred calling, some of them becoming mendicants themselves. But their wealth, though at one time calculated at a third of the whole country's, fell short of the increasing and self-developing demands. Advancing civilization exposed such modes of charity to great abuse and to depredation. The stirring of commerce, crusading enterprise, and civil commotion, diverted many from self-supporting industry to wild adventure. Multiplied rovers for prey throughout the country became the subjects of necessary legislative check. Many honest poor went unrelieved, and many whom misfortune disabled from work became objects for public provision.

Acts were passed to repress "vagabondage." Mendicancy was treated as an offence, for which whipping and even branding were assigned. Localities of "settlement" were made chargeable for the relief of actual destitution occurring within them. Justices were enjoined to carefully distinguish between unavoidable and voluntary impotence. For proper claimants the endowments of the Church and the benevolence of individuals were authoritatively called upon; and bishops were empowered to cite

before the Courts any "froward and wilful" refusers of weekly alms, which were made legally obligatory.

When the monasteries were suppresed the burden which they had borne was thrown on public provision. Poor laws were passed, and taxes levied on every parish, and overseers appointed to carry out the law.

The stringency of legal enactment provoked reactionary sentiment, and the administration of the poor law soon became relaxed. The relaxation, however, proved chiefly detrimental to the really poor, especially to those who were thrown temporarily into poverty from want of employment. Efforts at remedy by artificial modes of industry aggravated the mischief. Certain principles of relief were recovered from this experience. The Commission of Enquiry in 1834 produced the act which still rules the poor law system of England, added to, and in details amended, by a few supplementary enactments since.

The act of 1834 instituted a Central Department called the Poor Law Board for general supervision and inspection of all local administration. Parishes were grouped in unions with a common fund for common purposes.

A wider organization was so given to the treatment of mendicity. The law of local "settlement" was relaxed, and irremovability was increased, so facilitating and encouraging the range of industry and enabling workmen to avail themselves of the means of locomotion in search of employment.

This act set up workhouses for every Union of Parishes, restricting relief as much as possible to residence in such unattractive dwellings as a crucial test of destitution. Sentiment again revolted against the needful precautions of law, and it was proposed that the infirm might be relieved at home and that even the able-bodied should in some cases have out-door relief.

The principles of the act, however, have been in the main adhered to. Out-door relief is restricted to the utmost, and in some London Unions abolished altogether.

A separate act was passed for the metropolis providing for public asylums for the infirm, dispensaries, "casual wards" in the workhouses for vagrants, and schools for children of paupers.

The "Casual Wards" admit mendicants who escape all test of destitution. They present themselves for shelter at night, and

in mercy must be admitted indoors. No question about out-door relief can apply to beggars who carry their homes on their backs. The only check on imposition by such applicants is the requirement of some work to be done by them on the following morning, before a meal is given them on their departure. Many schemes are now on foot for discriminating between wandering "tramps" living always on the road, without any occupation or destination, and men *bona fide* in search of work. What is called the "Ticket system" is thought the most promising device for this purpose. But the certificate of veracity, to be got at the first start, and shown at each place of application for shelter, partakes somewhat of the nature of the prescription for catching birds by putting salt on their tails. Some propose to give at departure from the ward not only a breakfast but a mid-day meal in the vagrant's pocket, if he has one, that it may be known at every wayside cottage that any begging, or threatening for food by such persons must be an imposture.

This subject, however, scarcely belongs to the treatment of beggars in London, which is only the focus not the scene, of vagrancy.

Poor laws are, after all, secondary, and properly supplemental, to the primary obligations of charity. They must also be rigidly bound by tests of destitution, while charity ranges freely without limit to its scope, and needs only wisdom to guide truly the freedom of its gifts. Poor law administers a trust fund for the public, but charity is responsible to God alone for the stewardship of His beneficence in discharge of an account with Him. The supplement of poor law is due to the negligence or deficiency of charity, or to cases of distress which charity cannot cure.

Private charity in secret, from acquaintances or relationship between rich and poor, takes the brightest share of the work—the godlike work—of love.

But charitable institutions give regulation and effect to the general work of charity on a wider scale for great communities. They abound in London. Their chief danger is their multiplication by individual efforts without concert on the wisest principles of action. Individualism is an English characteristic, and when any scheme of charity suggests itself to anyone's mind, it is generally a new and additional enterprise rather than incorporation with what is already in existence.

Their supporters are not numerous, and so dissipate their efficiency, yet not a houseless wanderer in London need ever fail to find a refuge, nor any kind of distress want appropriate relief. Homes, lodging-houses, infirmaries, dispensaries, hospitals of every kind, sisterhoods of mercy, asylums for the necessitous, and almost innumerable similar institutions, might seem exhaustive of all possible begging claims, and leaving little for the supplement of poor laws except so far as they are in partnership together.

Of associations for giving the best effect to the relief of the poor by private charity, two samples may suffice for illustration —one, the oldest now in operation, the other the latest result of practical experience in the idea of the completest possible co-operation.

The first, called "The London Mendicity," was very characteristically founded, soon after the peace of 1815, by the Duke of Wellington. He was pestered by innumerable beggers pretending to be discharged soldiers of his armies. Some of his old officers formed themselves into a committee to investigate these applications. In his diary there is an entry to this effect: "Was taken in by a plausible fellow whose repeated beggings on supposed events in his family I went on relieving, till some monstrous pretence showed it all to be a lie. What a wigging I shall get from the Mendicity." The society, so practically begun, has run for eighty years, and has carried on for a long list of subscribers, headed liberally by the Queen, the investigation of begging letters, so rescuing much private charity from imposture and mischief, and economizing the means of aid to real distress. Its officers have become well trained in detecting imposture and in delicately enquiring into cases of real distress. Idle vagrants are prosecuted by the society under acts for that purpose. Children hired out for begging are sent to industral schools. Police magistrates use the information of its officers and records in treating with beggars brought before them.

The voluntary Board of Management meet at its office twice a week, and report to subscribers the result of investigations of the applications sent them, or act as almoners themselves, giving relief up to a limit of amount allowed by the subscriber. They have also a "general relief fund" put at their disposal for applications made directly to them, and money—sometimes to a large amount—may be sent for special cases, to be laid out in larger

processes of gradual distribution, from casual misfortune, to renewed independence.

Tickets are given, for subscribers' cautious use, for small immediate relief to assist wretched beggars in the street, or, more safely, to refer them to the society's office, where, if on investigation real distress is proved, they are promised effective relief.

The latest and most comprehensive scheme of treatment of beggars in London has for its special object to give a definite aim to, and to direct into the most effectual channels, the large amount of benevolent force at work in England, and particularly in London.

The association consists of a federation of forty district committees, one in every poor law division of the metropolis, and of a central council, on which every committee is represented. Such an organization gives great means of collecting information, and of diffusing advice and influence throughout its operation. The combination of isolated efforts in uniform method and principles of action, the correction of much misplaced and wasted energy, the avoidance of conflicting action and the exposure of fraud, have been its proved most useful results. Its main principles are thorough investigation before assisting, and suitable and adequate assistance to proved cases of distress.

Its chief aim in giving assistance is the restoration of disablement to the power of self-help. Incurable helplessness it leaves to private care, or, that failing, to public provision.

Its detail of operation is much the same as that of the London Mendicity, with which society, among many others, it is in intimate co-operation.

In its committee are representatives of other charitable institutions, and many poor law guardians.

Its constables are enrolled with the Metropolitan Police, certified as mendicity officers by the Chief Commissioner, with power of apprehending beggars, making report to him. This society holds an annual conference, greatly contributing to uniform practice and mutual understanding. It maintains a visitation of those who have been assisted, and of some to whom material relief was not so much needed as friendly influence and guidance in ways of thrift and comfort unknown, or unsupplied, to them.

Half the wanderers begging help need but the inspiriting influence of friendly encouragement and healthy circumstance, which is due from higher quarters to the toilers in life.

The cry of the beggars, true or false, will never cease; advancing civilization and wealth tend rather to increase it. The cry appeals to instinctive sympathy; and, whether true or false demands attention to ascertain the truth, and imperatively to prevent destitution. It is the primary duty of every man (says Sir Frederick Eden, in his celebrated "State of the Poor,") according to his ability, to relieve his fellow creatures in distress, by the dictates of humanity, and of Christianity, and for the political interests of the commonwealth in rescuing citizenship from incapacity. In the last of these two considerations Pericles asserted that there should be no poor in Athens. The *Civis Atheniensis* demanded state supply, and relegated labor to slaves.

Neither the rigid discipline of ancient Sparta, nor the independence of modern America could obliterate the stigma of craving want. The question is not how to stifle, or get rid of the beggar's cry, but how best to deal with it.

To find employment for the unemployed, or to legislate sufficient wages are schemes which experience has exploded. To defy economic laws, and argue that they should not be, is only to paralyze exertion, and staunch the capital which might sustain it.

The beggar's cry represents God's own demand for men's mutual service. The first claim it makes is on private charity, and those who withhold any means they have to meet it will find a Nemesis in ultimate account when present beggars will be begged by them for a drop or water, and when those who had pity will be repaid a thousand fold.

The default of charity is the province of legal relief. London has perfected the union of charity with law. But the study of preventives of the beggar's cry is even more important than of its cure. The spirit of self-help must not be checked but in every way encouraged, for all distress that is not incurable. Friendly societies, the soon developing trades unions, co-operative stores, and savings banks represent that spirit. There are also the national provisions of education, and emigration to the world-wide offers of this Empire to industry and wealth.

London shows districts of former squalor, and despondency, in which the poor, without removal, have found fresh energy and means of life, by merely cleansed and healthier dwellings.

NORTON.

RESULTS OF THE BERING SEA ARBITRATION.

BY THE HON. JOHN W. FOSTER, EX-SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE United States stand distinguised among the nations as the foremost champion of international arbitration. Our ablest and wisest statesmen have recognized it as the best way of adjusting most questions of difference arising between governments, when the ordinary diplomatic methods fail. Such being the settled policy of the country, it would be unfortunate for the cause of peace and civilization in the world if that policy should be prejudiced in the United States for want of correct information or through partisan bias.

One of the last arbitrations in which the United States participated was that held at Paris in 1893 for the settlement of the questions which had arisen with Great Britain respecting the fur seals of the Pribylov Islands in Bering Sea; and the impression seems to prevail with many of our people that this arbitration was unwisely entered upon, that it was fruitless in its results to us, and that the responsibility for the failure is chargeable to the administration which agreed to it. Every one of these conclusions is incorrect, and, in the interest of the great cause of international arbitration, their fallacy should be exposed. It seems the more opportune at this time, as the subject is likely to be presented anew to Congress at its approaching session.

It is well, in the first place, to examine the origin of the controversy. Alaska was ceded by Russia to the United States in 1867, and in 1870 the Seal Islands in Bering Sea were leased by the government to a private company, with the privilege of taking on the land a certain number of seals annually. Soon thereafter it became apparent that the seal herd was exposed to serious diminution by means of pelagic or open sea hunting. As early as 1872 the attention of the government was called to this

danger, and it was suggested that a revenue cutter be sent to cruise in the vicinity of the passes of the Aleutian chain, through which the herd travelled on its way to and from the Seal Islands, with a view to preventing such hunting. But Mr. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, declined to act upon the suggestion, stating: "I do not see that the United States would have the jurisdiction or power to drive off parties going up there for that purpose, unless they made the attempt within a marine league of the shore." With the progress of time pelagic hunting increased along the Canadian and American coasts, with greater slaughter of the herd, and with occasional incursions into Bering Sea. There was gradually developed a contention that the principle laid down by Secretary Boutwell did not apply to Bering Sea, because Russia had claimed and enforced exclusive jurisdiction over all its waters, that it had been acquiesced in by the maritime nations, including Great Britain, and that all the rights of Russia therein passed to the United States by the cession. The act of Congress of 1868 (Section 1956) made it unlawful to kill seals "within the limits of Alaska Territory or *in the waters thereof*," and it was claimed that the waters of Alaska embraced all that portion of Bering Sea east of the line designated in the Russian treaty of cession. Under the foregoing construction of the treaty and the statute, the first seizure of British vessels in Bering Sea took place under instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury by the Revenue vessels in 1886, and other seizures followed in 1887. Suits were instituted in the Federal Court at Sitka under the Act cited and the vessels were condemned. The judge, whose tenure of office under the practice in vogue as to that Territory was limited to the political administration which appointed him, following the line of argument submitted by the District Attorney in a brief prepared in the office of the Attorney-General, held that "all the waters within the boundary set forth in the treaty . . . are to be considered as comprised within the waters of Alaska, and all the penalties prescribed by law . . . must therefore attach within those limits." He further held that "as a matter of international law, it makes no difference that the accused parties may be subjects of Great Britain. Russia had claimed and exercised jurisdiction over all that portion of Bering Sea . . . and that claim had been tacitly recognized and acquiesced in by the other maritime powers of the world."

The seizure and condemnation of the British vessels were followed by an attempt to secure a more precise and strict definition of "*the waters of Alaska*" by Congressional legislation. A lengthy investigation was had by a Committee of the House of Representatives in 1888; and in January, 1889, a report was made by Mr. Dunn, of Arkansas, chairman of the Committee, fully sustaining the view taken by the Attorney-General and the Federal Judge in Alaska, and submitting a bill which declared "that Section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States was intended to include and apply to, and is hereby declared to include and apply to, *all waters of Bering Sea* in Alaska embraced within the boundary lines" of the treaty with Russia. This bill was passed by the House, but in the Senate it was sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that Committee recommended that the clause above quoted be disagreed to; and the chairman, Mr. Sherman, in support of the recommendation, stated that the proposed legislation "involved serious matters of international law . . . and ought to be disagreed to and abandoned, and considered more carefully hereafter." Subsequently, by virtue of a conference report, an act was passed declaring Section 1956 to include and apply "to *all the dominion* of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea."

The seizure and condemnation of vessels as stated constitute the origin and foundation of the complaint of the British Government and of the lengthy correspondence and negotiations which resulted in the arbitration at Paris. These seizures were the act of the administration of President Cleveland, and had the indorsement of the executive, politico-judicial and legislative departments of that administration. In so far as the views of the opposing political party may be inferred from the attitude of Secretary Boutwell and Senator Sherman, they were against the legality or wisdom of the policy.

The complaint of Great Britain in 1887 was followed by a diplomatic correspondence, in which Secretary Bayard, without discussing or yielding the grounds upon which the seizures had been made, proposed an international arrangement for the protection of the seals from extermination. With this proposition pending and with all the questions arising out of the seizures unsettled, the executive government of the United States passed into the hands of President Harrison. Mr. Blaine, on assuming the duties

of Secretary of State, sought to carry into effect the proposition of his predecessor for an international agreement. He found that few of the governments approached had shown any interest in the proposition, but early in the administration he pressed the subject upon the attention of Great Britain, and as soon as possible secured a joint conference at Washington with the British and Russian Ministers. After prolonged interviews the conference proved a failure, as Great Britain was unwilling to enter into any international arrangement which the two other interested powers felt was at all adequate to protect the seals from extermination.

The measure which Secretary Bayard had initiated for the settlement of the questions arising out of the seizure of British vessels having proved impossible of realization, there seemed no other alternative but to defend the action of the previous administration; and thereupon followed the notable diplomatic correspondence between Mr. Blaine and Lord Salisbury, in which the former sought with all his recognized forensic skill to defend the action of the Secretary of the Treasury in ordering the seizures and, as far as he felt it possible to do so, to sustain the correctness in international law of the attitude of the Attorney-General and the Judge of the Federal Court of Alaska. In no part of that statesman's career did his devotion to his country more conspicuously rise above partisanship than in that correspondence. It is doubtful if any other living American could have made a more brilliant or effective defence of the action of his government, and whatever fallacies exist in his argument are chargeable to the previous administration which had occasioned the controversy and marked out the line of defence.

The correspondence showed the two governments in hopeless disagreement. Three courses were open to President Harrison, and one of them must be chosen without further delay. First: He could abandon the claim of exclusive jurisdiction over Bering Sea or protection of the seals beyond the three mile limit, recede from the action of his predecessor as to seizure of British vessels and pay the damages claimed therefor. Such a course would have met with the general disapproval of the nation, and would have been denounced by his political opponents as a base betrayal of the country's interests. Second: He could have rejected the arguments and protests of the British Government, and continued the policy initiated by his predecessor in the seizure

of all British vessels engaged in pelagic sealing in Bering Sea. But this course had already been proposed to President Cleveland and decided to be improper. The Hon. E. J. Phelps, who as Minister to Great Britain had conducted the negotiations with Lord Salisbury growing out of the seizures of 1886 and 1887, in a lengthy dispatch to Secretary Bayard, reviewing the conduct of Canada which had prevented an adjustment once accepted by Lord Salisbury, made the following recommendation: "Under these circumstances, the Government of the United States must, in my opinion, either submit to have these valuable fisheries destroyed or must take measures to prevent their destruction by capturing the vessels employed in it. Between these two alternatives it does not appear to me there should be the slightest hesitation. . . . I earnestly recommend, therefore, that the vessels that have been seized while engaged in this business be firmly held, and that measures be taken to capture and hold every one hereafter found concerned in it. . . . There need be no fear that a resolute stand on this subject will at once put an end to the mischief complained of." But this recommendation of Mr. Phelps was not approved by Mr. Bayard, who was unwilling to adopt a course which might bring about a rupture with Great Britain, the probable outcome of which would have been an armed conflict. In view of this decision and the state of public sentiment, with a prevailing opinion in a large part of the press and with public men that the attitude of the government was legally unsound, and that the interests involved did not under the circumstances stated justify the hazard of a great war between these two English-speaking nations, the adoption of this second alternative by President Harrison would have been the height of madness. The only remaining alternative was arbitration. President Harrison felt that if we could commit to an international tribunal the far greater interests and principles involved in the Alabama Claims, it would be the part of wisdom to adopt the same course as to the pending questions of difference, and there can be no doubt that the sober judgment of the country confirms his action.

If, therefore, the Paris arbitration was unwise in any of its features it must have been in the manner of submission of the questions to the Tribunal. But in this respect, also, the conduct of President Harrison was greatly restricted by the action of his

predecessor. He was required to formulate for the decision of the Tribunal the contentions upon which the seizures were made, and the first four points embraced in article VI. of the treaty will be found to accurately cover the grounds upon which the Attorney-General in 1887 asked for, and the Federal Judge based, the condemnation of the British vessels. It is a singular incident that when the case of the United States came to be prepared and the Russian archives were examined, what had been assumed in the legal proceedings to be historical facts could scarcely be substantiated by a single official document. It is also notable that the only additional question introduced in the treaty provision for submission to the Tribunal—that embraced in the fifth point, to wit, the right of protection or property in the seals, and which in the judgment of the counsel of the United States became the leading, if not the only, defence of the seizures—was not advanced in the legal proceedings of 1887, and was not mooted until a late stage of Mr. Blaine's controversy with Lord Salisbury. The chief credit for the development of this point is due to Mr. Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, who submitted a paper of rare legal ability on the subject to the President, which at a later date appeared in this REVIEW.* The treaty after having undergone the careful scrutiny of the President and Hon. E. J. Phelps, whose advice had been sought by the President, was submitted to the Senate and approved by that body without a single dissenting voice, so far as known. If the conduct of the President, in the management of the controversy created by his predecessor, had not been in the judgment of the country wise and patriotic, or if the provisions of the treaty had not been properly framed, it would scarcely have escaped the attention of his political opponents in the Senate.

Hence, the only remaining criticism which might be advanced against the arbitration must relate to the management of the case before the Tribunal. But in this respect also it must be recognized that the President's action was circumspect and free from all partisanship. In naming the arbitrators on the part of the United States, he chose, with the cordial approval of the Chief Justice and his associates, Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, as senior American member of the Tribunal. In filling the second place he selected Senator Morgan, the recognized

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1893.

leader on all international questions in the Senate of the party whose officials had originated the subject matter of arbitration. Hon. E. J. Phelps, President Cleveland's Minister in London, an experienced diplomatist and a lawyer of national repute, had been consulted by the President several months before the treaty had been agreed upon, and when the case came to be prepared he was named as senior counsel. With him was associated James C. Carter, of New York, the recognized leader of the American bar; and before the tribunal was organized Frederick R. Coudert, an accomplished French scholar and a prominent jurist, was added to the list. These three gentlemen were the political friends of Mr. Cleveland. With them was joined a single party friend of President Harrison, H. W. Blodgett, for many years a distinguished judge of the Federal Court. Senator Morgan in a recent letter says: "Our party was and is responsible for using the means that were employed both for the raising and the settlement of these questions, and it was a just measure of responsibility that Mr. Harrison devolved upon us when, out of a body of arbitrators and counsel and Mr. Secretary Foster, the Agent, selected by him—seven in all—he selected four Democrats and three Republicans." As to the manner in which these gentlemen discharged their trust we have the following testimony of Mr. Justice Harlan, in a public address: "I may say that no government was ever represented upon any occasion where its interests were involved with more fidelity, with more industry and with greater ability than was the United States by its agent and counsel. . . . If more was not obtained it was solely because a majority of that tribunal . . . did not see their way to grant more."

On five points submitted to the Tribunal, embracing the historical and legal questions, the decision was unfavorable to the United States. While the action of the government in making the seizures was based on the weakest ground of our defence and which proved untenable, it cannot be doubted that the motives which actuated its conduct were patriotic and praiseworthy. But had our effort to save the seals from destruction been from the outset based upon a right of protection and property in them, our case before the Tribunal would have been much stronger and the decision might have been different. Nevertheless, it cannot be justly claimed that the arbitration was fruitless in its results

for us. It is no small matter that a question which threatened a rupture of our peaceful relations with Great Britain was adjusted by a resort to the arbitrament of reason and not of force. The Alaskan seal herd is of great value to us and to the world, and it is the duty of our government to be vigilant in protecting it from destruction; but the legal issues involved in our controversy with Great Britain regarding them did not seem to justify the hazard of an armed conflict, and it was a great gain to us that the controversy was peacefully settled without national dishonor.

The decision of the Tribunal was adverse to the United States on the legal points in dispute, but the award contained an important provision for international regulations, which were intended by the Tribunal to be a protection to the seals and which in the judgment of the majority of that body would in practice prove an adequate protection. The agent and counsel of the United States contended that no regulations would be a certain protection of the herd which did not prohibit all pelagic sealing, and the American arbitrators voted for such prohibition, and sustained their votes by very able and cogent opinions; but the majority of the Tribunal took a different view of the subject. The regulations adopted were opposed both by the American and Canadian arbitrators. When first published they were accepted by all the Americans who participated in the arbitration as a decided triumph for the United States, and were regarded by the Canadian sealers as a serious menace, if not a death-blow, to their interests. If they are carefully examined they will be found to be more favorable to the United States than the regulations which Mr. Bayard proposed to Lord Salisbury as a settlement of the question, or which Mr. Blaine offered to Sir Julian Pauncefote. If, therefore, we obtained more from the Tribunal than our government proposed to accept from Great Britain, the arbitration cannot justly be characterized as fruitless in its results for us. The adequacy of the regulations cannot be properly judged, because they have not yet been put in force in their true spirit and intent. This will not be done until they are also made to apply to the Russian waters, and until more stringent rules for their enforcement are adopted. It has been a source of disappointment to many who have taken an interest in the preservation of the seals that these rules have been so lax and so imperfectly observed.

The obstruction in these respects is now, as it has been from the beginning, the selfish and inhuman conduct of Canada.

The purpose of this article, to wit, the defence of the policy of international arbitration, has been accomplished; as it has been shown by the foregoing review that the Paris arbitration was not unwisely entered upon, that it was not altogether fruitless in its results for us, and that the administration which agreed to it cannot be held culpable for the manner of its submission or management. But it will naturally be expected that something be said concerning the question of damages, a subject which was not settled by the award. In article VIII. of the Treaty it was expressly stipulated that "the question of liability of each for the injuries alleged to have been sustained by the other" should not be embraced in the arbitration, but should "be the subject of future negotiation." In the discussion following the adjournment of the Tribunal, the fact seems to have been lost sight of that the United States preferred serious claims for damages against Great Britain on account of the injuries done by British pelagic sealers to the Alaskan seal herd, and that President Harrison proposed that this question of damages should, together with the British claims for seizure of vessels, be submitted to the Tribunal. It was because Great Britain refused to consent to arbitrate this claim that the whole subject was omitted. The award of the Tribunal was in effect that in certain waters, and at certain times, pelagic sealing is improper and should not be permitted. How far the claim of the United States subsists for injuries in the past sustained by the seal herd in those times and waters is one of the questions to be determined by the "future negotiations" contemplated in the Treaty; and prominent persons well informed as to the controversy contend that it is still a vital question.

While the liability for damages was not within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, it is generally admitted that the effect of its decision was to fix upon the United States a certain measure of responsibility for damages on account of the seizures, which would have to be met through the "future negotiations." Without further investigation than the documentary evidence before the Paris Tribunal, the sum of $425,000 was agreed upon between the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador as a full satisfaction of the claims for the seizure of the British vessels, and the Congress of the United States was asked to make an

appropriation for that purpose. In the discussion which arose in the House of Representatives when the subject came before that body it was most unfortunate that it should have assumed a partisan aspect. When certain members argued that the sum asked for was greatly in excess of the just and legal claims of the Canadian sealers, and that it was in direct conflict with the views of the Agent and Counsel of the United States before the Tribunal, they were taunted with the charge that this obligation had been contracted by the administration of which they were supporters. The member of the Committee on Appropriations who had the measure in charge said: "This is not our foreign policy. We are paying a debt which you gentlemen gave us." Mr. McCreary, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in advocacy of the appropriation, used this language: "I regret that we have been placed in an attitude where we have to pay this amount; but the gentlemen on the other side of this House cannot claim that we caused the existing situation." How unwarranted were these assertions is shown in the foregoing review.

It may have been the wisest policy to vote the appropriation, but it was no breach of our international obligations not to approve of that sum; and it is not to the discredit of Congress that it exercised its judgment as to the action of the executive in agreeing to a settlement with Great Britain which altogether ignored the claim of the United States for damages to the seals by improper pelagic hunting, and the views of its own representatives before the Tribunal as to the British claims. While a difference of views may properly exist between the executive and legislative departments upon these subordinate questions, no disposition has been entertained or shown by any portion of our government or people to evade our just obligations under the Treaty. And the fact that the spirit of the award leads us to pay out of the national treasury a sum by way of damages, which at the most must be regarded as insignificant for a great nation, should certainly have no tendency to modify in the slightest degree our devotion to the great policy of international arbitration.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

CHRISTIANITY'S MILLSTONE.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

At the recent English Church Congress held at Norwich, Professor Bonney, Canon of Manchester, made a bold and honorable attempt to cast a millstone off the neck of Christianity by frankly renouncing belief in the historical character of the earlier books of the Bible.

"I cannot deny," he said, "that the increase of scientific knowledge has deprived parts of the earlier books of the Bible of the historical value which was generally attributed to them by our forefathers. The story of the creation in Genesis, unless we play fast and loose either with words or with science, cannot be brought into harmony with what we have learned from geology. Its ethnological statements are imperfect, if not sometimes inaccurate. The stories of the flood and of the Tower of Babel are incredible in their present form. Some historical element may underlie many of the traditions in the first eleven chapters of that book, but this we cannot hope to recover."

With the historical character of the chapters relating to the creation, Canon Bonney must resign his belief in the Fall of Adam; with his belief in the Fall of Adam he must surrender the doctrine of the Atonement, as connected with that event, and thus relieve conscience of the strain put upon it in struggling to reconcile Vicarious Punishment with our sense of justice. He will also have to lay aside his belief in the Serpent of the Temptation, and in the primeval personality of evil.

In *Lux Mundi*, a collection of essays edited by the Reverend Principal of Pusey House, and understood to emanate from the High Church quarter, we find plain indications that the unhistoric character, so frankly recognized by the learned Canon in the opening chapters of Genesis, is recognized in other

parts of Old Testament history by High Churchmen, who, having studied recent criticism, feel, like the Canon, that there is a millstone to be cast off. One of these essayists admits that the "battle of historical record cannot be fought on the field of the Old Testament as it can on that of the New"; that "very little of the early record can be securely traced to a period near the events"; and that "the Church cannot insist upon the historical character of the earliest records of the ancient church in detail as she can on the historical character of the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles." The same writer seems ready to entertain the view that the "books of Chronicles represent a later and less historical version of Israel's history than that given in Samuel and Kings," and that they "represent the version of that history which had become current in the priestly schools." "Conscious perversion" he will not acknowledge, but in the theory of "unconscious idealizing" of history he is willing, apparently, to acquiesce. Inspiration, he thinks, is consistent with this sort of "idealizing," though it excludes conscious deception or pious fraud. Conscious deception or pious fraud no large minded and instructed critic of primeval records would be inclined to charge. But "ideal" is apparently only another name for "mythical," and it is difficult to see how myths can in any sense be inspired, or why, if the records are in any sense inspired, the Church should not be able to insist on their historical character. "In detail" is a saving expression; but the details make up the history, and if the truth of the details cannot be guaranteed, what is our guarantee for the truth of the whole? Human testimony, no doubt, may sometimes fail in minor particulars, while in the main account of the matter it is true. But is it conceivable that the Holy Spirit, in dictating the record of God's dealings with mankind for our instruction in the way of life, should simulate the defects of human evidence?

A veil which has long hung before the eyes of free inquiry when they were turned on the origin and state of man is removed by the Canon's renunciations. The present writer, as a student at college, attended the lectures of Dr. Buckland, a pioneer in geology; and he remembers the desperate shifts to which the lecturer was driven in his efforts to reconcile the facts of his science with the Mosaic cosmogony, the literal truth of which he did not venture to impugn. By a "day," Dr. Buckland said,

Moses meant a geological period, though the text says that each day was made up of a morning and an evening, while the Decalogue fixes the sense by enjoining the observance of the seventh day as that on which the Creator rested after the six days' labor of creation. How the professor dealt with fossil records of geological races and the appearance of death in the world before the fall of man, the writer does not now remember. It is not very long since a preacher before an educated audience could meet the objection to the Mosaic deluge arising from the position of stones in the mountains of Auvergne, which such a cataclysm must have swept away, by the simple expedient of affirming that when the deluge was over, the stones had been restored to their places by miracle. Nay, were not Mr. Gladstone's great intellectual powers the other day exerted to prove that the Creator, in dictating to Moses the account of the creation, had come wonderfully near the scientific truth and almost anticipated the nebular hypothesis ?

From the conceptions of science, geocentricism, derived from the Mosaic cosmogony, may have been banished, but over those of theology its cloud still heavily hangs. The consecrated impression has survived the distinct belief, and faith shrinks from the theological revolution which the abandonment of the impression would involve.

The history of every nation begins with myth. A primeval tribe keeps no record, and a nation in its maturity has no more recollection of what happened in its infancy than a man of what happened to him in his cradle. It is needless to say that the first book of Livy is a tissue of fable, though the Romans were great keepers of records and matter-of-fact as a people. When the age of reflection arrives and the nation begins to speculate on its origin, it gives itself a mythical founder, a Theseus, a Romulus, or an Abraham, and ascribes to him its ancestral institutions or customs. In his history also are found the keys to immemorial names and the origin of mysterious or venerated objects. It is a rule of criticism that we cannot by any critical alembic extract materials for history out of fable. If the details of a story are fabulous, so is the whole. If the details of Abraham's story—the appearances of the Deity to him, so strangely anthropomorphic, the miraculous birth of his son when his wife was ninety years old, his adventures with Sarah in Egypt and afterwards in Gerar,

evidently two versions of the same legend, the sacrifice of his son arrested by the angel, with the episode of Lot, the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, and the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt—are plainly unhistorical, the whole story must be relegated to the domain of tribal fancy. We cannot make a real personage out of unrealities or fix a place for him in unrecorded time.

That the alleged record is of a date posterior by many centuries to the events, and therefore no record at all, plainly appears from the mention of Kings of Israel in Genesis (xxxvi., 31). No reason has been shown for supposing that the passage is an interpolation, while the suggestion that it is prophetic is extravagant. It stamps the date of the book, like the mention of the death of Moses in Deuteronomy, to get rid of which efforts equally desperate are made. The canon of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, limiting the trustworthiness of oral tradition to a single century, may be too rigid ; but we certainly cannot trust oral tradition for such a period as that between the call of Abraham and the Kings, especially when, the alleged events being miraculous, an extraordinary amount of evidence is necessary to justify belief.

The figure of the patriarch Abraham, a typical sheikh, as well as the father of Israel, is exceptionally vivid, and his history is exceptionally dramatic. It is needless to say that the history contains episodes of striking beauty, such as the meeting of the steward with Rebekah, the scene of Hagar and her child nearly perishing in the wilderness, and the sacrifice of Isaac. But to regard Abraham as a real founder, not only of a nation, but of the Church, and as the chosen medium of communication between God and man, sound criticism will no longer allow us; and sound criticism, like genuine science, is the voice of the Spirit of Truth. A writer in *Lux Mundi*, already quoted, avows his belief that "the modern development of historical criticism is reaching results as sure, where it is fairly used, as scientific inquiry." He significantly reminds churchmen of the warning conveyed by the name of Galileo. Why should we any longer cling to that which, whatever it may have been to the men of a primeval tribe, is to us a low and narrow conception of the Deity? Why should we force ourselves to believe that the Being who fills eternity and infinity became the guest of a Hebrew sheikh ; entered into a covenant with the sheikh's tribe, to the

exclusion of the rest of the human race; and as the seal of the covenant ordained the perpetuation of a barbarous tribal rite? There have been bibliolaters so extreme as to wish even converted Jews to continue the practice to which the promise was mysteriously annexed. Tribalism may attach inordinate value to genealogies as well as to ancestral rites, but can we imagine the author of the universe limiting his providential regard and his communication of vital truth to his creatures by tribal lines? Every tribe is the chosen people of its own god; enjoys a monopoly of his favor; is upheld by him against the interest of other nations, and especiall protected by him in war. It is he who gives it victory, and if stones fall or are hurled on the enemy retreating through a rocky pass, it is he who casts them down (Joshua x., 11). Christianity is the denial of Jewish tribalism, proclaiming that all nations have been made of one blood to dwell together on the earth, and are sharers alike in the care of Providence. Of the bad effects of a conception of God drawn from the conceptions of Jewish tribalism, the least is the waste of money and effort in desperate attempts to convert the Jews.

Of the history of the other Patriarchs the texture is apparently the same as that of the history of Abraham. They are mythical founders of a race, a character which extends to Ishmael and Esau. In fact the chapters relating to them are full of what, in an ordinary case, would be called ethnological myth. Of contemporary or anything like contemporary record, even supposing the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, there can be no pretence. Thus it is in the absence of anything like evidence that we have been called upon to accept such incidents as the bodily wrestling of Jehovah with Jacob, and the appearance to Jacob in a dream of an angel who is the organ of a supernatural communication about the speckles of the rams or he-goats. Most vivid and memorable, no doubt, are the characters of Esau, the typical father of the hunter tribe, and that of Jacob in whose unscrupulous and successful cunning we have a picture such as the anti-Semite would now draw of his enemy, the financial Jew. These chapters are full of legends connected with fanciful interpretations of names, such as Jehovah-Jireh (Genesis xxii., 14); fanciful accounts of immemorial monuments, such as Jacob's pillar; or of tribal customs, such as that of refraining from a

particular sinew because it had been touched and made to shrink by Jehovah in wrestling with Jacob. Extraordinary simplicity is surely displayed by the pious commentators who appeal to the custom as evidence of the historic event.

Much labor has been spent in efforts to identify the Pharaoh of the Exodus and to fix the date of that event and its connection with Egyptian history. Still more labor has been spent in tracing the route of the Israelites through the wilderness and explaining away the tremendous difficulties of the narrative. What if the whole is mythical? There is a famine in Palestine. The Patriarch sends his ten sons, each with an ass and a sack, across the desert to buy food in Egypt. Provisions must have been furnished them for their journey, and of what they bought they must have consumed not a little on their journey home. This seems improbable, nor was it very likely that the ten should strike the exact place where their brother Joseph was in power. Of the poetic character of the story of Joseph, with its miraculous dreams and their interpretations, there surely can be no doubt. Yet upon the story of Joseph and his brethren all the rest apparently hangs. We might almost renounce the task of analysing the rest of the narrative—the attempt of the Egyptian rulers to extirpate the Hebrews by the strange command to the midwives when they might have taken a shorter and surer course; the contest in thaumaturgy between the magicians of Jehovah and those of Egypt; the plagues sent upon the helpless people of Egypt to make their ruler do that which Omnipotence might at once have done by its fiat; the extraordinary multiplication of the Hebrews, whose adult males, in spite of the destruction of their male children, amount to six hundred thousand, a number which implies a total population of at least two millions; their sudden appearance as an armed host though they had just been represented as the unresisting bondsmen of the Egyptians; their wanderings for forty years within the narrow limits of the Sinaitic peninsula, where, though the region is desert, they find subsistence not only for themselves but for their innumerable flocks and herds; their construction of a tabernacle where materials for it could not have been found; the plague of fiery serpents which was sent among them and the brazen serpent by looking on which they were healed; the miraculous destruction of the impious opponents of an exclusive priesthood; the

giants of Canaan; the victories gained over native tribes by the direct interposition of Heaven; the strange episode of Balaam and his colloquy with his ass; the stopping of the sun and moon that Israel might have time for the pursuit and slaughter of his enemies. This last incident alone seems enough to stamp the legendary character of the whole. In vain we attempt to reduce the miracle, which would imply a disturbance of the entire solar system, to a mere prolongation of the daylight. The Old Testament is altogether geocentric, and not merely in the phenomenal sense. The sun and moon are made "for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light on the earth," and with them is coupled the creation of the stars. The writer of the book of Joshua cites the book of Jasher as evidence of the miracle. Was the book of Jasher inspired? Could an inspired writer need or rest on the evidence of one who was uninspired?

Whether any sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt or any real connection with that country is denoted by the visit of Abraham to Egypt and afterwards by the story of the Exodus, it is for Egyptologists to determine. Of the appearance of Hebrew forms on Egyptian monuments, Egyptian conquest would appear to give a sufficient explanation. The history of the Exodus is connected with the account of the institution of the Passover, and analogy may lead us to surmise that national imagination has been busy in explaining the origin of an immemorial rite.

We are, then, in no way bound to believe that God so identified himself with a favored tribe as to license it to invade a number of other tribes which had done it no wrong, to slaughter them and take possession of their land. We are in no way bound to believe that he, by the mouth of Moses, rebuked his chosen people for saving alive the women and children of the Midianites and bade them kill every male among the little ones and every woman that had known man (Numbers xxxi., 17); or that he commanded them to slay, not only man, woman, and child, but the dumb animals, everything that breathed, in a captured city. To the objections raised by humanity against the slaughter of the Canaanites, Christian apologists have made various and, as one of their number admits, not very consistent replies. Some say that in conquering Canaan the Israelites did but recover their own, a plea which, even if it had not been ousted by prescription, would be totally inconsistent with the account of the sojourning

of Abraham and of his purchase of plots of land. Others maintain that, having been driven by force from Egypt, they had a right to help themselves to a home where they could find it, and to put all the existing inhabitants to the sword. The bequest of Noah is also pleaded. But at last the apologist has to fall back upon the simple command of God, which is justified on the ground that the Canaanites were idolaters, they never having heard of the true God.

Such examples as the slaughter of the Canaanites, the killing of Sisera, the assassination of Eglon, the hewing of Agag in pieces by Samuel before the Lord, Elijah's massacre of the prophets of Baal, the hanging of Haman with his ten sons, commemorated in the hideous feast of Purim, have, it is needless to say, had a deplorable effect in forming the harsher and darker parts of the character which calls itself Christian. They are responsible in no small degree for murderous persecutions, and for the extirpation or oppression of heathen races. The dark side of the Puritan character in particular is traceable to their influence. Macaulay mentions a fanatical Scotch Calvinist whose writings, he says, hardly bear a trace of acquaintance with the New Testament.

Jael, when she decoyed her husband's ally into her tent and slew him while he was resting trustfully beneath it, broke in the most signal manner the sacred rule of Arab hospitality, as well as the ordinary moral law. The comment of orthodoxy upon this is: "If we can overlook the treachery and violence which belong to the age and country, and bear in mind Jael's ardent sympathies with the oppressed people of God, her faith in the right of Israel to possess the land in which they were now slaves, her zeal for the glory of Jehovah as against the gods of Canaan, and the heroic courage and firmness with which she executed her deadly purpose, we shall be ready to yield to her the praise which is her due."* The extenuating motives supplied by the commentator are not to be found in the text. To reconcile us to the assassination of Eglon, a distinction is drawn between God's providential order and his moral law, the providential order ordaining what the moral law would forbid.

The writer heard the other day a very beautiful Christian sermon on the purity of heart in virtue of which good men see God. But the lesson of the day, read before that sermon, was

* The Speaker's Commentary, *ad loc.*

the history of Jehu. Jehu, a usurper, begins by murdering Joram, the son of his master Ahab, King of Israel, and Ahaziah, the King of Judah, neither of whom had done him any wrong. He then has Jezebel, Ahab's widow, killed by her own servants. Next he suborns the guardians and tutors of Ahab's seventy sons in Samaria to murder the children committed to their care and send the seventy heads to him in baskets to be piled at the gate of the city. Then he butchers the brethren of Ahaziah, King of Judah, with whom he falls in on the road, two-and-forty in number, for no specified or apparent crime. On his arrival at Samaria there is more butchery. Finally he entraps all the worshippers of Baal, by an invitation to a solemn assembly, and massacres them to a man. At the end of this series of atrocities the Lord is made to say to him, "Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes and hast done unto the house of Ahab all that was in my heart, thy children unto the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel."

David is loyal, chivalrous, ardent in friendship, and combines with adventurous valor the tenderness which has led to our accepting him as the writer of some of the Psalms. So far, he is an object of our admiration, due allowance for time and circumstance being made. But he is guilty of murder and adultery, both in the first degree; he puts to death with hideous tortures the people of a captured city; on his death-bed he bequeaths to his son a murderous legacy of vengeance; he exemplifies by his treatment of his ten concubines, whom he shuts up for life, the most cruel evils of polygamy (2 Samuel, xx., 3). The man after God's own heart he might be deemed by a primitive priesthood to whose divinity he was always true; but it is hardly possible that he should be so deemed by a moral civilization. Still less possible is it that we should imagine the issues of spiritual life to be so shut up that from this man's loins salvation would be bound to spring.

The books of the Old Testament, and notably the historical books, are for the most part by unknown authors and of unknown dates. Nor do they put forward themselves any claim to inspiration. Where they cite elder authorities, such as the book of Jasher, they in effect declare themselves indebted to human records, and therefore uninspired. Preachers, especially preachers

of reform, speak in the name of Heaven. Oriental and primitive preachers speak as the inspired organs of Heaven. The Prophets, whose name, with its modern connotation, is scarcely more appropriate than it would be if applied to Savonarola or John Wesley, are in this respect like others of their class. One of them when bidden to prophesy calls for a minstrel, under the influence of whose strains the hand of the Lord comes upon him (2 Kings, iii., 15; see also 1 Samuel, x., 5). All seers, as their name imports, have visions. Primitive lawgivers speak by divine command. In no other way, apparently, is inspiration claimed by the authors of the Old Testament.

Jesus came to substitute a religion of conscience for that of law, a religion of humanity for that of the tribe, worship in spirit and in truth for worship in the Temple. His preaching was a reaction against the Judaism then impersonated in the Pharisee, afterwards developed in the Talmud, and now fully represented in the Talmudic Jew. But he was not a revolutionist. Like Socrates, he accepted established institutions, including the national ritual, and in that sense fulfilled all righteousness. He accepted the sacred books among the rest, and in addressing an audience which believed in them, he cited them and appealed to their authority in the usual way. He cites the book of Jonah, and in terms which seem to show that he regards it as a real history; so that a literalist, like the late Dr. Liddon, took fire at being told that the book was an apologue, considering this an impeachment of the veracity of Jesus. Yet few, even of the most orthodox, would now profess to believe that Jonah sojourned in the belly of a fish. St. Paul in like manner treats the narrative of the Fall of Adam in Genesis as historical and connects a doctrine with it, though the mythical character of the narrative is admitted, as we have seen, even by a dignitary of the Church.

The Evangelists, simple-minded, find in the sacred books of their nation prognostications of the character and mission of Jesus. Sometimes, as critical examination shows, a little has been enough to satisfy their uncritical minds (see Matthew ii., 16; xxi., 5). But surely it is something like a platitude to ascribe to them such an idea of Old Testament prophecy as is worked out for us by modern divines such as Keith. No real and specific prediction of the advent of Jesus, or of any event in his life, can be produced from the books of the Old Testament.

At most we find passages or phrases which are capable of a spiritual application, and in that metaphorical sense prophetic. Even of the famous passage in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, if it is read without strong prepossessions, no more than this can be said.

Beyond contest and almost beyond compare is the beauty, spiritual as well as lyrical, of some of the Psalms. But there are others which it is shocking to hear a Christian congregation reciting, still more shocking, perhaps, to hear it chanting in a church. To wish that your enemy's wife may be a widow, and that his children may be fatherless and have none to pity them, is Oriental. To wish that his prayer may be turned to sin and that Satan may stand at his right hand, to wish in short for his spiritual ruin, is surely Oriental and something more. The writer in *Lux Mundi*, already cited, would persuade himself and us that these utterances are not those of personal spite, but "the claim which righteous Israel makes upon God that He should vindicate himself and let her eyes see how righteousness turns again to judgment." This is the way in which we have been led by our traditional belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament to play fast and loose with our understandings and with our moral sense. It might almost as well be pretended, when the Greek poet Theognis longs to drink the blood of his political enemies, that he is not actuated by hatred, but has some great moral object in his mind.

What is the Old Testament? It is the entire body of Hebrew literature, theology, philosophy, history, fiction, and poetry, including the poetry of love as well as that of religion. We have bound it all up together as a single book, and bound up that book with the New Testament, as though the religion of the two were the same and the slaughter of the Canaanites or the massacre of the day of Purim were a step towards Christian brotherhood and the Sermon on the Mount. We have forcibly turned Hebrew literature into a sort of cryptogram of Christianity. The love-song called The Song of Solomon has been turned into a cryptogrammic description of the union of Christ with his Church. A certain divine, when his advice was asked about the method of reading the Scriptures, used to say that his method was to begin at the beginning and read to the end; so that he would spend three hours at least on the Old Testament for one that he spent on

the New, and would read the list of the Dukes of Edom as often as he read the Sermon on the Mount. The first step towards a rational appreciation of the Old Testament is to break up the volume, separate the acts of Joshua or Jehu from the teachings of Jesus, and the different books of the Old Testament from each other.

The language of the Jews was the same as that of the other inhabitants of Canaan, and it seems probable that their religion also was originally the same. This view appears more likely and more consistent with analogy than the supposition that the Jews, having set out with tribal monotheism, fell away from it to fetishism, idolatry, and to the worship of the powers of nature, with sensual rites. We are told in fact (Joshua xxiv., 2) that the ancestors of Abraham served other gods. How, or by what influences, whether those of individual reformers like the prophets, or of general circumstance, the nation rose from fetishism and nature-worship to tribal monotheism of an eminently pure and exalted type seems to be a historical mystery. Higher than to tribal monotheism it did not rise; at least it advanced no further than to the belief that its god was supreme in power as well as in character to all other gods, and thus Lord of the whole earth. He was still the God of Israel, and the Jews were still his chosen people. Judaism, therefore, never reached the religious elevation of some chosen spirits among the heathen world, such as Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus; although the Jewish belief was more intense than that of the philosophers and extended not only to a select circle but to a portion at least of the people.

Nor could the Jew, hampered as he was by lingering tribalism, form a conception of the universality and majesty of the moral law such as we find in Plato or in Cicero. There is nothing in the Hebrew writings like a passage in Cicero's *Republic*, preserved by Lactantius: "There is a true law, right reason, in unison with nature, all-embracing, consistent, and eternal, which, by its commands, calls to duty, by its prohibitions, deters from crime, which, however, never addresses to the good its commands or its prohibitions in vain, nor by command or prohibition moves the wicked. This law cannot be amended, nor can any clause of it be repealed, nor can it be abrogated as a whole. By no vote either of the Senate or of the people, can we be released from it.

It requires none to explain or to interpret it. Nor will there be one law at Rome and another at Athens; one now, and another hereafter. For all nations and for all time there will be one law, immutable and eternal; there will be a common master and ruler of all—God, the framer, exponent, and enactor of this law, whom he who fails to obey will be recreant to himself, and, renouncing human nature, will, by that very fact, incur the severest punishment, even though he should escape other penalties real or supposed."* Equally broad is the language of the *De Legibus:* "Since, then, nothing is superior to reason, whether in God or man, it is by partnership in reason, above all, that man is connected with God. Partnership in reason is partnership in right reason; and as law is right reason, law again is a bond between God and man. Community of law is community of right. Those to whom these things are common are citizens of the same commonwealth. If men obey the same power and rule, much more do they obey this celestial code, the divine mind and the supreme power of God. So that we must regard this universe as one and a single commonwealth of gods and men. And whereas in states, on a principle of which we will speak in the proper place, the position of the citizen is marked by his family ties, in the universal nature of things we have something more august and glorious—the bond of kinship between gods and men."†

Of a belief in the immortality of the soul no evidence can be found in the Old Testament, though readers of the Bible who persist in using the unrevised version may remain under the impression that the doctrine is found in Job. Sheol is merely, like the Hades of the Odyssey, a shadowy abode of the Dead. The rewards and punishments of the Old Testament are temporal and material; its rewards are wealth and offspring, its punishments are beggary and childlessness. The only immortality of which there is any idea in it is the perpetuation of a man's family in his tribe. The vindication and requital of Job's virtue are added wealth and multiplied offspring. Nor do we find in the Old Testament that moral immortality, if the expression may be used, which is found in Greek and Roman philosophers, who, without speaking definitely of a life after death, identify the virtuous

* *Divin. Instit.*, VI., 8.
† *De Leg.*, I., 7.

man with the undying power of virtue and intimate that it would be well with him in the sum of things.

Not assuredly that the Hebrew literature lacks qualities, irrespective of its dogmatic position, such as may account for the hold which it has retained, in spite of its primeval cosmogony, theology, or morality, on the allegiance of civilized minds. The sublimity of its cosmogony impressed, as we know, Longinus. Voltaire himself could hardly have failed to acknowledge the magnificence of some parts of the prophetic writings, though in other parts he might find marks for his satire. All must be touched by the beauty of the story of Joseph, and the Book of Ruth. Admirable are both the religious exaltation and the lyrical excellence of some of the Psalms. The histories are marred by tribalism, primeval inhumanity, and fanaticism; but they derive dignity as well as unity from the continuous purpose which runs through them, and which in the main is moral; since Jehovah was a God of rightousness and purity, perhaps even of mercy, in contrast with the gods of other tribes, and his worship, though ritual, sacrificial, and unlike the worship "in spirit and in truth," the advent of which was proclaimed to the woman of Samaria, was yet spiritual compared with that of deities whose votaries gashed themselves with knives or celebrated lascivious orgies beneath the sacred tree.

Hebrew law is primitive, and the idea of reviving it, conceived by some of the Puritans, was absurd. But it is an improvement in primitive law. It makes human life sacred, treating murder as a crime to be punished with death, not as a mere injury to be compounded by a fine. It recognizes the avenger of blood, the rude minister of justice before the institution of police; but it confines his office to the case of wilful murder, and forbids hereditary blood-feuds. It recognizes asylum, a necessary check on wild primeval passion, but confines it to accidental homicide, ordaining that if a man slay his neighbor with guilt, he shall be taken, even from the altar, and put to death. It recognizes the father's power of life and death over his child, *patria potestas*, as the Roman called it, but unlike the hideous Roman law, it requires public procedure and a definite charge, while it secures mercy by requiring the concurrence of the mother. It recognizes polygamy, but strives to temper the jealousies and injustice of the harem. It is comparatively hospitable and liberal in its treatment of the

stranger. Its Sabbath was most beneficent, especially to the slave, and strictness was essential to the observance among a primitive people. The ordeal is confined to the particular case of a wife suspected of infidelity, and divination is forbidden save by the Urim and Thummim. The law mitigates the customs of war, requiring that a city shall be summoned before it is besieged, and forbidding the cutting down of the fruit trees in a hostile country, which was regularly practiced by the Greeks; while the female captive, instead of being dragged at once to the bed of the captor, is allowed a month of mourning. Nor is war exalted or encouraged, as it was among the Assyrians and the Persians. Service is to be voluntary; captains are to be chosen only when the army takes the field, so that there would be no military class; horses and chariots are not to be multiplied. Jehovah, though a God of battles, is not characteristically so. Not victory in war, but peace, is the normal blessing. Kings it was expected the Israelites would have like the nations around them. But unlike the kings of the nations around them, their king was to be the choice of the nation, he was to be under the law, which he was to study that his heart might not be lifted up among his brethren, and his luxury, his harem, his accumulation of treasure, and his military establishment were to be kept within bounds. Finally, while there was to be a priestly order, that order was not to be a caste. The Levites were to be ordained by the laying on of the hands of the whole assembly of Israel. Nor, while the ritual was consigned to the priesthood, was religious teaching confined to them; its organs were the prophet and the psalmist. Worship was sacrificial, and all sacrifice is irrational. But there was no human sacrifice, and the scape-goat was a goat, not, as among the polished Athenians, a man. The American slave-owner could appeal to the Old Testament as a warrant for his institution. Slavery there was everywhere in primitive times, but the Hebrew slave-law is more merciful than that either of Greece or Rome, notwithstanding the ordinance, shocking to our sense, which held the master blameless for killing his slave if death was not immediate, on the ground that the slave "was his money."* The belief

*An essay written by the author on the question "Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?" has probably been long since forgotten. In its line of argument against slavery as an anachronistic and immoral revival of a primitive and once moral institution it was consistent with the present paper. But the essay was written in the penumbra of orthodoxy and would now require very great modification.

in witchcraft as a crime to be punished by death unhappily is also true, and, though not prominent, gave birth in misguided Christendom to an almost incredible series of atrocities. How far these ordinances actually took effect, how far they were speculative and ideal, we cannot say. The ordinance against cutting down the fruit trees in an enemy's country certainly was not observed, for the fruit trees of the Moabites are cut down, Elisha giving the word (2 Kings, iii., 19). The agricultural polity of family freeholds, reverting to the family in the year of Jubilee, may safely be said to have never come into practical existence but to have been the ideal republic of some very Hebrew Plato. From the social point of view, perhaps the most notable passages of the Old Testament are those rebuking the selfishness of wealth and the oppression of the poor in the prophetic writings and the Psalms, which have supplied weapons for the champions of social justice. There is scarcely anything like these in Greek or Roman literature. Juvenal complains of the contempt and insult to which poverty exposes a man, but he does not denounce social oppression. In this respect the Mahometan and the Buddhist are perhaps superior to the Greek or Roman. But we shall hardly find anywhere a moral force equal in intensity to that of the Hebrew prophets, narrowly local and national though their preaching is.

Religion in the primitive state is completely identified with nationality. For a member of the tribe or of the nation which inherited the religion of the tribe to worship any but the tribal or national god or gods is treason punishable by death. "He that sacrificeth unto any god save unto the Lord only he shall be utterly destroyed." To the importation of this feature of an obsolete tribalism into Christianity, Christendom in part at least owes the fatal identification of the Church with the State, the extermination of the Albigenses, the religious wars, the Inquisition, the burning of Servetus. At the end of the seventeenth century a boy was put to death by the Calvinistic ministers of Scotland for having blasphemed the Lord by questioning the dogma of the Trinity.

That which is not a supernatural revelation may still, so far as it is good, be a manifestation of the Divine. As a manifestation of the Divine the Hebrew books, teaching righteouness and purity, may have their place in our love and admiration for ever;

but the time has surely come when as a supernatural revelation they should be frankly though reverently laid aside, and no more allowed to cloud the vision of free inquiry or to cast the shadow of primeval religion and law over our modern life, as they do when Sabbatarianism debars us from innocent recreation on our day of rest; for it is the Jewish Sabbath that is really before the Sabbatarian's mind. It is useless, and is but paltering with the truth to set up, like the writer in *Lux Mundi*, the figment of a semi-inspiration. An inspiration which errs, which contradicts itself, which dictates manifest incredibilities, such as the stopping of the sun, Balaam's speaking ass, Elisha's avenging bears, or the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar, is no inspiration at all. It requires the supplementary action of human criticism to winnow the truth from the falsehood, and the result of the process varies with the personal tendencies of the critics. Nobody would ever have thought of it except as an expedient to cover retreat. We do but tamper with our own understandings and consciences by such attempts at once to hold on and let go, to retain the shadow of a belief when the substance has passed away. The believers in verbal inspiration, of whom some still remain, desperate as are the difficulties with which they have to contend, stand comparatively on firm ground. Verbal inspiration is at all events a consecrated tradition; semi-inspiration is a subterfuge, and nothing more. These are troublous times. The trouble is everywhere: in politics, in the social system, in religion. But the storm centre seems to be in the region of religion. The fundamental beliefs on which our social system has hitherto rested are giving way. To replace them before the edifice falls, and at the same time to give us such knowledge as may be attainable of man's estate and destiny, thought must be entirely free.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

OUR BENEFITS FROM THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

COLUMBUS died in the belief that the way to India and far Cathay led through the Caribbean Sea. His faith will in part be justified when the Nicaragua Canal is opened to the commercial navies of the world.

The dawn of the twentieth century will be the psychological moment for America—as the United States are popularly, though eclectically, called. She will then have reached the most critical stage conceivable in her development as a nation; and it were well that her statesmen, recognizing this fact, should be prepared to perform their duty as the trustees of those who have placed them in power. European nations, who have never ceased to threaten the Isthmus—the true path for sea-power between West and East, as Cromwell, Nelson, and even Columbus appear to have recognized—and, in particular, Great Britain, whose commercial interests predominate and whose navy is supposed to hold the command of the sea, may severally or collectively call upon America to make good her pretensions or to resign the proud position which Nature and the genius of her sons have clearly assigned to her. She will be pressed to decide, whether she aspires to the rank and responsibilities of a world-power, or is content to play the part of a Hanseatic Confederation, whose influence, however great, must necessarily be restricted within comparatively narrow and selfish limitations.

In these days of political and commercial rivalry, embracing the whole world, the nebulous Monroe Doctrine—as understood by the masses in America and Europe—will, of necessity, be dissipated, unless it be condensed into some visible form of resistance against the encroachment of Europe. In plain words, the Monroe Doctrine, in its negative, protective, and final aspects,

can only be upheld by force of arms : by a navy capable of disputing the claims of the world to a closer share in the development of Central and South America, or by an ally, who, for a consideration, may be willing to guarantee the preservation of American interests. As an Englishman, I should like to see Great Britain presiding over the projected Isthmian Canal ; but, as a geographer, who may be permitted to regard such issues from a philosophical point of view, I am compelled to admit, that the claims of America, in spite of many reasons which invalidate them, are, morally speaking, in excess of all others. For her the unfettered possession of the canal is a matter of vital concern, involving her very existence as a free and independent people ; but for Europe it means simply commercial and political aggrandisement.

The question is, therefore: Will American statesmen have sufficient patriotism and foresight to subordinate personal ambition to the progressive requirements of a virile population ?

We all know that the development and expansion of nationalities follow the lines of the least resistance, and are governed by inflexible natural laws. Equally well-known are the principles governing the redistribution of trade centres resulting from the opening up of new channels of commerce. That America can continue to maintain her position of isolation and reserve in the family of nations is contrary to the teaching of history. Even in recent years this has been shown to be theoretically impossible. In the question regarding Hawaii, America lost a favorable opportunity of acquiring a naval base that may be absolutely essential to her in the future—indeed, the chief strategic position in the Pacific ; and in the Nicaraguan dispute she honorably acted up to the true principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and thereby renounced forever the spread-eagle claims with which it had hitherto been invested, at least in popular estimation. Her action in raising the diplomatic rank of her chief European ministers to that of ambassadors may be held to indicate that her relations with foreign powers are daily becoming more intimate and important : indeed, her recent pacific intervention between China and Japan proves this beyond dispute.

These, and other examples which might be cited, point to the fact that the United States have outgrown their Constitution, and must, of necessity, assume a positive and progressive, as

against a negative and retrocessional, attitude towards the world. Should America elect to adopt a distinct foreign policy, with all its consequences, she will, of course, require a navy capable of enforcing her diplomatic representations. Has America such a navy? Indeed, one may ask, without reflecting on the capacity of this arm of the service, which all the world knows to be most efficient, has America a sufficiently strong navy at the present day to venture upon the dangerous expedient of uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific?

In the event of war between Great Britain and France, the British Channel Squadron must first be defeated before her enemy can venture upon invading England; and yet we hesitate to help France by constructing a Channel tunnel uniting the two countries, in spite of the obvious facilities for destroying it at a moment's notice. When the Nicaragua Canal is opened, Europe will be brought to the very doors of America—to her chief strategic naval base. The West Indies will partially regain their former political importance, and of these islands Jamaica, in the hands of Great Britain, practically commands the Atlantic entrance to the canal. On the Pacific seaboard, the Galapagos Islands, belonging to Ecuador, appear to me to be the most suitable naval base for protecting an Isthmian canal. Can America, under existing circumstances, uphold her political supremacy and guarantee the protection of her commercial interests?

By the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) Great Britain and America not only agreed to neutralize any canal that might be built across the Isthmus, but also bound themselves to abstain from any annexations of territory in Central America.* To Great Britain, holding the command of the sea, it is of no great consequence whether or not she be debarred from further political domination over the Isthmus, provided the Canal remains neutralized, but to America such abstention would appear to be no longer possible.

The present disturbance of the balance of power in the Pacific by the uprising of Japan, a formidable military and naval power, and the consequent destruction of the Chinese myth; the impulse given to international, and especially British, commerce

* The English settlement at Belize, now called British Honduras, is, I am aware, regarded in America as an infringement of this treaty; but there were special pre-existing conditions which, under the subsequent convention with Guatemala (1859), constituted a legitimate, though contested, claim on the part of Great Britain.

in the Pacific by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in connection with fast steamers (armed cruisers) shortening the route between Europe and Eastern Asia; the projected direct cables along this new pathway of commerce; and finally, the inevitable construction of the Nicaragua Canal—all these are events indicating the advent of a time, not so very remote, when the Pacific will vie with the Atlantic as a pathway to the far East. The route through the Suez Canal is open to many objections, on account of the dangers to sea-borne commerce in time of war.

The favorable geographical position of America, presiding over one of the chief *foci* of international commerce and holding what may be the key to the future command of the sea, offers a national ambition which no statesman can afford to neglect. Similar conditions led to the creation of the Roman Empire and to the expansion of Great Britain. Will America, with these examples before her, accept the greatness that is thrust upon her, and recognize her responsibilities; and will her sons respond to the call thus made upon her courage and resources? These are questions that must be answered soon.

An ever-increasing navy, an adequate army, naval bases and coaling stations—if not colonies—must necessarily hamper for many years to come the internal development of a young country. Add to these, the adoption of a sound foreign policy, with all its consequences, and America may well hesitate on the course which is marked out for her, directly the Nicaragua Canal is opened to traffic. But as "Rome was not built in a day," and as the British Empire is the growth of centuries of strenuous effort, America may comfort herself with the hope that "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The only comfort denied her is, that if she refuse to occupy vital strategic positions well within her grasp, some other power may snap them up. If her Constitution prohibit national expansion, all one can say is: So much the worse for the Constitution, which in these days ought to be sufficiently robust to stand "the higher criticism."

Having roughly outlined the political aspect of our subject, we may now glance at the co-related conditions of international commerce, in regard to the displacement of trade centres by the marriage of the Pacific with the Atlantic. If, politically speaking, the opening of the Nicaragua Canal carries with it many

dangers as well as advantages to the development of America, the commercial prospects may be said to promise nothing but profit.

The relation between trade routes and distributing centres is a subject of the highest importance, not only to merchants, but also, and in a greater degree, to the statesmen who direct and control the colonial and foreign affairs of a country. That this relation is of the most intimate kind, and the result of a natural law which has been evident since the days when the civilizations of China, India, Arabia, and the Mediterranean were first evolved, is a well-marked historical fact. To go no further back than the inauguration of the Suez Canal, about twenty-five years ago, Great Britain is still experiencing the unfavorable results of the deflection of commerce from the Cape route to that by the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. Instead of London being the chief distributing centre of the riches of the Far East, as in earlier times, there have arisen in the Mediterranean basin a number of competitive centres. The Mediterranean Powers thus enjoy a partial revival of their ancient prosperity. To Great Britain, as the monopolist of the sea-borne commerce of the world, this has proved a serious financial loss, and it is only by seeking compensation elsewhere, *e. g.*, in the acquisition of new markets, that her merchants can hope to retain their paramount advantages.

But, perhaps, the fundamental reason—apart from maritime and colonial enterprise—why Great Britain has distanced her rivals is that she is the only power enjoying the facilities of Free Trade. Whilst all other powers are Protectionist, in the largely unfulfilled hope of nourishing their growing industries, Great Britain has never deviated from her present fiscal policy since the time of its adoption. Every market in the world, which can be approached by sea, is at her disposal. The absurdity to which Protection has been carried, especially by America, in the vain attempt to keep out British exports and to undermine British commerce, need not be insisted upon in these pages. Every country in the world has been fertilized by British capital—to the extent, it is said, of no less than two thousand millions of pounds sterling. So long, then, as Great Britain pursues a Free Trade policy, and other countries are hampered by Protection, so long will she continue to dominate the markets of the world. If

America were to adopt Free Trade principles she would indeed become a formidable rival.

When the Nicaragua Canal is opened, British freights to San Francisco will be handicapped, as compared with cargoes from the Eastern States of the Union. At present the distance from New York to San Francisco, by Cape Horn, is 15,900 miles, and from Liverpool 16,900 miles, or six per cent. further; but when the Canal is opened, New York will be 4,200 miles from San Francisco, and Liverpool 8,200 miles, or no less than ninety-six per cent. further; thus *doubling* the distance of Europe as compared with the Atlantic States from the Pacific Coast. On the reverse side, from the American point of view, one can well understand the opposition of the trans-continental American railways to the opening up of a short sea route between Atlantic and Pacific trade centres.

Again, when the Nicaragua Canal is opened, the Atlantic States of North America will be within a short distance from the Pacific States of South America; although it is believed that, south of Callao, the carrying trade, by sailing vessels at least, would follow its present course round Cape Horn, in order to escape the canal dues and the light baffling breezes under the Equator. But in this case, steamships would replace sailing vessels and carry American trade much further south.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to formulate a new doctrine, as against the Monroe doctrine:

First, That the welfare of the United States of America is bound up with the maintenance of the British Empire;

Second, That, when the Nicaragua Canal is opened, the United States will be in a position to assume or reject the rank and responsibilities of a world-power; and

Third, That the United States, in alliance with Great Britain and her Colonies, would inevitably lead to the hegemony of the English-speaking race.

The increasing popularity of marriages between American heiresses and British peers encourages the hope that, since nations and individuals develop along parallel lines, America and Great Britain will recognize the obvious advantages of a *mariage de convenance*.

ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

XII.—THE END OF THE EMPIRE.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

I REACHED Paris on Saturday night, 16th July, 1870, hence four-and-twenty hours after the virtual though not official declaration of war between France and Prussia. I had no longer a home in the French capital, for both my relatives were gone. In spite of all that I had heard and seen for fourteen years, during which I had been an attentive listener and, considering my age, a careful observer, I felt almost certain that France would hold her own in the forthcoming struggle, but I did not imagine for a single instant that she would inflict a crushing defeat on her adversary such as her adversary eventually inflicted on her.

Before I went to bed that night my opinions had undergone a considerable change—I will not say a radical one. I did not like the tone of the prologue. I am no physiognomist, but I candidly own that I have more faith in the man who at the hour of supreme danger sets his teeth tightly and stares as if his eyes would come out of their sockets, than in the man who grins open-mouthed and yells and rolls his eyes in a fine frenzy.

I cannot speak from personal experience of the attitude and demeanor of the Berlin people in July, 1870, but there is, perhaps, more valuable evidence than mine in that respect. It is that of a representative Frenchman in the highest sense of the term.* "At seven o'clock in the evening of the 19th (July), the Secretary of the Senate handed me my passports. I was ready to start, and I left Hamburg immediately. Behind me lay Germany, up-

* M. G. Rothan, Minister-Plenipotentiary to the Hanseatic Free Towns.

risen from one end to the other and rushing to arms, grave, solemn, full of hatred, conscious that she was engaging in a mortal struggle, ready for every sacrifice. In Paris I only beheld people yielding to violent excitement, tumultuous scenes, bands of drunken men indulging in patriotic saturnalias. The contrast was heartrending."

What was heartrending to the truly patriotic Frenchman became well-nigh disgusting to the alien with less fiercely pulsing blood in his veins, but who, alien though he was, had learned to love France during and for the many happy years he had spent within her borders. I was almost sorry I had come to Paris; the confidence of the previous four-and-twenty hours in France's ability to confront the imminent danger with something like moderate results received a shock there and then.

It took me nearly an hour to get to the Café de la Paix, where I knew I should find the only man in Paris whom I could frankly ask for information without exposing myself to the risk of a rebuff and worse perhaps. Joseph Ferrari was my uncles' old friend, and knew their nephew well enough not to suspect him of being a spy in the pay of Bismarck. Diplomatically he was not only the best-informed man in France, but the man who had probably thoroughly sifted whatever information he had got and subjected the residuum to the most critical analysis.

Ferrari was seated outside the café amidst a group of seven or eight, Imperialists to a man. I knew most of them by sight, but no more. Ferrari shook hands with me very cordially, but did not even ask me when I had arrived. It was the first time we met since, a twelvemonth earlier, we had parted on the platform of the Northern Railway Station, whither he had accompanied the remains of my younger uncle on their way to their last resting-place in a little cemetery near Amsterdam, where the yellow waters of the Y splash in low, plaintive ripples against the shore.

I took the hint, ordered some coffee, and sat silently by his side for nearly three hours, at the end of which I had arrived, at any rate, at the conclusion, that if Bismarck, as was alleged at the time, spent a great deal of money in maintaining a staff of spies in France, he was absolutely flinging those sums out of the window. There was no need to go hunting for secret information; everything worth knowing seemed to be known to at least a half dozen persons nearest to the Emperor, and they in their turn

made no scruple in telling their friends. A decently-bred and well-dressed man, provided with a couple of letters of introduction to some of the best-known deputies and officials, or to a couple of members of the court circle, would simply have to listen. In less than an hour, for instance, I felt perfectly certain with regard to two or three main points. There was neither a fixed plan of mobilization nor a plan of campaign. With regard to the alliances France might possibly have contracted, all Ferrari's interlocutors agreed that various attempts had been made to secure them; but while one section stoutly maintained that the treaties relating to them were lying sealed and signed in the archives at the Quai d'Orsay, the other was equally positive that the negotiations had altogether fallen through. And yet all these men surrounding Ferrari, and intelligent to a degree—though, of course, intellectually, not to compare with him—would have gasped at the bare suggestion that their country might be crushed in the coming struggle.

"Now, you have heard the bells ring, but you do not know who pulls the ropes," said Ferrari to me that night as I left him at his door. "I fancy I can show you not only the bell-ringers themselves, but enlighten you as to the substance of the ropes they are pulling." And from that hour until a few days after Woerth, when I left Paris temporarily, he indicated to me the "undercurrents" that had been and were still at work. The information gathered from him piecemeal, as well as what I saw personally during those three weeks, is embodied in the following pages. I have, moreover, read and heard a good deal since, which, for convenience' sake, I will incorporate here instead of making separate footnotes.

"You heard the whole of them last night," Ferrari said next morning; "you heard the whole of them last night talking about France's alliances. There is not a word of truth in the statements of either of the parties. There is not a single treaty to that effect deposited in the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, nor have any negotiations fallen through. Both Austria and Italy—Napoleon's main dependence—are playing a waiting game; if you want it more plainly, both Nigra and Metternich are leading the Emperor and Gramont by the nose. It would not be very difficult to do this with regard to the latter under any circumstances; it would be more difficult with the

Emperor but for his excruciating disease, which leaves him rest neither night nor day except under the influence of morphia, and I defy the most clear-headed intellect to work out a problem or to pursue even its own thoughts under such conditions. Except Conneau and a few doctors, no one suspects how ill he really is, for your Napoleon, whom I like nearly as much as your uncles did, is a real man of courage. If he were not so ill as he is, he might become alive to the fact just now that those Rhine provinces which are fundamentally the sole cause of the mischief are unattainable, or at any rate not attainable by the means he proposes to attain them by, namely, by attacking Prussia and by inviting Austria and Italy to help him.

"To begin with, Austria and Italy will not, cannot, and dare not help France. Let me explain to you why.

"I will leave Italy aside for a moment. In the first place because such aid as she may be able to afford to France will be almost worthless without the equally active co-operation of Austria. In order to be of any use at all, Italy would have to call out at least 100,000 troops, and in her present state of military organization it would take her at least six or seven weeks to do this—that is, if the two burning questions, those of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy and the occupation of Rome, had been satisfactorily settled to the advantage of Italy beforehand. Without that, I tell you, there is not the remotest chance of Italy's stirring a finger. I know my country better than the Emperor, and feel positive that, if Victor Emmanuel attempted to mobilize his army without that stipulation—and mind, a public, not a secret, stipulation—his army, much as it loves him, would refuse to move at his bidding, provided it did not stir against him. Our statesmen at the risk of being taxed with ingratitude say to themselves, 'Italy's position with regard to her unification—read with regard to the possession of Rome—would not be improved by a victory of France over Prussia; it would be seriously improved by a defeat of France, or even by a *drawn* campaign, which would necessarily lead to a Congress.' This, I own, is black ingratitude, but I am not responsible for it, and, if I were, I would follow the tactics of Lanza or whosoever stood in his place.

"Granted, however, that all those difficulties be satisfactorily removed offhand, I repeat, it will take, then, six weeks to mobil-

ize 100,000 troops, which, if Austria still holds aloof by that time, will have to be directed on to Lyons, and have to cross a great part of France by rail. By then, take my word for it, the issue of the struggle will have been virtually decided. If France be able to hold her own single-handed for six or seven weeks after the real outbreak of the war, she will be able to do so afterwards, and will need no help of any one—provided she interprets the words 'holding her own' in their most literal sense. If she attempts territorial aggrandisement—the territorial aggrandisement Napoleon has been dreaming of for years—under no matter what specious title, she will practically make a scourge for her own back, for in spite of Napoleon's hare-brained theories on the subject, the South German States want none of his protection against Prussia; and if they do not rally around her now, they would rally round her then; and what is more, Austria, who is wavering now, who, like Italy, is waiting to see how the cat jumps, would waver no longer. Austria's love, like Juliet's, would spring from her only hate. She would scarcely care to see Würtemberg and Bavaria under French protection or allied to France, for in such conditions Baden would scarcely prove an obstacle to an otherwise unhindered march of the French into Bohemia. Austria has had enough of that kind of thing under Napoleon's uncle."

"Then why those drafts of projected treaties at the existence of which you yourself hinted?" I asked.

"Did not I tell you that both Austria and Italy are waiting to see how the cat jumps? If those drafts exist, and I feel certain of the existence of one, and nearly certain of the existence of the other, then final execution, I mean the signing of them by the three contracting parties, would still be dependent on so many conditions that at the last moment one or both of France's contemplated allies might find a pretext for retreat. Do not lose sight of the following facts. Austria will not act without Italy. That is no surmise on my part, but an ascertained fact. Austria is, moreover, a Catholic power, and as such determined to maintain the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy, which Italy is equally determined to destroy. . . . But," and here he took out his watch, "I have outstayed my time; I shall see you again by and bye, and will tell you more."

With which he left me to my own devices and reflections. The former were few, the latter many. Under different circumstances, I should have looked up my French acquaintances. After an absence of more than a twelvemonth, I should have had a friendly welcome, albeit that during that twelvemonth not one had probably given a thought to me. The Parisian character is essentially constituted like that. Out of sight, out of mind. But I felt not certain of my reception in the present state of affairs. So I made up my mind to have luncheon by myself and to wander about the streets in the afternoon. My uncles and I had frequently dined at the Faisan Doré, in the Rue des Martyrs. As I grew up, I lunched there now and again when the state of my purse would run to it, and when the fare of the Brasserie des Martyrs, next door, or Dinochaux's, hard by in the Rue Bréda, was not to my taste. Consequently, I was not altogether a stranger there. I might have been, for all the notice I got on my entering the establishment from the principal down to the cashier and the waiters, *all of whom* had seen me but a twelvemonth before. On the 13th or 14th July I should probably have had a sign of recognition and a smile from every one; on the 16th I had become an enemy to France, perhaps a spy. I have never set foot in the Faisan Doré since, though for five years I had to pass its doors twice a day to go and eat elsewhere.

I ate my meal in silence, notwithstanding the familiar faces of several of the customers. I went out, and at the corner of the Faubourg Montmartre ran against my friend Körner. "I am glad I met you before I go," he said, holding out his hand; "let us have the stirrup cup, if it be only the stirrup cup of coffee," he laughed, no doubt in allusion to my frugal habits in the way of liquor.

"But I thought that in virtue of certain laws you were exempt from military service," I remarked, when we were seated.

"So I am," he answered.

"Then you are going to join as a volunteer?"

He looked amazed. "I am not going as a volunteer at all. I was born in Paris, that's true, but I am too German to fight on the side of the French, and too conscientious to fight against them. So I am going to Brussels." Then he stopped, but in another moment he went on. "Practically, this is the doing of the French themselves, who maintain that men of German blood,

even if born in France, can never become Frenchmen. They are right, nevertheless. I should have stayed here to await events if the manager of the bank had not dismissed me yesterday morning, without rhyme or reason apparently. 'You had better be gone, monsieur,' he said. 'I cannot have you here. Your fellow-clerks would make life intolerable to you.' With this he handed me a voucher for a month's salary. I went home somewhat crestfallen, I own. On the doorstep I was met by my concierge. 'Monsieur,' she whispered, 'the proprietor has asked me to tell you to remove your furniture as soon as possible, and yourself with it. He will make you a present of the quarter's rent that has begun. It is not his fault, perhaps. This morning, after you were gone, the tenants came down in a body, and swore that, if you were not out of the house in forty-eight hours, they would be, and the proprietor might fish for his rent.' 'But, madame,' I remonstrated, 'I was born and bred in this house; my mother, father, and grandfather died here. Where am I to go?' '*Ah, ça,*' she replied, shrugging her shoulders as only a Frenchwoman can, '*ça ne me regarde pas.*' And she went on with her sweeping; which indifference did not prevent her from accepting fifty francs this morning under the following circumstances. As you know, my grandfather died in January, and I felt very lonely in this large flat by myself. I thought of giving it up, and, in fact, gave notice to that effect at the end of the March quarter. About six weeks ago I became engaged, and the flat not being let, I decided to keep it on. You know that I am not altogether dependent on my salary at the bank. If all had gone well, I should have been married by the end of the month. I went straight to my wife's parents to tell them what had happened; before I could open my lips, my fiancée's father informed me that my engagement was broken off. There was a lot of highfalutin' about the enemies to his country. I did not take the trouble to answer him, and turned on my heel. But there I was with a houseful of furniture on my hand, and nowhere to put it, for I knew that if I did not shift it within forty-eight hours it would be flung into the street, and I knew, equally, that it would be of no use to appeal to the law at this moment. Three people to whom I successively applied to move and store it refused. They virtually gave me the same answer. They were not going to help a German to get his chattels away, and as for

storing it, they would not be defiled by the furniture's contact. I went to a fourth to try and sell it. The answer was the same. The concierge has sold it for me; she said it was left for rent. At a rough guess it is worth about 4,000 francs, for it was all very good and solid. I got 900 francs for it, out of which I gave the concierge 50 francs."

In the evening I told Ferrari the story. "That's just it," he laughed. "Napoleon, with his ridiculous theory of nationalities, pretends that the mere fact of annexing them would convert those Germans on the left bank of the Rhine into Frenchmen, when two centuries of French rule, and by no means stringent rule, have failed to do so in the case of the Alsatians. Look at the Irish in America and the French in Canada; they have remained Irish and French in spite of everything. But all this is of a piece with Napoleon's dream of turning Austria, the persistent enemy of France, into her friend. Henri IV. and Richelieu, who were as good politicians as the son of Hortense, looked at Austria in that light. But Austria is clever, and hating France, as she does and always did, does not mind making a cat's-paw of her. Francis Joseph sends M. and Mme. de Metternich to Eugénie, who worries her husband into a war with Prussia which she calls '*ma guèrre, à moi*'; for Napoleon, in spite of those confounded Rhine provinces, would probably have continued to trust to his sinuous policy to get them. Why the Emperor should persist in regarding Austria as a friend beats my comprehension, and why he should imagine that Austria looks upon France in a friendly light is still more puzzling to me. Marie Louise, the consort of the greatest man that ever lived, shakes the dust of France from off her feet the moment she can; she leaves her son to the tender mercies of her father and old Metternich; on the evening of the day she learns the news of Napoleon the Great's death she goes to the theatre as if nothing had happened. Antommarchi, who comes to tell her of the hero's death, is not even received by her. The Duc de Reichstadt is practically sequestrated, and his grandfather sanctions all the questionable proceedings of his mother with regard to him. Now look at the other side. Marie Antoinette is murdered in France; the first Napoleon simply treads Austria under foot, and when he marries one of her daughters still conspires against her (against Austria); Napoleon's

nephew despoils Austria in Italy. In the day of Austria's trouble with Prussia, he leaves Austria to face that trouble by herself, although his policy dictates to him a different course; the death of Maximilian, the madness of Maximilian's wife, are virtually Louis Napoleon's doings. Notwithstanding all this, he is befooled by Francis Joseph and Metternich *fils* on the strength of a few sheets of paper which are not even signed, for those sheets of paper do exist, although in due time, if it suits her, Austria will deny this.* But even if they were signed they would be no good, as Andrassy warned the Emperor as early as three years ago. 'Permit me to observe to your Majesty,' he said at Salzburg, 'that a treaty only counts in proportion to its possibility of execution; and I can guarantee your Majesty that Hungary will never allow Austria to make war upon Prussia.' I can only ascribe Napoleon's blindness to the desperate state of his health; for as far as I can see, unless a miracle save both, he is leading France and himself to headlong destruction.

"That he is very ill there is not the least doubt. In a consultation held a fortnight ago between six of the most eminent medical men of France, it was considered necessary to proceed immediately to an operation. But Nélaton shirked the responsibility, owing to his want of success with Niel last year. And now it is too late."

This is but a small instalment of the prognostications of Ferrari. After that, the successive defeats of Reichshofen, Woerth, Beaumont and Sedan were no surprise to me, and when I landed again in Paris on the afternoon of the 3d September, I was prepared for the sequel to Sedan. Yet I thought there might be found a man to save the situation. M. Estancelin, the eminent champion of the Orleanist cause, who is barely recovering from a severe accident as I write, well nigh saved that situation in the Palais Bourbon. But for Trochu, who hesitated, he would have succeeded. Lesseps saved the Tuileries from being sacked and burned on the 4th September. Not for long though.

And the Second Empire finished more ignominiously than it had begun.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

* Ferrari spoke prophetically. Austria did deny the existence of those draft treaties a few years later on, and when the Empress wished to refute the falsehood by producing the documents, they had disappeared from Chiselhurst.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

IV.—THE PIG.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE sheep and the pig may be classed apart from other domestic animals in one particular. Man makes but little use of them during their lifetime. With the exception of the annual tribute of wool which he exacts from the sheep, he chiefly benefits by appointing himself their sole heir and executor, and then arranging for their seasonable demise.

Beyond this unfortunate fellowship the sheep and the pig have but little in common either in habits or history. The more we examine them, the more evident it becomes that they have been developed among utterly different surroundings. Yet in both cases, all the characteristics which render them so valuable to us, served to preserve them during long epochs before the commencement of their captivity.

We now chiefly regard a live hog as so much perambulating bacon. His other physical and moral qualities are totally eclipsed by ideas about the number of pounds of pork which we hope and intend to inherit from him. Let us first, then, consider whence he gets his aptitude for laying on fat. Of course, it is plain that no wild animal could long exist in the condition of the prize hogs which we see exhibited in agricultural shows. Long continued and assiduous care has been exercised by men in enhancing this quality in the domestic breeds both in America and Europe, and in an even greater degree in the far East. Indeed, we are indebted for the delicate flavor and general high quality of our pork to the ingenious Chinaman nearly as much as for our tea and china tea-cups.

The wild boar of Europe is a scraggy giant who would need a vast deal of civilizing before his gaunt and sinewy frame could be cushioned over with the proper thickness and quality of adipose tissue. Very many years ago, breeders found that the European pigs were much improved by being crossed with the Chinese. These are of a different race altogether, and are not found wild anywhere at the present day. The careful Mongolians have kept and improved them for untold centuries, and this doubtless accounts for their superiority from the farmers' point of view.

But the disposition to lay on an enormous amount of fat when food is plentiful dates back far beyond the beginning of the Chinese Empire. And what is more, it was a most necessary habit of the pig's wild ancestors in any but hot climates; for in all probability the hog which did not get fat in the fall would perish during a hard winter. One would not think that there was much resemblance between fat pork and honey, yet analysts tell us that they are chemically very similar. In both cases they were, in the first place, stores laid up for winter use by their respective owners, which man, the arch-plunderer, has appropriated for his own purposes. There was this difference, however, that whereas the bees accumulated their savings in a joint stock bank the pig carried his about with him.

Throughout the spring and summer in Northern and Central Europe, the wild hog, by diligently grubbing for roots and whatever else he could find, managed to make a bare living. But when autumn came and the acorns and beech-mast fell, he revelled in plenty. Moreover, at this season, many of his enemies, such as the bears, were feasting on the ripe berries and nuts, so that he was left in comparative peace. The result was that, in the few weeks between the fall of the mast and the first severe weather, he filled out amazingly. Then came the winter, during which he had to face the cold, and find what food he could beneath the snow or on the hard frozen ground. Towards the end of winter the most trying time came. The earth was still hard with frost, and every nut or acorn in the forest had been picked up by the thousands of hungry searchers. The pig was no longer fat; his inward store had well nigh been consumed. It was always an anxious question with him whether he would "save his bacon" until the breaking of the frost.

You will see then that the hog, which had within his own private bank a dollar's worth of savings, in the form of lard,

when his fellows were insolvent, would in an exceptionally protracted and severe winter be one of the few to survive. He would naturally transmit his fattening tendencies to his descendants, and so it comes about that, in the present day, no animal so handsomely responds to liberal feeding as the domestic pig.

Many other beasts which live under somewhat the same conditions share with the hog this faculty for accumulating a store of fat during the fall, but in no other case has it been taken advantage of by man to such an extent.

There are two other characteristics of the pig which we find of great value ; viz.: his tough skin and bristly coat. We will now discuss the natural origin of these. We have seen that the horse, the ass, the sheep, and the goat, found it necessary to retire from low and marshy regions where cover was abundant and which swarmed with voracious foes.

Not so the wild hog. He stayed and faced the danger. If you observe the shape of a lean pig you see at once that he has been built for forcing his way through dense canebrakes and jungles. He is shaped something like a submarine boat or a Whitehead torpedo. His nose is the thin end of a wedge or rather a cone for forcing apart the close-set stems of his native thickets. His hide, especially about the shoulders and back, is extraordinarily tough.

The bristly covering of the wild hog is a perfect protection against the thorns and he will plunge at headlong speed through dense masses of bramble and briar where no other animal of his size and weight could follow. If any of us were to pursue the same track we should get our clothes, and afterwards our skins, torn to shreds. He merely gets his hair thoroughly combed and rather likes it than otherwise.

The true wild boars and the *feral* hogs which have escaped from captivity in various parts of the world, go about in herds for mutual protection ; and when one is attacked the others stand by him and defend him. This affords an explanation of the original use of the shrill voice of the pig, and of his readiness to exercise it whenever he is in trouble. In fact, whenever you hear a pig squealing you hear a testimony to the intrepid deeds of his race in the past, as eloquent and emphatic as a Fourth of July oration. In the wild state it was his appeal for help, to which he knew his brethren, one and all, would respond with splendid loyalty and courage. Many a hunter has had to climb a

tree to save his life after wounding one of a herd of peccaries. Now the hog would not expend his breath in ear splitting squeaks unless he felt pretty sure of getting some benefit from so doing. His squealing, therefore, amounts to a lively expression of faith in the noble moral qualities of his brethren. It conveys precisely the same sentiment as do the words of a stump orator when he says: "Gentlemen, I well know your constancy and your courage! You have proved many times in the past that you are no mugwumps who go to roost on a fence when the party is in danger! I confidently look to you therefore to stand by me in the present tremendous crisis."

The continual grunting of the pig is also of interest as revealing something of the conditions of life of his wild ancestors. A herd of swine scattered in the long grass or among the brackens of a European forest would soon lose sight of one another. But the grunts of each would still advertise his presence to his neighbors; and so the individual members of the herd would not lose touch with the main body. Then there are grunts and grunts. If one of my readers will imitate the ingenious Mr. Garner, and take a phonograph to the nearest pig-sty he might get material to make up a book on the language and grammar of the hog. However thick the jungle the wild pig could, by taking note of the pitch and emphasis of the grunts to right and left of him tell pretty much what his hidden colleagues were thinking about.

There is another peculiarity of the *suidæ*, or pig tribe, which is of great importance to the farmer, and which at the same time tells a tragic tale of the circumstances of the early forefathers of our domestic hogs. They are very prolific, and produce from half a dozen to twenty at a birth, whereas the other animals which we have discussed produce as a rule only one or two.

Now, in a state of freedom the number of individuals of an established species remains fairly constant from year to year. If they doubled every year, the world would soon be overpopulated. Supposing they increased ten fold and could find sustenance, it would not take many generations to pack the whole surface of the earth with hogs as closely as a Chicago pork factory yard before a grand kill. There must, therefore, be a corresponding annual destruction of life to make up for the increase, or, more properly speaking, the rate of increase must become adjusted to the amount of annual waste.

But what a state of affairs this reveals! Out of every family of a dozen only one or two were left alive by the following spring. Truly the pig paid dearly for his pig-headedness in sticking to the forest and the swamp! The wolf and the bear, the lynx and the panther were the chief factors in this fearful process of subtraction. You may take it as a general law that when a beast is a member of a large family, born at the same time as himself, his prospects of long life are not good. A life assurance society would not take him at any price, except in the annuity department, nor would a company which grants compensation for accidents.

The natural term of life of the pig is longer than that of the sheep, and the frightful mortality implied by the above facts is therefore due to violence in nearly every case. If he is not made a meal of by a prowling enemy he will probably be killed in battle, for most wild boars will cheerfully attack anything from a kitten to a locomotive.

Even this reckless valour of the pig has been made use of by man in the districts which once swarmed with rattlesnakes; and, curiously enough, directly the grunting warrior appears, the snake seems to know that he has met his match. I should not wonder if some very remote and gallant ancestors of the hog bore the brunt of that deadly war between the reptilian and the warm-blooded inhabitants of the earth to which I alluded in a previous paper.

If so we owe him a debt of gratitude greater than we imagine. What if, after all, "the gintleman that pays the rint," were the real St. Patrick who cleared Ireland of snakes?

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY SIR REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE, K. C. B., CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

To two essays, headed "The House of Representatives and the House of Commons," that Mr. Herbert and Mr. Taylor have contributed to this Review,* I have been asked to furnish a rejoinder. My predecessors on these pages have skilfully and ably stated the arguments they seek to urge: the one as an advocate for the House of Representatives as it is, the other for the House as it might be if an important change was made in its organization; and they attain with much success the diverse ends towards which they strive. But in the main object they have at heart, which is to meet the wide-spread dissatisfaction that is felt respecting Congress, both Mr. Herbert and Mr. Taylor have found that a comparison between the usages of the House of Representatives and of the House of Commons affords them only slight assistance.

This conclusion was inevitable, as comparison between these two most dissimilar institutions is unattainable. The contrast, both outward and inward, between the two Houses is absolute. The Commons are a fighting body, who make and unmake ministries, and might try to upset the British Constitution. The House of Representatives are a digestive body, whose function is to assimilate legislation, coupled with a limited power of worrying the Executive Government; but with no power of touching even the fringe of the Constitution in which America has wrapped herself.

* North American Review, March, 1894, and August, 1894.

Institutions marching toward such contrary directions along the highway of the world are so completely sundered that they cannot be brought within the same area of vision. Forms of procedure, however, must be, to a certain extent, alike, whether in the Parliaments of Japan or of Jericho, especially if the procedure regulates the same class of transaction. Such comments as I may venture upon regarding the ways of Congress shall accordingly be limited to the rival methods adopted in Washington and Westminster for dealing with public money.

Some consideration must, in the first instance, be applied to the results achieved by the two most capable precursors, who have entered before me upon the congressional and parliamentary arena. Mr. Herbert's aim is to show that the House of Representatives not only do their work satisfactorily, but that they could not do it in any other way. With sagacious insight he concentrates his defensive energies upon the committee organization adopted by the House. His adoption of this position is well chosen, as he defends the very being of the House of Representatives by defending the committee system, for that system is the all in all of that assembly.

Owing to the national jealousy of anything approaching a one-man power, and the consequent absence of any single authority, the House of Representatives have sought to acquire the motive force necessary to urge on and to regulate their energies, by a subdivision of authority ; by the delegation of their power to fifty-six standing committees.

That a body politic, which has knotted up its constitutional fibres into fifty-six discordant nerve centres, must act in a distracted way seems certain enough ; and according to public opinion that is the case with the House of Representatives. Mr. Herbert, however, finds safety for the House in this multitude of councillors ; and that resultant confusion, which is espied by others, he does not discover. Most justly, as he asserts, the committee system has beneficial influences. The chief standing committees supply in their chairmen leaders to the House of Representatives, who would otherwise be wanting ; and the guidance of men, "who, by long continuous service, have thoroughly established themselves in the confidence of the House," is invaluable. By their service upon these committees the minorities in Congress, and the varied sections in the Union, find repre-

sentation and a field for their energies otherwise unattainable. Ample opportunities are afforded for debate, and a check is imposed on slovenly legislation. These committees also act as a training ground for the growing statesmen, and bring mature politicians of opposing parties and of different areas of state life into close and friendly relations. Besides these and other blessings that Mr. Herbert ascribes to the House of Representatives, he asserts that they form a guaranty that the people of the United States are determined "that this country shall be great and free and prosperous. And so it is to be."

To the ejaculation which closes Mr. Herbert's essay, Mr. Taylor cannot add his "so be it": his approval would not go beyond an amen "with a difference." Deeply impressed with the "lack of leadership and directing power," in the House of Representatives, which renders its labors chaotic and fruitless, he suggests a remedy; and it is a remedy which deserves sincere respect and consideration from his fellow-countrymen. He proposes to invest the Cabinet with the "right to appear in both Houses to propose measures of legislation" on "great objects of a national character," "and to debate them, without the power to vote"; while, on the other hand, he suggests that Congress should not be able to drive the Cabinet from power by a rejection of their bills. The entire freedom from responsibility which this provision entails on the Cabinet and on Congress, to a mind trained in Westminster, seems to place both bodies in a false position. A knowledge that the Executive Government depends upon the decision of a Legislative Assembly forms a wholesome check upon a reckless use of their voting power. Freed from this check, Congress can deal with the Cabinet bills wholly regardless of their authors. The Cabinet also, as their position cannot be touched by Congress, may be tempted to try experiments in legislation, and to fly political kites instead of directing their energies toward useful proposals. According to the insight that official experience has afforded me, a government entrusted with the proposal of legislation, who are denied a bodily presence in the House of Representatives, and who do not rise, fall, or stand as members of the House, would find that they were charged with the depressing task of "twisting ropes of sand." Even as a business matter, legislation is barely possible to men who stand below the Bar of the House. The personal touch of a bill is es-

sential to give it a chance of becoming law, especially if it has to be carried through a legislature crowded with busy workers. In committee, especially, instant and constant watchfulness is vital to the safety of a bill. According to an Elizabethan parliamentary maxim, "no Committee can destroy a Bill"; but if that rule was binding upon Congress, a committee can effectually overlay and stifle the bills that are entrusted to them, even in the presence of their creators; how far more easily could a committee squeeze into nothingness the parentless foundlings of a Cabinet! And turning to the floor of the House, in the rough and tumble of free and open debate that takes place there, invective and sarcasm discharged across the Bar would not touch the most tender-hided legislator who was within the shelter of the House. A word from a man who could vote against a bill would outweigh the entreaties and warnings of any man, however eloquent, who can only plead in its behalf. An outsider can only bark, bite he cannot.

Mr. Taylor foresees this danger and considers that the duties and responsibility created by the initiation of legislation would endow the Cabinet with power to overcome these legislative trials. The duty, as he remarks, of "drafting and debating great national measures," would force the Cabinet "to surround itself with a trained fighting force." But these fighters would only strike the air, if they are barred out from contact with their opponents. The Cabinet, under Mr. Taylor's scheme, must, as now, rely for the conduct of their bills through the House on "the political friends of the administration." But under the new regime those Cabinet friends would be charged with important and onerous duties, which would impart to them a novel, and perhaps a hazardous position in the Constitution. Their exertions in the House as defenders of the Cabinet bills would identify them with the Cabinet—would, to a certain extent, raise them above the Cabinet. Human nature placed on such vantage ground could hardly resist the temptation afforded by such a commanding position. The congressional friends of the administration might become its masters.

Mr. Taylor prophesies an assured success for his proposal, because "a Cabinet system—under which the Ministry sit in the Chambers with the right to initiate legislation, and to debate without the right to vote, and without losing office upon an

adverse vote—has worked well in practice," and, in proof, he points to "the experience of a federal system strikingly like our own," namely, the Swiss Federal Constitution. This fact may give ground for hope, but a shield that covers a pigmy would be a nothing to a giant. Surely a constitutional engine, that can cope with the needs of Switzerland, might break down under the stress and strain to which it would be subjected by a nation that justly names itself after one of the four quarters of the globe.

There is, moreover, a practical difficulty in the realization of Mr. Taylor's scheme for Cabinet legislation which evidently he has not foreseen, though obvious to those who are versed in the ways either of Congress or of Parliament.

This is the difficulty. How can sufficient time and opportunity be obtained from the House of Representatives, to ensure the successful promotion of the Cabinet bills? And can any arrangement be devised which would act in harmony with the committee organization as it now exists? Mr. Taylor asserts, on the one hand, that the Cabinet bills must "be lifted up out of the mass, debated and disposed of in advance of all other business"; and yet, he subsequently remarks, that "under the committee system, as now organized, the several great committees control in turn the business of the House," whilst, "under the modified system," that he advocates, "the Cabinet would simply have its turn." These two propositions are, in effect, contradictory. To secure for Cabinet legislation a fair chance, the Cabinet must have absolute command over a large portion of each session. Free, open and continuous debate alone can set in motion those waves of public opinion, within Congress and without, which drive important national measures through the clash of conflicting interests, and over the opposition that they must create. And who can prescribe close and narrow limits to free and open debate? "If two men ride on one horse, one must ride behind"; and if Cabinet business is to be "disposed of in advance of all other business," a large restriction must be imposed upon the legislative output of the fifty-six standing committees who dominate over Congress. If the Cabinet is empowered to lift their bills "up out of the mass" of ordinary congressional work, the committees, big and little, must all stand down. If their powers are not curbed, the Cabinet will be mobbed and jostled out of the course by their fifty-six rivals in the legislative race;

nay, even though the action of the Cabinet be stoutly fenced about, and strictly protected, still the chairmen of the principal committees, such as the committees of Ways and Means and the Appropriations might easily, by combined action, hustle the Cabinet bills off the floor of the House.

The strong new Cabinet wine, which Mr. Taylor pours into the House of Representatives, assuredly will burst the old congressional bottle, unless its sides are fortified by many a hoop and rivet. To play the part of instrument-maker to the Constitution of the United States is not a *rôle* for an outsider; I therefore will begin the task on which, with some timidity, I propose to venture, namely, to consider the effect, using Mr. Taylor's apt phrase, of "the headless committee system," upon the national expenditure for which Congress is responsible.

"Do you understand your own government?" If that question was asked of a citizen of the United States regarding the finance system of his Congress, the reply would be, "Yes, certainly, it is spending made easy; if proof be wanted, look at the surpluses of former years; look at the deficit of last year." Yet it never entered the minds of those skillful scrutinizers, Prof. Woodrow Wilson and Prof. Bryce, when they examined the ways of Congress, less than ten years ago, that Congress could attain such a result. Enabled as they are by the study of the past to spy as far as may be into the future, a national deficit, whilst America reposed in absolute peace, seemed to them an impossible achievement.

That the appearance of a big figure on the wrong side of the public ledger is the natural outcome of Congress is shown in another way. The sweet-toned comments made by Mr. Herbert in his essay on the House of Representatives are nowise disturbed by this phenomenon. The event is to him so "in order" that it is passed by unnoticed. Even the increasing money-spending power conferred on the House, by an increased multiplication of their spending committees, is mentioned with approval.

The swelling dimensions of the yearly account which Congress now presents to the United States has attracted some attention. During March, 1892, two eminent practitioners in congressional affairs dealt with the subject in this REVIEW,* the Hon. T. B. Reed—an advocate of more and more expenditure, and the Hon.

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1892.

W. S. Holman—of less and less. But as these essays on the art of "Spending Public Money" are mainly inspired by party spirit, their arguments are useless to a Britisher. The contention I venture to raise is not against party, but against procedure; it is to show that while Congress, as I presume, exists to remove grievances, the biggest grievance that afflicts the United States lies in Congress itself, in the method used by both Houses for the appropriation of public money.

For this endeavor I can claim no novelty. The bright intelligence which animates Prof. Woodrow Wilson has ably pictured the financial muddledom that reigns throughout Congress; and to his remarks, these remarks owe their origin. And he has recognized, to a certain extent, the essential difference that exists between the financial procedure used by Congress and the monetary system which prevails in our Parliament. Thus, here also, in the following comparison between the financial ways of Congress and of Parliament, I gladly accept his leadership. To this word of acknowledgment the writer must add a word of disclaimer. His comparison is not designed to vaunt the practice in vogue at Westminster, or to run down that of Congress. Congress, whatever may be the machinery provided for them, will make it serve their turn. The legislators of the United States, with artistic ingenuity, handle effectively constitutional appliances, however clumsy, and can put the foolish things allotted to their use to wise purposes.

Having thus sought to purge myself of national self-conceit, and to do justice to my brothers across the seas, the comparison in hand shall begin with a study of the relative positions of the highest authorities in Congress and in Parliament.

Our Speaker, we may affirm with pride, is the realization of impartiality. So utterly is the member of Parliament obliterated by his elevation to the Chair, that I may recall this slip of the tongue a Speaker made—with pardonable forgetfulness. He said: "I should recommend,—if I were in the House—"! The Speaker is also not only the maintainer of the privileges of Parliament, but he is the special guardian of the public purse. He rigidly enforces the rules which fasten the initiation of expenditure upon the shoulders of the government, and which impose delays upon the passage of a money bill. I have heard a Speaker, though the suggestion was made solely for the convenience of the

House, firmly resist an appeal from the Prime Minister for a slight infraction of the rule which retards the progress of a money bill. And passing beyond questions of procedure, the present distinguished occupant of the Chair,—the occasion requiring his intervention,—maintained the constitutional principle that no unapplied surplus over and above the money devoted to the service of the year should lie dormant in the Treasury. He warned the House, as his authoritative opinion, that no portion of the public revenue could be reserved for accumulation, pending the decision of Parliament, or be left without a specific appropriation operative during the current financial year. And the Speaker's declaration was obeyed by the government, though obedience imposed upon them a task by no means easy. Again, as part of the ordinary duties of the chair, the Speaker, through officials acting in his behalf, enforces the rule that the grants made for each year's service should correspond exactly with the issues out of the Consolidated Fund authorized for that purpose by the Committee of Ways and Means.

The duties imposed on the distinguished men who occupy the chair in the House of Representatives are far otherwise. The Speaker of that House is a great party chief: an umpire bound, if he can help it, not to rule his own side out. Accordingly, the result of a session may be predicted from the occupant of the chair. To use the Scottish adage, "Show me the man and I will show you the law," members of the House of Representatives may say, "Show us our Speaker, and we will show you the course of public business." And, therefore, if a "Billion Dollar" Congress be the programme of the Speaker's party, a whole shoal of appropriation bills will be safely piloted through their appointed course.

Our Chairman of Ways and Means rivals the Speaker in freedom from party bias; and from a thought of rivalry with the Speaker he would shrink instinctively. On the contrary, as did happen in "the old days" of the House of Representatives, so it may happen in days to come, "the Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations, by skillfully manœuvering his bills, could control the House in spite of the Speaker, and of all other leadership."*

Passing on to the business methods which regulate the appropriation of public money in Westminster and in Washington, a marked difference occurs at the starting point in these proceed-

* The Hon. T. B. Reed, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1892.

ings. By a self-imposed disability the Commons have interposed a barrier between themselves and the Treasury, which effectually prevents their even touching the public purse. To save themselves from the temptation which proximity to money, especially other people's money, always engenders, the House of Commons perceived that but one hand, and not their hands, should turn the national money tap; and at the beginning of the last century, when intemperate jealousy for their parliamentary rights was a passion, they gave effect to this sagacious determination. Sore pressed by petitioners urging specious demands upon the Treasury and upon their representatives, to withstand those sturdy beggars, the Commons had resort to help from without. Immemorial constitutional usage showed them where that help could be found.

From England's earliest days taxes are "the king's taxes," both in principle and practice. Under an equally ancient usage the House of Commons cannot grant the yearly supplies for the service of the kingdom, save upon a demand from the Crown. The Sovereign presents the estimates on which those grants are based; and, whilst the Commons can give less, they cannot give more than the sums specified in the estimates. Every grant also of money to meet the national demands of the year is voted as a supply "for the service of Her Majesty," and cannot be issued by the Treasury save upon her royal order under the sign manual.

Adopting the principle enforced by these usages, the Commons resolved, December 11, 1706, that they would receive no petition praying for public money unless it was recommended to them by the Crown; and this rule was at once extended to every motion for any money grant, and was embodied in three standing orders, the first, and, for more than a century, the only standing orders appointed by the Commons for their self-government. The utility of the self-denying ordinance the House thus passed upon itself needs no trumpeting.

The adoption of a rule based on the prerogative of the Crown cannot be suggested to a republican. Even an approach to the principle which underlies this rule is beyond the scope of Congress. The American scheme of government, which is based on government through diffusion of power, denies existence to any single authority who could sanction the initiation of State expenditure. And thus, in this matter, whatever be the result of their

course, Congress may say, with Mr. Richard Alger in "Pembroke,"—"I've got into this track now, and I'll die before I get out of it."

The House of Commons, however, having followed the right track in their money procedure, proceeded onward still further. The assistance of that faithful servant of the community, "Publicity," was called in to strengthen the House toward ensuring a wise use of the public revenue. When the Commons placed the money control in the hands of the government, they also, by standing orders, prescribed that all levy of taxation and all public expenditure should, as an invariable preliminary, be discussed by a committee of the whole House, and that a single stage only in any money transaction should be taken at each successive sitting.

Under these rules, to commence a bill for a money grant, a member must place in the Speaker's hands a motion paper for the appointment of a committee of the whole House, fixed for a subsequent day, to consider the grant; and, if called upon, he explains to the House the object of that proceeding. Thereupon a minister of the Crown, whose name, attached to the record of the proceeding, is entered upon the journal, must rise and signify to the Speaker and to the House that the proposal is recommended by the Crown. The Speaker then submits to the vote of the House the question for the appointment of the committee. On the appointed day the Speaker leaves the chair; and the House in committee votes the resolution on which the money bill is founded, and, on a subsequent day, ratification by the vote of the House itself must be given to that resolution. Thereon a bill is ordered, presented, and set down for second reading on a future day, and the following stages of committee, of consideration on report, and the third reading are never run together, but are taken separately on successive days, however annoying may be the consequent prolongation of the session. The stringency with which this rule has been enforced is attested by the single instance when, with the sanction of the House, it was set aside. The occasion, a terrible event in English history, was the mutiny at the Nore, May, 1797. Some thirty-five years ago a trifling fiscal resolution, on its report from committee, was forthwith agreed to by the House, but the offence was promptly purged by the annulment of the proceeding.

None of these precautions is adopted by Congress. Any member, by the presentation of an appropriation bill, can put

his hand into the national purse; the bill, by automatic and noiseless process, is at once consigned to what we should term a select committee, who sit in secret session. No special treatment being prescribed for a money bill, it might, when the bill emerges from the committee, be shot through the House, "without being debated, amended, printed, or understood." This cavalier treatment, the usual fate of other bills, is not meted out to an appropriation bill. A money transaction, all the world over, is a thing of sovereign interest; and it is but natural that an appropriation bill, in its final passage through the House, should be discussed with as much publicity and as much debate as the Representatives can provide. Yet their much debate is not much after all. Five-minute speeches in a noisy hall, that gain but meagre report, and that command but meagre attention from the outside world, but poorly answer our notions of free and full debate. And even when an appropriation bill has received the best consideration that the House can give, those bills often suffer under an adverse fate from which other bills are exempt. Obviously enough, it is over money transactions that collisions most frequently arise between the House and the Senate; and appropriation bills suffer accordingly. The dispute is settled on the give and take principle, in secret conference, and often towards the close of a session. Time pressure makes itself felt; to save the bill, the House, without debate, accepts and acts upon an unprinted report of the compromise effected by the conference, so that the compromisers alone know the destiny or the amount of the expenditure thus blindly sanctioned by Congress.

The working out of the contrast thus afforded by Congress and Parliament is singular. Whilst Congress cannot touch an outwork of the Constitution on which their national government is founded, in Westminster three unanimous Members of Parliament might, in the space of five or ten minutes, pass a bill for the abolition of the monarchy through all its stages, the Speaker sitting powerless in his chair; on the other hand, Congress can scatter the dollars of the nation broadcast over land and sea, though all the whole 670 of the House of Commons in Parliament assembled could not vote away a single shilling of the public money, unless they were assured that the Queen sanctioned the outlay; and if, that assurance having been vouchsafed to them, they sought to pass the one shilling appropriation

bill through more than a single stage per sitting, the Speaker would promptly interpose his veto.

The following assertions are themost flagrant of truisms, namely, that to secure a due discharge of duty its transactors, both in mind and body, must feel the keen pinch of personal responsibility, and that, to create that pinching power, simplicity and unity of action are essential. This pinch is applied to all who are engaged in our national financial business. Each money transaction in Westminster, from beginning to end, is guarded by a chain of specially appointed caretakers. A charge upon the people must be sanctioned outside Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the Treasury authorities; inside Parliament by the recommendation of the Crown. The Speaker, the Chairman of Ways and Means, and their official advisers, are bound to see that the grant follows its due course; and the Commons, by the delays appointed to provide opportunities for debate, by the seven separate stages prescribed for the passage of a money bill through the House, give a public pledge that they fully recognize the financial responsibility. And to impose concentration and control on the spending power of the House, the Commons restrict the output of the grants for the service of each financial year to one committee, and, under a Mede and Persian law, those grants must be presented to the nation in one, and only one, appropriation bill. If we squander public money, the nation knows that the Government and the Commons alone bear the blame.

Congress, as Prof. Woodrow Wilson remarks, "evades judgment by avoiding all coherency of plan in its action." This remark is specially true of its monetary action. Adverse criticism is baffled by the multiplication of appropriation committees, who all work independently of each other, and who present, regardless of each other's demands, some twelve appropriation bills for the consideration of each session. The constitutional passion of the United States for the subdivision of power, aided by personal jealousies, has transferred the custody of the public purse from one committee to twenty-five appropriation committees, besides endowing the Rivers and Harbors Committee with a separate key to the Treasury chest. Divide and rule may be a fine expedient in statecraft, but it plays the—anarchy—in procedure.

National expenditure and national taxation are twin subjects: to consider the one without heed to the other, with us, is impos-

sible. This relationship is not felt in the United States. Nor do they sympathize with us in the anxious thought—how shall we meet the cost?—caused when a fresh charge is laid upon our shoulders. The difficulty with them is how to dissipate their surpluses. Their taxpaying "withers are unwrung"; they are, at present, subject only to the soft handling of indirect taxation. We are the "galled jades" whose backs "wince" under the weight and aggravation of an income tax. Borne down by our taxation necessities there can be no more financial sympathy between us and our American brothers, than there is between "a fu' man and a fasting." Equally are we out of harmony in the matter of expenditure. Nay, more, the entrancing spectacle of the "Billion-dollar country" has demoralized one of the ablest among our thinkers. Professor Bryce assures the citizens of the United States that they may waste their billions with a light heart, because they enjoy "the glorious privilege of youth, the privilege of committing errors with impunity." The sentiment is more pleasurable than practical. Whatever sport the men outside Congress may find in the throwing away of their surpluses—they may indulge themselves in this amusement without committing a breach of trust. Congresses are in a different position regarding the resources of the Union: they cannot accept with impunity a mandate to scatter billions over land and sea. They must remember their responsibility towards those who come after them. Members of Congress are trustees not for their constituents only, but also for the constituencies in time to come. Either respect or disrespect is the inevitable lot of every trustee of other people's money. There is no escape; under the one judgment or the other he must stand or fall. That they may render a good account of their trusteeship Congress should take heed to what "one of themselves, even a" President "of their own, hath said"—"It would be prudent to multiply barriers against the dissipation of appropriations." *

REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE.

* Jefferson, *Message to Congress* 1801.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONGRESS AND THE NEXT PARIS EXPOSITION.

THE State Department has announced the reception of the request of the French government for the participation of the United States in the International Exhibition to be held in Paris in 1900, and, in accordance with custom, Secretary Olney will doubtless transmit the invitation to both houses of Congress at the session which opens this month, thus bringing us face to face, as a nation, with another World's Fair. It will be both timely, and perhaps useful, therefore, to glance for a moment at past Congressional legislation concerning such exhibitions, in order to point out its faulty sides in the hope of aiding towards better doing in the present instance.

Governments as such were first officially invited to these universal expositions, as the French call them, by the organizers of the one held in Paris in 1867. Previous to that date, the country holding the exhibition addressed itself directly to individual manufacturers and possible exhibitors, so that there was nothing national and official in the exhibit of each state. Therefore we shall confine ourselves in this paper to an examination of what was done at Washington to promote our interests at most of the international exhibitions subsequent to and including that of 1867.

The two principal acts of Congress in this domain are the acceptance of the invitation and the voting of an appropriation to enable the country to properly carry out what is implied by this acceptance. I am sorry to have to say that in both of these duties, and on every occasion when action has been called for, Congress has laid itself open to blame. In the matter of the accepting of the invitation Congress has always moved too tardily, while in that of voting money it has never failed to show stinginess.

First, as to the tardiness of Congressional action. Here are a few examples of this fault. Although, on the occasion of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, the United States government was invited two years beforehand, Congress did not consider the matter till the middle of January, 1866. Fortunately for our good name, President Lincoln—it was among the last official acts of his life—sent, in April, 1865, on his own responsibility, instructions to Minister Bigelow, making him special agent of the United States government in matters concerning the Exhibition, until the following October, when the President appointed as Commissioner-General Mr. N. M. Beckwith, who served without pay, and served admirably, I hasten to add.

Congress might plead in extenuation of its conduct in this instance the fact that we had only just issued from our civil war, and that the most complicated domestic measures monopolized at this moment the attention of both houses. But this excuse loses much of its force when we see that on

subsequent occasions, when called upon to take action on similar invitations, Congress has invariably repeated the mistake made in 1865.

Thus the first communication of the French government in relation to the Exhibition of 1878 was received at Washington at the end of May, 1876, and was transmitted within the week by the State Department to the proper committees of the Senate and House of Representatives. And yet, nearly a year and a half later—on October 16, 1877—we find President Hayes urging in a message the acceptance of the French invitation, while in his annual message of the following December he returns once more to the same subject. These repeated reminders from the Chief Executive seem finally to have produced some effect, for in that same month—that is, about four months before the fair opened—Congress accepted the invitation.

Scarcely less tardiness was shown in our treatment of the request for our presence at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. In July, 1870, Secretary Fish called the attention of Congress to the coming fair, but the invitation was not accepted till June, 1872, and, what was still worse for our proper representation there, no money was voted till February, 1873, though the exhibition opened on May 1st.

A little more promptness was displayed by Congress in its legislation for the last Paris Exhibition, but this promptness fell far short of what it should have been if we consider the interest of the American section. The invitation reached the State Department on April 6, 1887, and was accepted by Congress on May 10, 1888, more than a year after the French Minister at Washington had placed it in the hands of Secretary Bayard, and less than a year before the gates on the Champ de Mars were thrown open.

But the case of the Melbourne Exhibition beats the record of Congressional sluggishness in these matters, for, though the invitation was received in June, 1887, it was not accepted till February, 1888, while it was nearly the end of April before our Commission was organized, though the exhibition, thousands of miles away by sea, was to begin on the first of August following.

In some instances the belated action of Congress has caused an actual moneyed loss to the government. Thus, in the case of the International Exhibition of 1878, the space in the main building originally allotted to the United States had been seriously curtailed, because of the general belief held in Paris that we would not be represented at the fair. But when the demands for space began to pour in at the eleventh hour, as usual with us, the Commissioner-General found that our section in the main building was not only overcrowded, but that if our agricultural machinery, perhaps our most important exhibit, was to be displayed, a special structure, as well as several sheds and covered ways, would have to be erected. So Congress was hastily asked for an additional appropriation of $40,000, which, this time, was promptly granted, and $20,000 was expended in order to obtain space which the French government had offered free a few months before and which had been actually in our possession.

Read, further, this bit of testimony on this point furnished by our very cool-headed Chief-Commissioner to Paris in 1889. General Franklin says in his official report to the Secretary of State:

"The shortness of time for collecting the exhibit of the United States and for the delivering it in Paris, was a source of embarrassment in many ways. Our acceptance of the invitation to the exhibition was delivered in Paris

only in July, 1888, less than ten months before the date of the opening of the exhibition. We were the last large industrial nation which applied for assignment of space, so that our choice was necessarily the last. It is probable that the spaces so assigned in Machinery Hall and in the industrial section were large enough for our exhibits, but their location would have been in a more prominent place had we been among the first to apply."

The second grave charge to be laid at the door of Congress in this matter of exhibition legislation is that of parsimony. Our Federal Senators and Representatives not only fail to act till the very eve of the opening of an exhibition, but when they have thus so tardily decided to have the country compete with the other nations of the world, that were up and doing while we were "thinking about it," they still farther handicap the organizers of the future American section by granting them only just enough money to enable them to escape complete failure.

Thus the appropriation made for the exhibition of 1867 was so small that the late Professor Joy, of Columbia College, who was secretary of the New York Advisory Committee, wrote of it as follows to the United States agent of the exhibition:

"There is not sufficient money to defray the necessary expenses of the agent in New York, and it is safe to say that but for the gratuitous aid received from persons not officially connected with the Exhibition, and the meagre salaries accepted by yourself and others, the work would have been seriously interrupted."

When the Exhibition of 1878 came round, Congress asked the State Department what sum it thought ought to be granted the future commission. Thereupon Secretary Fish—this request was made in 1876—suggested $250,000; but Congress cut this down to $150,000, though later, as we have already seen, $40,000 more were called for.

Here is what the late W. W. Story thought of the Congressional financiering of the Exhibition of 1878. In his official report on the fine arts, Mr. Story goes out of his way to pay his respects to Congress, using this language:

"The sum appropriated was not only so insufficient in itself, but was so tardily given as to render it impossible for America to make an exhibition worthy of a great country. . . . The consequence has been an injury, not only to the reputation of the country, but even more to its material interests. "*Noblesse oblige*" is a motto which is unknown to or rejected by our country. We wish to take among nations the high place to which we are justly entitled, but we grudge the necessary outlay. . . . Whether or not we care what is thought of us abroad, we are at least susceptible to our interests, and these have been undoubtedly affected to a serious extent by the incomplete exhibition of ourselves which the government forced upon the country by its unwise economy and delay."

These two extracts from Commissioner-General McCormick's report concerning this same exhibition should be quoted in this connection:

"So many of our important and interesting industries were not represented that American visitors, with vivid recollections of the Centennial display, and a knowledge of what might have been done, were outspoken in their depreciation of the tardy and inadequate action of Congress, through which many of the advantages of a great opportunity were lost."

Mr. McCormick then goes on to say, and his words should be weighed by

those with whom hangs the fate of our representation at the Exhibition of 1900:

"It may be said that, having kept the expenses of our exhibit within the Congressional appropriation, no larger sum need be voted for a similar undertaking in the future. The saving in this instance must not, however, be accepted as an argument in favor of a small appropriation. It was made possible only by the avoidance of expenditures which would have made our exhibit more complete and profitable."

These various strictures would seem to have produced some effect on Congress, as the joint resolution on an appropriation for the Paris Exposition of 1889 was larger and less bound by stipulations than any ever voted for any previous enterprise of this kind. The total sum was a quarter of a million dollars. The Commissioner-General's salary was $10,000—heretofore it had not exceeded half that amount; and the Assistant Commissioner-General received $5,000. After deducting these two sums, the salaries of nine scientific experts and the outlay for clerical labor, over $200,000 were left for the exhibit work proper.

And what results from this tardiness in taking action and this stinginess in the appropriation? The effect is well summed up in the following words of Secretary Seward, written *apropos* of the Exhibition of 1867, and which could be truly repeated concerning every subsequent exhibition:

"The United States section did not contain such a collection of products as would contribute anything like a proper or just basis for estimating the industrial or natural resources of the United States."*

What, then, should be the course of Congress in its treatment of the Exhibition of 1900? The answer is evident. In the first place, the invitation should be accepted at the earliest possible date and the Commission set to work. This would prevent the recurrence of the serious obstacle in all our previous attempts to organize a creditable American section—there would be no lack of time. In the second place, a generous appropriation should be voted. Congress showed progress in this respect, as was stated above, by its action on the Exhibition of 1889. But it ought not to stop there. The $250,000 of 1889 should not suffice for 1900. Even in 1889 our appropriation was surpassed by several minor powers. Thus Mexico spent on its exhibit at Paris $1,200,000, the Argentine Republic $1,000,000, while Brazil's expenditure fell but slightly short of our own. In December, 1888, Minister McLane cabled from Paris to the State Department declaring that an increase of the appropriation was absolutely necessary, and recommended that it be doubled. But Congress did not act upon his advice, and the consequence was that every patriotic American was ashamed of his country when he visited the Champ de Mars a few months later.

This article may well end with these closing words of the report of Mr. McCormick to Mr. Evarts:

"You will hope, with me, I am sure, that hereafter, with a due regard to international courtesy and to our own prestige, when all the powers of the world are to take part in an exhibition, our government may act neither reluctantly nor parsimoniously, but with ready cordiality and in a manner

* The statistics of the exhibition show that Mr. Seward's statement was far from being exaggerated. Thus, the number of American exhibitors was 703, a figure surpassed by thirteen countries, including Switzerland, Roumania, Turkey, and Brazil, while five nations outstripped us as regards the square yards covered by our exhibits, little Belgium being one of these, with Switzerland, Holland, and Egypt nearly overtaking us.

to give a just idea of our actual progress in science, art, education, and industry."

Let us trust that the Congress which acts on the invitation of 1900 will say "Amen" to this sentiment.

THEODORE STANTON.

SOME MEMORIES OF A GREAT LAWYER.

OF all members of the New York Bar, there has been perhaps no one who could enchain attention for a longer time than Mr. Charles O'Conor.

> "Lofty and sour to those that loved him not,
> To those that sought him, he was sweet as summer."

Happy the man who could wander with him on Washington Heights, or over the County of Westchester, or walk with him up and down on his piazza. For such an one he had a fund of anecdote as exhaustless as it was enchanting.

His discourse was not alone of professional experience, but of men and events of half a century. For, as was said by Mr. Evarts at a meeting in his honor, "he came to the Bar when New York contained but 166,000 inhabitants, and he had grown up and expanded with the city, until with Brooklyn it is second only to London in wealth and population."

His anecdotes, often amusing, more often were indicative of his intense love of justice.

Among the acquaintances of his early days was Stephen Price, manager of the Park Theatre, from whom he had an anecdote which, once heard, could never be forgotten. A young British officer, stationed in Canada, while on a visit in New York, had some variance with a favorite younger brother of Stephen Price. The difference was, however, satisfactorily adjusted and settled between them at the time. On the officer's return to Canada, the Colonel of his regiment—Colonel Wilson—hearing of the matter, declared that the officer could not be admitted to mess until he had wiped out the dishonor on his name and regiment; that an English officer who had been insulted by an American, could not be recognized until he had vindicated his honor. The officer thereupon came to New York, challenged young Price and killed him in a duel at Hoboken. After this Stephen Price kept his eye on Colonel Wilson. Learning from a morning paper that Colonel Wilson, a British officer from Canada, was at the City Hotel, he proceeded at once to that well-known place. Following the waiter up to Colonel Wilson's room, he entered with him, when a colloquy, brief but significant ensued.

"I am Stephen Price. I have come to insult you, to spit in your face if necessary, and you may consider that done."

"I will consider myself insulted as much as can be, and you shall hear from me at once."

Having procured seconds—a matter in those days of no difficulty—they repaired to Hoboken, where Colonel Wilson was shot dead at the first fire. His second fled for safety, and the body was left exposed upon the pier until taken away by the proper authority.

For anecdotes like these, showing the quick admeasurement of exact justice, Mr. O'Conor had a great admiration. He may be said to have had a genius for justice as well as law.

The strength and Anglo-Saxon purity of Mr. O'Conor's style has often been a subject of wonder. Where did he clothe himself with such a panoply of words?

President Woolsey, of Yale College, who, after reaping the highest honors of that college, passed four years in Germany to complete his education, and was afterward made professor of the Greek language, though famed for his purity of style, in its strength and foreshortening, was by no means the equal of Charles O'Conor, who was confessedly without the advantages of a classical education.

The formation of style is a subject of frequent inquiry. Walter Pater lately published an essay on the subject. Huxley avowed that if his manner of expressing himself had the merit mankind were good enough to assign it, he owed this perfection to his mother, who compelled him, when a boy, to commit whole chapters of the Bible to memory, and especially the Psalms, of which the 119th was his severest task. Others declare that Pascal's way of writing all things twenty times over was essential to perfection.

But Samuel Butler, in his MS. commonplace book, solves the problem in one couplet:

"It is more difficult and requires a greater mastery of art in painting to foreshorten one figure exactly than to draw three at their just length ; so it is in writing to express anything naturally and briefly than to enlarge and dilate.

> Therefore, a judicious author's blots
> Are more ingenious than his first free thoughts."

Mr. O'Conor, on one occasion, furnished the writer with the draft of an opinion of his, accompanied by the minutest instructions to see that every word was printed aright. On examining the manuscript, the writer found that the opinion was in the interlineations; that Mr. O'Conor had condensed into one line of these about four of his original writing.

His overpowering sense of justice, in an individual case, as well as his use of "a judicious writer's blots" were exemplified in the Lemmon case—a case which so unfortunately tinged the opinions of his after life on the whole Southern question.

Eight slaves of Mrs. Lemmon, a Southern woman passing through New York on her way to Texas, were taken from her possession aboard the vessel about to sail, by *habeas corpus*—as illegally held. Mr. O'Conor was retained for their recovery in 1852. After a litigation of seven years the Court of Appeals (Judges Comstock, Selden, and Clerk dissenting) ordered their discharge.

Mr. O'Conor's sense of the wrong done his clients in that case, in respect to their constitutional right of property in slaves, was such that he appealed from the decision setting them at liberty to the Court of Appeals. He there showed by statutes and authorities that while the English Courts in Somerset's case were ordering the discharge of a West Indian negro, on the ground that no slave could breathe the air of England, England had been buying, selling, and holding white slaves for centuries, under the name of villeins, in a state of absolute servitude. He then added : "Notwithstanding the rather inflated expressions of English orators and judges on the purity of English air, English and French air have none of their true enfranchising purity until drawn through the nostrils of a negro ; while slaves have long inspired it without having their status at all affected."

At the closing of the St. Nicholas Hotel in 1884, in answer to a question by the writer, how he succeeded in saving the life of Colonel Loring in the memorable trial for murder committed at that hotel, he gave the following account :

After the trial had proceeded for some time, the Court was informed by the jury that one of their number was a relation of the prisoner. The Court adjourned the trial for consultation on a question so serious. Mr. O'Conor, as prisoner's counsel, consented to the withdrawal of the juror and stipulated to proceed with eleven jurors. The point was doubted, but, on consent of the District Attorney, the trial proceeded with eleven jurors. The only witness to the killing was the bootblack, who testified that on some disturbance being made by Graham in throwing out his boots, the prisoner angrily came from his room and, an altercation ensuing, with his sword cane stabbed Graham, and worked about the weapon when in his body; and witness shortly informed prisoner that Graham was dead. "What did he say when you told him this?" Answer.—"No!" O'Conor: "Is that the answer of one who intended to kill? Is it not the answer you would make if informed a friend you had just seen was dead!" Seeing the jury somewhat impressed by this view, and the change appearing in their faces, he so pressed the point that they found a verdict of manslaughter. The Court imposed the heaviest penalty—imprisonment for seven years.

In Mr. O'Conor's opinion, the greatest lawyer was not the man who knows the most law; but the one who sees at a glance the real question involved; and he often declared that many cases were carried to the Court of Appeals without the lawyers on either side discovering the real legal principle which must govern the case.

W. WATSON.

A PLEA FOR THE ENGLISH WIFE.

IT is scarcely to be imagined that Mr. Grant Allen disclaims acquaintance with that immense English class, the upper, middle, or professional class, and *par consequence* with its wives; yet in his article on "The English Wife," published in a recent number of this magazine, he by inference leads his readers to suppose that that class is wifeless—a huge and complex bachelor in fact. Nevertheless a large portion of it is in the possession of wives—and these helpmates are not necessarily New Women either; at all events they flourished and abounded so far back as the early girlhood of the present middle-aged writer. That Mr. Grant Allen should prefer to leave that distinctly tiresome person, the New Woman, out of his tale is comprehensible enough, but his wholesale denial of the domestic and other virtues to the aristocratic wife—presumably, poor lady, because she is so unfortunate as to have a handle to her name—seems a little hard, especially if it be remembered that the misdeeds of her class are proclaimed upon the housetop, while those of others are more commonly whispered within its walls.

But it is not the aristocracy of either birth or wealth which forms the *raison d'être* of these remarks, but rather the English wife of reasonable, good, or limited means, and who belongs to the upper middle class. It is to her not insignificant existence I desire to call attention.

The type of English wife, then, to which I allude was sufficiently prevalent even in the days when I knew her best, twenty odd years ago, when culture had neither become commonplace nor was spelt with so ostentatious a C. She was of daily occurrence in the circle of a family whose visiting list was well up in the hundreds. From this type of wife had already begun to arise members of educational boards, inspectors of poorhouses, social reformers, and I think I am not mistaken in asserting that it was in England first that women were permitted to fill such positions. Civic and national government, literature, science and other matters not pertaining to nursery or kitchen

were subjects even then of family discussion, in which wives and daughters took their share. It is a temptation to name some of the notable women of that and a later day—wives of the upper middle class—but lest they should be objected to as "exceptions," it is safer to speak only of the common type of this class, that is, the wife who was in every sense her husband's good comrade, sharing his interests (needless to remark these were not inevitably intellectual), his anxieties, business or otherwise, his books, nay, often his *play*, which, by-the-bye, the American wife is only now learning to do. Mr. Grant Allen's middle class wife was already something of a back number, or more likely belonged to a different class altogether. The English wife, as I knew many a score of her, was not relegated to nursery or drawing-room, there to be "cribbed, cabined and confined." Even in those days of Philistinism she was apt to have ideas of her own on impersonal subjects, as well as opportunities for ventilating them. Far back in my childhood I can recall that women discussed books almost as frequently as they did babies and domestics, and that these books were by no means invariably novels. In rural districts, remote from railroads and "opportunities," a mild and refining effort after self-improvement assuredly existed, in the shape of lending libraries, co-operative boxes of books from the great London libraries, and what not, away back in the sixties. Such recollections may be allowed to possess some logical foundation, in fact, if it be borne in mind that the English wife, even of quite moderate means, knows nothing of household cares such as we in the like or better position understand them on this side. Of the back-breaking, soul-fretting daily drudgery endured here by thousands of housewives and mothers—and where else in the civilized world are such self-sacrificing mothers to be found?—to whom comfortable means brings little or no relief from the ceaseless drain on strength and nerves and mind, the English wife continues sublimely ignorant. To the average American housemother her talk of household care conveys a sense of the ridiculous—by comparison. By the same comparison she enjoys abundant leisure of mind and body. Is it credible that the great mass of English middle class wives are, in the employment of this leisure, devoid of understanding as well as of education?

English politics are not, and never within my recollection have been, necessarily and inevitably pitch. The interest, therefore, manifested in them by Englishwomen, to a certain extent in the past, to a large extent in the present, was and is both healthy and wise. Politics, when I was a child, formed a common subject of discussion in the home circle. On first making my home in a strange land—a land now grown so dear—and sharing as a matter of course my husband's interest in American politics and public questions in general, I remember well the chilling reception which greeted any expression of opinion on my part concerning subjects which were considered, I suppose, "unfeminine." But this was in a rural section of the kind in which the men drew apart from the women when matters of any importance came on the *tapis*—and it was a long, long time ago. *Nous avons changé tout çela*—even there, perhaps. And now that the American woman has finally awoke to the vital questions at issue, civic and national, in this great Republic, and finds herself compelled in consequence to grasp the all-pervading pitch with both hands in the course of her gallant crusade against corruption, she finds also that to the "higher" woman as to the "higher" man this pitch is not defiling. At least it will wash off.

E. M. NICHOLL.

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